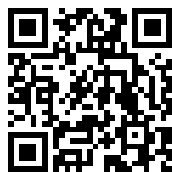


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THE  
AMERICAN  
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. VII

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BALTIMORE: THE EDITOR  
NEW YORK AND LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO.  
LEIPSIC: F. A. BROCKHAUS  
1887

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PRESS OF ISAAC FRIEDENWALD,  
32 S. Paca St., Baltimore, Md.

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. VIII, I.

WHOLE No. 29.

## I.—ON SOME DISPUTED PASSAGES OF THE CIRIS.

In a former number of this Journal (Vol. III, pp. 271-84) I reviewed Bährens' newly published edition of the Pseudo-Vergilian minor poems, and discussed, with the help of an uncollated MS in the Bodleian, several of the most difficult passages in the *Culex*. My aim in the present article is to deal similarly with some of the numerous difficulties in the *Ciris*. Unfortunately, in this case the Bodleian MS fails us; nor can I claim to have examined with my own eyes any of the scanty sources for the text of the poem except Arundel 133 in the British Museum. This, though written in the fifteenth century, seems to be in the main uninterpolated; at any rate, in reading it with Caspar Barth's little-known and valuable, albeit juvenile, Commentary, published in the year 1608, I convinced myself of the probability of some corrections mainly suggested by this codex, though not resting *solely* on its authority. It is not till v. 458 that we have a really good MS to rely upon. Then the Bruxellensis begins, and a new light dawns.

77 sqq.

Seu uero, ut perhibent, forma cum uinceret omnis  
Et cupidos quaestu passim popularet amantes,  
Piscibus et canibusque malis uallata repente est

80 Horribilis circum uidit se sistere formas.

Haupt, whom Ribbeck and Bährens follow, transposed vv. 79, 80, which leaves, after all, a very unsatisfactory accumulation of particles in the last clause. I prefer, with Ludwig Schwabe, to keep the MS order of the verses, substituting *haec* (*heu* Schwabe) for *et* and omitting *est*—

Piscibus haec canibusque malis uallata repente  
Horribilis circum uidit se sistere formas.

83, 4.

Ausa quod est mulier numen fraudare deorum  
Et dictam Veneri uotorum uertere poenam.

Barth in his commentary changed *uotorum* to *notorum*, 'to appropriate the mulct on her lovers.' This is hardly probable; on the other hand, *uotorum poenam* is without legitimate meaning.

Sillig's *et dictam Veneri uoto interuertere poenam*, of which neither Ribbeck nor Bährens takes any notice, has at least the merit of neatness and perfect intelligibility. I would explain *poenam* either as the 'fine' which Scylla levied on her lovers, and of which part was vowed to Venus, or as the fine upon her *quaestus meretricii* which she set apart to the service of the goddess.

89.

Quidquid et ut quisque est tali de clade locutus  
Omnia sunt; potius liceat notescere Cirin  
Atque unam ex multis Scyllam non esse puellis.  
Quare quae cantus meditantem mittere tætos  
Magna mihi cupido tribuistis praemia diuæ  
Pierides, quarum castos saltaria postes  
Munere saepe meo inficiunt, foribusque hyacinthi  
Deponunt flores aut suaue rubens Narcissus.

In v. 90 *Omnia sunt* of A must, I think, be, as Heinsius long ago conjectured, *Somnia sunt*; the parallels quoted by Unger in his learned, though eccentric, diatribe on the first 161 verses of the *Ciris* (Halle, 1885), show that the two words are frequently confused. The meaning thus becomes perfectly clear: 'All that various writers have imagined as the explanation of so tragic a story is mere idle dreaming (or, if *Somnia sint* be read from the reading of the Helmstadt codex *Omnia sim*, 'be dismissed as idle'); rather let me give poetic notoriety to *Ciris*, and choose as the Scylla of my poem a maiden of no common destiny.' In other words, 'Let us put aside the various accounts given of the Homeric Scylla, and celebrate instead the Scylla who was changed into the bird *Ciris*, and whose destiny in an especial manner called for commemoration.' I confess that I see no plausibility in Haupt's conj. *Mnemosync*, while Unger's *Omne sinam* is somewhat unlike the indirect style of the poet. But what is *cetos*? for so A gives the word, *caecos* the Rehdigeranus, *côcos* the Helmstadiensis. (*Ietos* of Vatican 3255 (L) is certainly wrong, though accepted by Haupt.) Bergk's *doctos*, Ribbeck's *curtos*, Kreunen's *complos*, Unger's *Graecos*, appear to me all less probable than *certos*, the

old reading. Barth's explanation, 'cantus comparantur sagittis quae scopum feriunt,' is quite in harmony with the declaration just before made by the poet, that he will sing of none of the multifarious Scyllas who have raised such a cloud of words, but of that Scylla alone who was metamorphosed into the bird Ciris.

In 94 all now agree that *altaria* must be wrong; but the ingenuity of Haupt, Bergk and Unger has not yet settled the true correction. Haupt's *Calparia*, which he defends at length (Opusc. III, p. 81), is after all assailable on two main grounds: (1) the oddity of the word, of which indeed no plural has yet been produced; (2) the well-known fact that wineless offerings were made to the Muses. But Bergk's *alabastria*, even if it can be shown to be an existing Latin word (which I doubt), is very wide of the MS reading *altaria*; whence I incline to Unger's *aluearia* (*aluaria*, as it would probably have been written in the archetypal MS), 'hives'; honey, as Unger shows, was offered to the Muses. The same learned scholar's defense of *Deponunt* in 96, against the conj. of Heinsius, *Dependent*, is to my mind quite convincing.

105-9.

Stat Megara Alcathoi quondam mutata labore  
Alcathoi Phoebique, deus namque adfuit illi,  
Vnde etiam citharae uoces imitatus acutas  
Saepe lapis recrepat Cyllenia munera pulsus  
Et ueterem sonitu Phoebi testatur amorem.

It is usual to change *mutata* in 105 into *munita*. Prof. Tyrrell on Att. IV 16, 7, *Constat enim aditus insulae esse muratos mirificis molibus* (MSS *miratos*), makes a plausible case for the participle *muratus*, which is not classical, and rests on the authority of very late writers like Vegetius. The v. of the Ciris appears to me a confirmation of his view that the word, though rare, *was* found in good Latin: here, at any rate, it would be literally correct, as Phoebus *built the walls of Megara* to please Alcathous. Theogn. 773:

Φοῖβε ἀναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην  
'Ἀλκαθῶω Πέλοπος παιδί χαρίζόμενος.

In 108 Barth's defense of the MS *munera* seems quite adequate: the lyre was the gift of Mercury to Apollo.

116-18.

Sed neque tunc ciues neque tunc rex ipse ueretur  
Infesto ad muros uolitantis agmine turmas  
†Dicere et indomita uirtute refundere Martem.

Heinsius' *Reicere* as a trisyllable is not sufficiently proved by the imperative *reice* in Verg. Ecl. 3, 96, *reicis* Stat. Theb. 4, 574. I should prefer *Icere*.

120 sqq.

Nam capite ab summo regis, mirabile dictu,  
Candida caesarie florebant tempora †lauro  
Et roseus medio surgebat uertice crinis.

For *lauro* I suggest *raua* or *flaua*.

127-29.

Ergo omnis caro residebat cura capillo  
Aurea sollemni comptum quem fibula ritu  
†Corsele (Corsele A) tereti nectebant dente cicadae.

It is to be observed, in reconstituting 129, that the best MSS agree in a plural, not a singular, verb (*nectebant* HR, *nectabant* A). Hence *cicadae* must be nom. plural, not gen. singular; and *Cecropiae* must be wrong. The suggestions of Birt, Rhein. Mus. XXXIII 627-29, are, however, very unsatisfying. If *Crobylus et* is not right (of which I do not feel assured), it seems possible that *Cecropis et* rather than *Cecropiae* is what the poet wrote. *Cecropis* might either be genitive after *ritu*, or nom. fem. agreeing with *fibula*.

129.

Nec uero haec uobis custodia uana fuisset,  
Nec fuerat, ni Scylla nouo correpta furore  
132 O nimium cupidis si non inhiasset ocellis.

It is certainly probable that *uobis* is a corruption of *urbis*, as Heinsius suggested and Ribbeck prints; but Bährens is right in raising the question again. His substitution, however, of *Nisaei* for *Nec fuerat*, after Heyne, is violently improbable. If *uobis* is genuine, it would seem to refer to the Megarians, rather than to the subject of the immediately preceding verses, King Nisus and his family (126-28). There would be nothing impossible in this, as the whole digression from 101 to 128 has been occupied with the Megarians and their city. At any rate it seems worth while to leave the question open till some more authoritative MS decides it. Nor can I think it necessary to change *fuerat*, with Ribbeck, into *querat*. The sense is, 'This guarding of the city would not have been useless, and indeed *actually had not* been so before'—*i. e.* as in fact it had not been useless before.

Lachmann has finely emended *si non* (Lucret. Comm., p. 162) to *Minoa*, rightly, it would seem, as *Minoa* occurs again in 366

with no variation in MSS. Otherwise, as Priscian mentions *Minonis* as a form of the genitive, *si non* might seem to point here to *Minona* rather than *Minoa*.

138.

Idem (Amor) tum tristes acuebat paruulus iras  
Iunonis magnae cuius periuria diuae  
Olim se meminere diu periura puella  
†Non nulli liceat uiolauerat inscia sedem.

The only variants of any consequence here are *peritura* and *licitam* of L. The former I regard as a mere reminiscence of G. IV 457, for it is very unlikely that *periuria* and *periura* do not explain each other. The passage comes out perfectly right, with the insignificant change of *se* to *sed* (Ellis), *nulli liceat* (*licitam*) to *ulli licitam* (Unger), if we suppose the clause *periuria—diu* to be an explanatory parenthesis.

Idem tum tristes acuebat paruulus iras  
Iunonis magnae, cuius (periuria diuae  
Olim *sed* meminere diu) periura puella  
Non ulli licitam uiolauerat inscia sedem.

'That same Love-God, small tho' he were, was rousing the fierce anger of the great Juno, whose temple (for goddesses remember from the oldest time, yet remember long, deeds of perjury) the perjured maiden had unwittingly profaned, when none was allowed to enter it.'

*Olim* with the virtual present *meminere* is like *olim prodigio par est*, Juv. IV 96, 'has long been,' where J. E. B. Mayor quotes a great number of parallel passages, mostly from writers of the Silver Age. *Olim* is contrasted with *diu* by *sed*, because the inveteracy of the habit might be supposed to prevent its long continuance in any particular case.

149.

Cum lapsa e manibus fugit pila, cumque relapsa est,  
Procurrit uirgo. Quod uti ne prodita ludo  
Auratam gracili soluisses corpore pallam !  
Omnia quae retinere gradum, cursumque morari  
Possent, o tecum uellem tua semper haberes !  
Non umquam uiolata manu sacraria diuae

155 Iurando infelix nequiquam iure piasses.

So I would write this passage, changing, with Heinsius, *Aurea lam* to *Auratam*; with Barth, in his Commentary of 1608, *soluisset* of MSS to *soluisses*; *iura* to *iure* with Heinsius. More doubtful is *relapsa est* for *relapse* or *relaxe* of MSS; but it admits of easy

explanation: 'and when the ball fell again,' *i. e.* after slipping from the maiden's hand, it bounded up and then fell again; upon which she naturally enough sprang forward to catch it. But if any change is needed, I should prefer Unger's *quoque relapsa est* to either *quomque ea lapsa est* (Mähly) or *cumque elapsa est* (Ribbeck).

In 153 *tua* surely ought at any cost to be retained; *tu, tunc* spoil the rhythm, and the intended juxtaposition of *tecum tua*, as in Lydia 34, *tecum tua laeta capella est* (quoted by Forbiger). How any one can think of altering *Iurando iure*, when the poet has in two sequent lines dwelt on perjury and the effects of perjury (139, 140), I cannot understand. Sillig is obviously right in explaining of Scylla's swearing a false oath that she had not committed sacrilege; though, from want of other narrators of the story, it is difficult to pronounce exactly what form the false allegation took; whether that she was not the thrower of the offending ball, or that she did not expose her limbs, or that she or the ball did not reach the confines of the sanctuary, must remain undecided. Translate: 'Never wouldst thou have profaned by a hand-throw the goddess's shrine and then to thy sorrow made unavailing atonement thereof by a false oath (that thou wert not guilty).' The poet proceeds:

156.

Et si quis nocuisse tibi periuria credat,  
Causa pia est; timuit fratri te ostendere Iuno.  
At levis ille deus cui semper ad ulciscendum  
Quaeritur ex omni uerborum iniuria dicto (dictu *Helmst.*),  
160 Aurea fulgenti depromens tela pharetra  
Heu nimium ter(r)et nimium thirintia uisu  
Virginis in tenera defixerat omnia mente.

'And yet (*Et=et tamen*; see Dräger's *Hist. Synt.* II, p. 20) should any think thou wert guilty of swearing a false oath to thy harm, thou canst plead a religious reason. Juno was afraid to show thy beauteous limbs to her brother, the amorous Jupiter'—*i. e.* Scylla was afraid of the wrath of Juno if she confessed to having accidentally exposed her limbs in the temple of the goddess, and therefore swore she had not thrown the ball or profaned the sanctuary. With these two verses ends the digression on the original *cause* of Scylla's fatal passion for Minos; with *At levis* the poet returns to a restatement of the rise of that passion under the prompting of the Love-God.

'But that false god who for his purpose of vengeance is ever seeking to draw from each chance remark some outrage of words.'



This is, I think, the meaning possibly suggested by a well-known passage of Sophocles, O. C. 761, 2 :

ὃ πάντα τολμῶν καὶ πάντος ἂν φέρων  
λόγου δίκαιου μηχανήμα ποικίλον.

If any change is to be made, I should prefer *ductu*, constructing it with *uerborum*. Love would then be described as seeking in every haphazard word an alleged wrong, which has to be punished (*ad ulciscendum*). The corrupt words in 161 have been variously corrected. The variants are *tereti* L, *tiricia* H, *tiriita* A. The line seems obviously parenthetical, suggested by and an explanation of *pharetra*. I propose to read therefore—

Heu nimium teritus, nimium coritus in usu est

It may be said that this is very far from the letters of the MSS ; to which I would reply that the whole body of the Vergilian Opuscula is so deeply vitiated in the earliest sources now available as to make the bolder forms of emendation at times inevitable. We might indeed plausibly account for the corruption by the strangeness of the word *coritus*. At least I may claim for this emendation the merit not only of explaining the double *nimum*, but of giving a perfectly intelligible and consistent meaning as a whole. In the following verse Heinsius' *defixit acumina* is more than probable.

In 165 *gelidis Edonum* for *gelidi Sidonum* (*Sydonum*) was corrected as early as 1508 by the admirable Italian scholar Constantius of Fano (Hecatostys, c. 81) ; long after, Scaliger made the same conjecture. Constantius was also the author (Hec. 80) of *Sicyonia* for *sic omnia* of MSS in 169, and this too was subsequently made by Leopardus. In the history of a text so corrupt as that of these poems, it is very interesting to remember that two of the most certain restitutions in the Ciris date from nearly 400 years back, before Leo X had yet mounted the Papal chair, and while Henry VII was still ruling in England.

174.

Saepe etiam tristes uoluens in nocte querellas  
Sedibus ex altis caeli speculatur amorem.

Possibly *honorem*, 'the stars that deck the sky.' Cf. Aegritud. Perdicæ, 102, *Presserat aërios fugientis solis honores*. So in 217 Scylla is described as looking up to the twinkling stars of heaven, as she vows to make offerings to the gods if they hear her prayers for a prosperous issue to her love.

249.

Sordibus et fscoria patiar tabescere tali.

So A, *seonia* H, *saria* L. Possibly *sporca* (*spurca*); then *tabi* for *tali*, as *tabis* has become *talis* in 254. For *tabescere tabi* cf. the passages cited in my note on Cat. LXIV 389.

264, 5.

Quid dicam quoue tagam malum hoc exordiar ore?

Bährens' conj. *aegra*, which must, I think, be right.

290.

Tene ego tam longe capta atque auecta nequii  
 Tam graue seruitium, tam duros passa labores,  
 Effugere tobsistam exitium crudele meorum?

The Vatican Codex L inverts the position of *obsistam* and *exitium*. I would follow this and read *exitium ut sistam crudele meorum*, rather than, with Pithou, *ut sistam exit. c. m.* The one is thoroughly Vergilian, the latter prosaic and therefore unlikely.

315, 6.

Saepe tuo dulci nequiquam capta sopore,  
 Cum premeret natura, mori me uelle negaui  
 Vt tibi Corycio glomerarem flammea luto.

Oudendorp on Luc. VII 152 calls attention to the variation which the MSS there present between *natura* and *fortuna*. I fancy that the two words have changed places in the above-cited verses of the Ciris, and would read *Cum premeret fortuna*.

324.

Sin est quod metuo, per te, mea alumna, tuumque  
 Expertum multis miserae mihi rebus amorem,  
 Perdere saeua precor per flumina elithie  
 Ne tantum in facinus tam nulla mente feraris.

V. 326 is written as above in the Helmstadiensis and Rehdigeranus, but in A thus:

Perdere saeua precor per flumina o lythie,

with the mark ^ after *flumina*, referring to a note in the margin, where the word *sacra* is supplied; and *flumina sacra* is also given by L. It is not easy to account for this *sacra*. Was it a variant for *saeua*, removed from its place by accident, or added to *explain flumina* — i. e. to show that the stream referred to was consecrated to the service of some divinity? Accepting the latter view, I hold it to confirm the MS reading *flumina* against the corrections proposed by critics, *numina*, *lumina*. Salmasius on Solin., p. 121, C, suggested that the verse ended with *Lethaeea*. This, indeed,

does not account for the *e* which precedes *lithie* in most of the MSS; but it is very probable that Ribbeck's *te* may have preceded the genitive *Lethaei*. Meursius in his erudite monograph *Creta* collects the passages which speak of this river. Strab. 478, speaking of Gortyna, διαρρέει δ' αὐτὴν ὅλην ὁ Ληθαῖος ποταμός, a passage which Eustathius on Il. 2, 645 quotes with the variant παραρρέει, with which Solinus agrees, p. 81, 21 Mommsen, *Gortynam amnis Lenaeus praeiterfluit quo Europam tauri dorso Gortynii ferunt uectitatam*. Vibius Sequester, p. 7 Bursian, *Lethaeus (Lethecus MSS) insulae Cretae ita dictus quod Harmonia Veneris filia Cadmon oblita dicitur*. Add Ptol. III 15, 3 with the note of C. Müller (Vol. I, p. 563), where it is noticeable that all Müller's MSS spell the word with *i* for *η*, agreeing in this with the MSS of the Ciris. There would be no impropriety in Carme's adjuring her foster-child Scylla 'by the streams of Lethaeus so cruel to destroy'; for she would be recalling to her the home of her lover Minos, with its cruel associations and local traditions of misfortune. In the Lethaeus-Harmonia forgot Cadmus; to the Lethaeus Europa was borne by her paramour, the bull-disguised Jupiter. The name would thus have an ominous sound to the ears of one bent on gratifying a forbidden passion.

We do not, however, exhaust the possibilities by this conjecture. For, retaining *flumina* with Ribbeck's *te Ilithyiae*, we may explain the verse with equal plausibility of the river Amnisus, connected with the worship of Ilithyia from the earliest times. Od. XIX 188, Στῆσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῷ ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης, whence the goddess was called Ἀμνισία. Hesych. s. v., Nonn. Dionys. VIII 115, Γείτονος Ἀμνισοῖο λεχώιον ἔδρακεν ὕδωρ (Meursius, p. 18, ed. 1675). Even more to our purpose is a passage of Strabo 476, Μῖνω δὲ φασιν ἐπινείφω χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἀμνισῷ, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν. ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ Κνωσσὸς Καίρατος πρότερον, ὁμώνυμος τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ. For in verse 113 of the Ciris we have already had mentioned the *flumina Caeratia* (cf. Callim. H. Dian. 44), and the whole poem, as I shall show, abounds with Cretan names and allusions. Reading, then,

Perdere saeua precor per flumina te Ilithyiae

(in which the harsh elision of *te* may find some excuse in Greek reminiscences—I follow here in the track of Verrall—where *σε* elided is similarly used in adjurations, e. g. O. C. 250, πρὸς σ' ὃ, τι σοι φίλον ἐκ σίθεν ἄντομαι, while the construction of *saeua* with an infin. is amply proved by the parallels cited by Mayor on Juv. IV 109), I would explain in reference to the pangs of childbirth, which as

a Cretan woman Carme would associate with the temple of Ilithyia on the Amnisus, the river traditionally connected with the name of the sea-robber Minos, the object of Scylla's ill-starred love.

I have now to prove what I said above, that the Ciris abounds with allusions to Crete. This was to be expected in a poem where Minos plays the important parts, first of unconscious lover, then of cruel executioner. To begin with Carme, the nurse. Not only is she a Cretan, but the name belongs to a Cretan mountain (Meursius, p. 83; cf. p. 99) mentioned by Pliny, H. N. XXI 79, with the remarkable statement that within its compass of nine miles *muscae non reperiuntur, natumque ibi mel nusquam attingunt*. Cretan too is the name of Britomartis. Hesych. Βριτόμαρτις ἑν Κρήτῃ ἢ Ἀρτεμῖς and Βριτύ· γλυκύ· Κρήτες, with which compare Solinus' statement that the name meant *uirgo dulcis*, p. 81 Momms. The poem dwells fondly on the learned allusions connected with her story, 303-5:

Unde alii fugisse ferunt et numina *Aphaeae*  
 Virginis assignant: alii, quo notior esses,  
*Dictynnam* dixere tuo de nomine lunam.

I think then that I am justified in restoring to v. 384, where R gives *rauci quod moenia crescant*, A <sup>reuehi</sup> *rauci*, the name *Rhauci*, a city several times mentioned in ancient authors (Meursius, p. 58), if indeed there were not *two* cities of the same name, both in Crete, as suggested by Mr. E. B. James in Smith's Dict. of Geography. Stephanus of Byzantium, however, says simply Ῥαῦκος πόλις ἐν μεσογείῳ τῆς Κρήτης, and Meineke in his note there identifies it with the Δραῦκος or Δραῦκη of Lycoph. 1304. There is a passage in Aelian's History of Animals which so singularly illustrates the verses of the Ciris under discussion as to be worth quoting. XVII 35 Antenor in his λόγοι Κρητικοὶ stated that the inhabitants of Rhaucus were attacked by a swarm of *chalcœid* bees, and, unable to bear them, *migrated* and built a new city, also named Rhaucus, 'from love of the mother-country, to speak in Cretan language' (ἐς χώρον ἐλθεῖν ἄλλον καὶ οἰκίσαι φιλία τῆς μητρίδος, ἕνα Κρητικῶς εἶπω, Ῥαῦκον). It would be hard to find a better illustration of Carme's yearnings for her Cretan home.

Non minus illa tamen, Rhauci quod moenia crescant,  
 Gaudeat, et cineri patria est iucunda sepulto.

358-61.

Nunc tremere instantis belli certamina dicit  
 Communemque timere deum, nunc regis amicus

Iamque ipsi fueritas est orbum flet maesta parentem  
 Cum Ioue communes <sup>qui quondam</sup> quim habuere nepotes.

Such is the reading of A, from which some points stand out quite clear. Firstly, in 360 it is nearly (may I not say, in the present state of palaeographical knowledge, perfectly?) certain that *ueritas est* represents *ueritast*, just as in Catull. XXXIV 23 *solitas es* of the Ambrosian MS represents *solita's* for *solita es*. The rest of the verse seems correct as it is given by A; 361 is more doubtful. None of the attempts I have seen satisfy me. I would write:

Cum Ioue communes qui *non dat* habere nepotes.

which is nearer the MSS than Ribbeck's *nolit* or Bährens' *mittat*. Haupt seems certainly right in restoring *habere*. 'She laments the childless estate of her father, Nisus, forbidding the possession of grandchildren common to himself and Jupiter'; *i. e.* she laments that Nisus, by not suffering her to marry Minos, son of Jupiter, refuses to be placed on a level with Jupiter as the grandfather of her child.

**374.**

**Inde magno geminat ioui frigidula sacra.**

Bährens seems to me right in rejecting *generata*, which is found in L. What, indeed, can it mean? I would read the verse thus:

Inde Ioui magno *geminās flegetuntia* sacra,

for a participle is needed to introduce *Pergit defigere* in 376, 7.

383.

**Tam longo quoniam captat succurrere amanti.**

This use of *captare* is found in Ov. Met. X 58, *Bracchiaque intendens prendique et prendere captans*; Colum. VIII 11, 1, *domini captantis undique uoluptates acquirere*.

408.

Vos ego, uos adeo uenti testabor et aurae  
Vos ꝑo numantina si qui de gente uenitis  
Cernitis. Illa ego sum cognato sanguine uobis  
Scylla, quod o salua liceat te dicere Procne.

Perhaps *Vos (h)orum antiqua*. Scylla seems to allude to the traditional connection of the winds with the family of Erechtheus. In the legend Boreas carried off Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, from which rape were born Zetes and Calais, known in mythology as the Boreadae and described as possessing winged heads and feet and flying through the air (Apollod. III 15, 2; Hygin. XIV).

Heyne explained *uenitis* of actual approach through the air; wrongly, for the meaning is of course simply that of *descent* from the ancient stock of the winds (*horum*). They are supposed to hover in air round the ship as it moves, eying their unhappy kinswoman dragged through the sea. 'I am that Scylla of lineage akin to your own (she was daughter of Nisus, son of Pandion, grandson of Erechtheus), and O that I may say so without bringing harm to thee, Procne,' who herself belonged to the family of the Erechthidae. This must, I fancy, be the sense of *salua te*. The poet uses his mythological figures purely as suits his convenience. The tragedy of Procne and Philomela is still (for his purposes) in the future, and Scylla is represented as fearing that her own lamentable fate may injure her kinswoman.

418-20.

Non equidem me alio possum contendere dignam  
Supplicio, quod sic patriam carosque penates  
Hostibus inmitique addixi fignara tyranno.

If she deserved so severe a punishment as to be dragged through leagues of sea-water tied to a ship, her crime can scarcely have been committed *ignorantly*. Heinsius accordingly conj. *ingrata* or *ignaua*. Ribbeck prints the former: I rather prefer the latter; for Scylla's act was that of a coward; instead of *resisting* Minos' attack on Megara to the last, she betrayed the city to him.

441.

Magna queror nec tu illa quidem communis alumnam  
Omnibus iniecta tellus tumulabit harena.

So A for *ne ut illa* of H and L. I consider *tu* to be right and would change *tumulabit* to *tumulabis*.

Magna queror: ne tu illa quidem communis alumnam  
Omnibus iniecta tellus tumulabis harena.

*illa* is slightly out of its place, belonging as it does to *communis terra*: 'not thou even, that earth that all alike may claim, shalt give me burial with a covering of sand.'

443 sqq.

<sup>cateruas</sup>  
Mene inter matres ancillarumque marinas  
Moenalias inter famularum munere fungi  
Coniugis atque tuæ, quaecumque erit illa, beatæ  
Non licuit grauidos penso deuoluere fusos?

So A. HL give *ancillarique*, which Sillig emended to *ancillarisque*; R (Rehdigeranus) has *maritas*, H *marinas*, L *cateruas*.

It seems improbable that the rare *maritas* should give way to *cateruas*, which has the look of a correction. The choice perhaps lies between *ancillarisque* and *ancillarique* (infinitive). I do not know whether any critic has yet suggested the latter possibility: the position of *que* is exceptionable only as regards the Ciris: the verb is archaic (Nonius 71 quotes *ancillantur* from Titinius, *ancillare* from Attius), though also used in more classical writers, e. g. Pliny. But in 443 *Men alias*, though defensible on the ground that Scylla is disparaging her claim to a place near Minos, and therefore might naturally represent herself as only aspiring to attend *amongst other she-menials*, has always struck me as weak, and may perhaps have supplanted an original *famularum*.

Men inter matres ancillarique maritas,  
Men famulas inter famularum munere fungi  
Non licuit?

451.

Aequoreae pristes, immania corpora ponti.

MSS vary between *pestes* and *pisces*. The correction *pristes*, which is certainly right, was not made by Voss, but by Barth in his Commentary of 1608.

469.

Et notas secum heu frustra respectat Athenas.

I suspect the poet wrote *natas*, and spoke loosely of the first beginnings of the city Athens as coinciding with the age of Minos and Scylla.

477.

Aeginamque simul †salutiferamque scriptum.

Prof. R. C. Jebb suggests to me that *sarmentiferamque* (L has *sementif.*) might be the right word. This would agree with the modern description of the island in Bent's Cyclades, p. 6: 'The island, except near the town, is bare; for at this time of year the vineyards were brown, and the long, straggling vines, which in the islands are trained along the ground to get what protection they can from the summer winds, do not in winter present a very lovely appearance.'

478.

Fertur et incertis iactatur ad omnia uentis  
Cumba uelut magnas sequitur quom paruula classes,  
Afer et hiberno bacchatur in aequore turbo,  
Donec tale decus formae uexarier †ægros  
Non tulit ac miseros mutauit uirginis artus  
Caeruleo pollens coniunx Neptunia regno.

Bährens retains *ad omnia*, I suppose in the sense of 'to meet each random gust' or 'to take whatever the weather brings.' I venture here on a conjecture which is purely tentative. Solinus, p. 81 Momms., says the Gortynians worshipped *Adymnus*, the brother of Europa, asserting that he was seen and met by travellers in that region. *Adymnia* therefore might perhaps = *Gortynia*, of course to be constructed with *Cumba*. The passage is imitated by Statius, S. I 4, 120: *immensae ueluti conexa carinae Cumba minor, cum saeuit hiemps, pro parte furentes Parua receptat aquas et eodem uoluitur aus!ro.*

At this part of the poem the Bruxellensis comes in to assist us. Its goodness is shown by *uexarier*, which it alone has preserved, *uexauit et* AHR, *uexauerit* L. Yet I cannot believe that *undis*, which B gives for *aegros* or *egros* of AHR, *aegram* of L, can be right. Hertzberg suggested *Aegon*; but *Aegeo*, dative of *Αἰγέως*, 'God of the Aegean,' if this meaning can be proved for the word, would be nearer the MS tradition.

ROBINSON ELLIS.



## II.—ON A PATRIOTIC PASSAGE IN THE *MILES GLORIOSUS* OF PLAUTUS.

- Viden hostis tibi adesse tuoque tērgo obsidium? cōnsule,  
220 Árripe opem auxiliúmque ad hanc rem; própere hoc, non placidé decet.  
Ánte ueni aliqua, áliquo saltu cīrcumduce exércitum.  
Cóge in obsidiúm perduellis, nóstris praesidiúm para.  
Ínterclade inimícis itiner, caúte tibi muní uiam,  
Quá cibatus cómmeatusque ád te et legionís tuas  
225 Túto possit péruenire hanc rém age; res subitáriast.  
Réperi, comminiscere, cedo cálidum consiliúm cito,  
Quae híc sunt uisa ut uísa ne sint, fácta ut facta né sient.  
(Mágnam illic homo rem íncipissit, mágna moenit moénia.)  
Túte unus sí récipere hoc ad te dícis, confidéntiast  
230 Nós inimicos prófligare pósse.

(Vv. 219-230, Ribbeck's edit., 1881.)

The textual integrity of this passage is substantially complete. Only one verse,

Mágnam illic homo rem íncipissit; mágna moenit moénia,

is in dispute, and that not because of any question as to its genuineness, but simply as to its right to stay in this particular place.<sup>1</sup> The other variations in particular words are so inconsiderable that they affect the literary and historical interpretation scarcely at all, and for the purposes of this paper may be neglected.

### I.—General Considerations.

Before examining the passage in detail, some of its general features should be considered, for the passage as a whole is in striking contrast with the body of the play in which it lies.

<sup>1</sup> Ussing and Lorenz (in his earlier editions) retain this verse in the passage. Ribbeck favors taking it out, but wavers between two suggested places for its insertion elsewhere. Brix, following Niemeyer, chooses the first of Ribbeck's two suggested places (see Brix's *Miles Gloriosus*, Krit. Anhang., p. 143). Tyrrell follows Brix, but makes a singular little slip in stating Brix's position: "Brix would either expunge this verse or place it after 314" (ed. of the *Miles*, 1885, p. 22, note on v. 228). "314" is for "214"—a typographical error covering another error, for Brix says, as between 202 and 214 suggested by Ribbeck, "Ich habe das erstere vorgezogen." Moreover, Brix does not suggest "expunging" the verse, but simply shifting it. Lorenz in his last edition (1886) follows Brix.

(1) It consists almost solidly of a closely crowded series of military allusions of a vivid character. The only break is in vv. 226-227, the former of which verses clearly springs out of and refers to the preceding allusions, and the latter is not incapable of such reference, although part of it (*uisa ut uisa ne sint*) seems merely an altered form of a previous familiar commonplace phrase<sup>1</sup> and has no military significance. This series of pictures constitutes a distinct digression from the course of events in the plot, and that not in the way of substantial illustration. Periplectomenus<sup>2</sup> is addressing the slave Palaestrio, who stands sunk in meditation and is perfecting a plan for hoodwinking a fellow-slave, Sceledrus. Palaestrio soon begins to show signs of emerging from this reverie. Periplectomenus then arouses him with comic threats, whereupon, with the one word of recognition *Audio*, he assumes an attitude of attention, and Periplectomenus at once delivers the spirited martial appeal cited at the head of this paper. After the passage closes, its figures die out in a few witty passes exchanged between the two actors, the devices of Palaestrio for outwitting Sceledrus are detailed and the ordinary movement of the plot is resumed.

No doubt there is a propriety in paralleling the plot of Palaestrio with a series of military operations, but that this is at best a vaguely general comparison, with no definite correspondence part by part, is obvious at once to any careful reader of the *Miles*. Rather does there occur a clear departure from the plot, a departure marked by two characteristics. First, the digression is not so great as to preclude an easy return; but, second, it is too great to be included under either the purpose or the illustration of the plot, and it is consequently probable that it subserves some extraneous purpose which would, of course, be intelligible to a Roman audience. This view is strengthened by the fact that only a few lines earlier in this same play the same actor, Periplectomenus, goes outside the plot to make the famous reference to Naevius in prison:

Nam ós columnatúm poetæ esse inãaudiui bárbaro  
Quóí bini custódes semper tótis horis óccubant.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The passage is also marked by many evidences of haste in composition, beyond the rest of the play in general. It has an

<sup>1</sup> *Faciémus ut, quod uiderit, ne uiderit.* v. 149.

*Út eum qui se hic uidit, uerbis uincat, ne is se uiderit.* v. 188.

The whole of verse 227 looks to me like mere padding made up of the commonplace *uisa ut uisa ne sint* and the variation attached to it.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 211-219.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 213-214.

unusual number of imperatives in close succession—a mark of special animation. Its words expressing urgency, such as *arripe*, *ante ueni*, *res subitariast*, are used in their primitive and simplest senses. It has certainly two ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.<sup>1</sup> Its examples of alliteration are very unequally finished. Compare the loosely written and rawly made *ante ueni aliqua aliquo*, with its rough assonance and hiatus, with the finish and distribution of *cedo calidum consilium cito*. Add to this the spinning out of the thought in parallelisms in the earlier verses, and we may pronounce the passage to be wanting in evidences of carefulness of style, of deliberation and revision, as compared with the context. It looks very much like a later and sudden thought of the author, which he has hastily wrought into his previously projected work. If it were removed bodily, together with the two or three phrases which are its pendants, the whole effect would be merely to make the flow of the plot a little more direct and simple by reason of the removal of this digression.

## II.—*The Date of the Miles.*

Let us proceed to inquire whether these considerations receive confirmation as we examine the passage more in detail. Are there any events of public interest, any circumstances in Roman history, which this passage holds in view either directly or implicitly? Of course, to settle this we must first know the date of the *Miles*. The anterior limit is the imprisonment of Naevius, to which vv. 213–214 confessedly refer. If we can determine the time of this imprisonment, we have then to decide whether the reference to this imprisonment is subsequent or contemporary. We may, however, easily consider the latter question first. That the reference is contemporary I think admits of no serious doubt. All reputable critics, so far as I know, favor this view. The positive evidence, though not abundant, is all one way, and is well summarized by Brix and Lorenz.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Res subitariast* and *profigare*.

<sup>2</sup> Brix, ed. of 1883, note on vv. 213–214; and more fully, Lorenz, ed. of 1869, Einleitung, pp. 66–67. So also the ed. of 1886, Einleitung, p. 55. See also Klussmann's Naevius, p. 21, Jena, 1843.

The main points to be noted in favor of the contemporary character of the reference are these: the *prima facie* appearance of the passage; *occupant* in the present tense and emphasized by its two time modifiers *semper* and *totis horis*; the evident attempt on the part of Plautus to arouse sympathy for Naevius because of his hard treatment in prison in order to secure

Assuming the reference to be contemporary, it remains to fix the date, if possible. Uncertainty as to the exact time of the imprisonment has caused most editors of Plautus to assign approximate dates, the prevailing limits being 210–207 or 210 to 206 or 205 B. C. No doubt this is sufficiently close to give us the general historical features of the times, as being the latter part of the Second Punic War (219–202 B. C.). I believe, however, a nearer approximation is attainable.

The accepted account of the offense and imprisonment of Naevius is that of Aulus Gellius (III 3): “Sicuti de Naevio quoque accepimus, fabulas eum in carcere duas scripsisse, Ariolum et Leontem, cum ob assiduam maledicentiam et probra in principes civitatis, de Graecorum poetarum more dicta, in vincula Romae a triumviris conjectus esset. Unde post a tribunis plebis exemptus est, cum in his, quas supra dixi, fabulis delicta sua et petulantias dictorum, quibus multos ante laeserat, diluisset.” There is sufficient testimony to show that the *assidua maledicentia* and *probra in principes civitatis* which constituted Naevius’ offense were aimed at the Metelli and Scipio.<sup>1</sup> And this slander of the Metelli passed down from generation to generation. Cicero makes use of it in his attack on Verres, B. C. 70, when one of the *iudices* before whom he pleaded was M. Metellus, a praetor, and Q. Caecilius Metellus (of precisely the same name as the Metellus slandered by Naevius) was a *consul designatus* along with Hortensius, the counsel for Verres’ defense. Cicero’s remark, obviously aimed at Q. Caecilius Metellus, is “Nam hoc Verrem dicere aiebant te<sup>2</sup> non *fato, ut ceteros ex vestra familia, sed opera sua<sup>3</sup> consulem factum.*”<sup>4</sup> The explanation of this passage is furnished in the com-

his release—an absurd procedure if Naevius were not then in prison; the suitableness of such an attempt by Plautus to excite the *plebs*, since both he and Naevius were rank plebeians; and the fact that Naevius was at last actually released from prison by the efforts of the tribunes of the *plebs*. Perhaps the very early place of the *Miles* among the plays of Plautus should be added; also the entire absence of any opposing positive evidence.

<sup>1</sup> See the citations in Klussmann’s Naevius, pp. 15–16.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Caecilius Metellus.

<sup>3</sup> Verres.

<sup>4</sup> In Verrem, I 10. The fact that Cicero quotes the essential words (*fato —consulem factum*) of the slander, and evidently refers to it as old in his time, weighs against the criticism of Bernhardt (Grundriss der Röm. Lit., ed. 1872, p. 417, note 297) in favor of a late invention of the slanderous verse of Naevius. Besides this there were circumstances in the election of Q. Caecilius Metellus in 206 which make the verse singularly apt in his

ment of Asconius Pedianus: "Dictum facete et contumeliose in Metellos. Antiquum Naevii est.

Fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules :

cui tunc Metellus consul iratus responderat senario hypercatalectico, qui et Saturnius dicitur

Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae :

de qua parodia subtiliter Cicero dixit, *te non fato, ut ceteros ex vestra familia.*" It is very easy to show from this that Q. Caecilius Metellus, who was consul 206 B. C., is one of the slandered *principes civitatis* of Aulus Gellius and the *consul iratus* of Asconius, since there were but two Metelli who were consuls during the lifetime of Naevius. The first was L. Caecilius Metellus, consul in 251 and again in 247. He is, of course, out of the question, for Naevius' offense is admitted to be a generation later than his consulship. The other was Q. Caecilius Metellus, who was consul in 206, and for no other year. There is no serious reason for doubting that he is the slandered Metellus of Naevius.<sup>1</sup> It is also to be noted that M. Metellus, the brother of this consul, *praetor urbanus* for the same year, comes fairly under the designation *princeps civitatis*,<sup>2</sup> as does Scipio Africanus, whom Naevius had also lampooned and who was then *consul designatus*.

The slanderous verse of Naevius appears to have been uttered in one of his plays. There are several indications of this, slight enough when taken separately, but of considerable weight when taken in combination. The offense was committed *de Graecorum poetarum more*,<sup>3</sup> that is to say, in imitation of the democratic license shown by the Greek comedians whom Naevius imitated. There was a likely occasion for the commission of just such an offense at the *ludi Romani* (scenic games since 214 B. C.), which were thrice celebrated in 206, or at the *ludi plebei*, which were celebrated once this year.<sup>4</sup> Naevius is known to have frequently used his plays as the agency for his pointed political thrusts.<sup>5</sup> And

case (Livy, XXVIII, end of 9, 10). Bernhardt's view is based on Zumpt's, a satisfactory refutation of which is found in Klussmann's Naevius, pp. 16-19.

<sup>1</sup> See Klussmann's Naevius, pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Rein, Römisches Criminalrecht, p. 366. Leipzig, 1844.

<sup>3</sup> Aulus Gellius, cited above.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, XXIV 43.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, XXVII 10.

<sup>6</sup> In Ribbeck's *Scenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta* there are five fragments of Naevius of clearly political animus, besides the slanders of Scipio and the Metelli.

finally he apologized in prison for his slanders in what manner? By inserting his apologies in the two plays (*Ariolus* and *Leo*) which he wrote in prison, and in this way contributed to his own release.

The only games of which we read for the year 206 are the *ludi Romani* and the *ludi plebei*, above mentioned. That one of these would be sure to witness any play Naevius might produce need not be argued. If we assume this (and whether we do so or not does not affect the main question discussed in this paper), it places the play in November, the time for celebrating the *ludi plebei*,<sup>1</sup> or at the earliest in September when the *ludi Romani* were observed. This would put the arrest and trial of Naevius in the autumn, and probably soon after the offense, for Q. Caecilius Metellus, the consul, and M. Metellus, his brother, the *praetor urbanus* before whom Naevius would naturally be arraigned, can hardly be supposed to have failed to use their powerful official influence to call Naevius to account before their term of office expired in the early part of the year 205—say within three to five months.<sup>2</sup> But whether the anterior limit of Naevius' arrest can be determined by months or not, we may at least assume the posterior limit as reasonably sure—that is, not later than the early part of 205. Other considerations offered later will strengthen this view.

The offense for which Naevius was legally liable was *iniuria*, an offense of which the praetor took notice. The officers by whom he was thrown into prison were the *triumviri*<sup>3</sup> (or *triumviri capitales*; also called *tresviri capitales*). Now, these were the regular legal ministers of the *praetor urbanus*. Their office had been defined by the *plebiscitum* of Papirius (c. 289 B. C.) as follows: "Quicumque praetor posthac factus erit, qui inter cives jus dicet, tresviri capitales populum rogato, iique tresviri [capitales quicumque posthac] facti erunt, sacramenta ex[igunt]o judicantoque, eodem jure sunt uti ex legibus, plebeique scitis exigere, judicare, esseque oportet."<sup>4</sup> Combine these facts, and Naevius' arraignment is either before the *praetor urbanus* of that year, M. Metellus, the brother of the slandered consul, or before the praetor's agents, the *triumviri*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ritschl, Parerg., Praef. p. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 205 their successors entered upon office February 13 (Julian calendar). L'Art de Vérifier des Dates, V 28. Paris, 1819.

<sup>3</sup> Aulus Gellius, cited above.

<sup>4</sup> Festus, De Verborum Significatione, Lib. XVII, s. v. *Sacramentum*.

<sup>5</sup> "Judicant" in the *plebiscitum* of Papirius, coupled with the known authority of the *triumviri* to hold a sort of court at the *columna Maeniana*, makes Naevius' arraignment by them quite possible.

Naevius was guilty of an especially offensive form of *iniuria*. He had slandered another by means of libellous verse-making. Under the laws of the Twelve Tables this form of *iniuria* was expressly punishable with death<sup>1</sup> by scourging.<sup>2</sup> In course of time the rigor of these laws was softened by the praetorian edicts, or interpretations. The laws were enlarged, improved, or even entirely altered by the time of the Empire. The development of the treatment of *iniuria* under the praetorian edict extends through several centuries. We may say in general that the earlier the period the greater was the probability of rigorous interpretation. We are not able, however, to arrange all the various modifications chronologically, though we can take a general view of the period and observe its chief steps.<sup>3</sup> Taking the literal rigor of the Twelve Tables as our starting-point, their ameliorated condition by the time of the Empire as our ending-point, and the praetorian interpretation as the means whose gradual though irregular application effected this amelioration, we may safely take one step more. We may take the *Leges Valeriae* and other laws in their successive enactments as the measures which record the stages of progress towards securing a more merciful administration of these severe laws of the Twelve Tables in the case of plebeians.

What was the succession of these enactments and what light will it throw upon the operative severity of the law against libel in the time of Naevius? Before examining this, we must premise that Naevius was a Roman citizen. Several considerations could be adduced to show this. One will be sufficient here: If he had not been a Roman citizen, it is manifestly legally impossible that he should have been finally rescued from his imprisonment by intervention of the tribunes of the *plebs*.

The series of principal enactments is as follows:

1. The earliest *Lex Valeria* (508 B. C.) forbade magistrates to scourge or put to death any citizen without allowing an opportunity for appeal (*provocatio*) to the Comitia.
2. The Twelve Tables (450? B. C.) provided that no citizen could be tried for his life except by the Comitatus Maximus, which, as Cicero explains (Frag. IX 2), was the Comitia Centuriata.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, De Repub. IV 10.

<sup>2</sup> For the scourging see Cornut. ad Pers. I 137, and Porph. ad Horat. Ep. II 1, 151.

<sup>3</sup> In this I have mainly followed the view of Rein (Röm. Criminalrecht, pp. 358-359), supplementing it by the use of the *Leges Valeriae* as a means to greater definiteness.

3. The second *Lex Valeria* (449 B. C.), confirmed by the *Lex Duilia* in the same year, enacted that no magistrate should be elected from whom there was no right of appeal.

4. The third *Lex Valeria* (300 B. C.) confirmed the right of *provocatio* from the magistrates to the Comitia.

5. And finally, in 196 B. C.—within ten years after the trial of Naevius—the *Lex Porcia* expressly provided that no Roman citizen should be put to death or scourged except by order of the whole *populus*.<sup>1</sup>

All these laws mark simply the struggling into legal authority of a principle active from the earliest days of the Republic, namely, that no citizen should be put to death on trial by a magistrate only. He should have some right of appeal. The fact that it was necessary once more, as late as ten years after Naevius, to embody this principle in the *Lex Porcia* shows that the danger of its violation on the part of patrician magistrates was still sufficient to call for a special law to secure its protection. Had Naevius not been a citizen his case would have been simply hopeless, and even as a citizen it was perilous.

We shall not be in a position, however, to estimate his situation accurately unless we bear in mind the sharp distinction between *iniuria* committed against a private person and *iniuria* committed against the State or any of its officers. It is true that to punish Naevius with death for the former offense would have been reviving a "blue law" against him. The ordinary penalties for the lighter forms of this offense were fines and damages, though death could be legally inflicted for the graver forms; and Naevius might well expect the roughest treatment at the hands of M. Metellus. But the offense of Naevius was more than a private one. It was "*assidua maledicentia et probra in principes civitatis*," including slander of a consul, the highest officer of State. All such offenses were treason, and were included under *duellio* (*laesa maiestas, imminuta maiestas*) in the early Republic and were punishable with death.<sup>2</sup> *Iniuria* was ordinarily a private offense, but passed from private to public law when its object was an officer of the State.<sup>3</sup> Though the rigor of the early law soon softened, it had doubtless retained

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mackenzie, *Roman Law*, 4th ed., pp. 385-386, note.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Mackenzie, *Roman Law*, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> See Rein, *Röm. Criminalrecht*, p. 366. *Magistratus* in this connection is the same as *princeps*. So Quintilian, V 10, 39, "*Iniuriam fecisti, sed quia magistratui, maiestatis actio est.*"



enough vitality in the time of Naevius to be dangerous to an offender; and especially so in a time of war, when treason laws are always apt to be more severe than usual.

His arrest (with perhaps some sort of a trial) may be presumed to have been a prompt procedure, followed by his imprisonment at the hands of the *triumviri capitales*. The length of his stay in prison is not definitely ascertainable. It was certainly no brief confinement of a few days.<sup>1</sup> He stayed there long enough to write two plays, long enough to rouse public sympathy and secure the intervention of the *plebs* through their tribunes. The transaction has all the marks of a struggle. The right of tribunitian intervention on his behalf would undoubtedly lie in the illegality of any mere praetorian sentence of death which might threaten him, and this especially in view of the provisions of the *Leges Valeriae* and similar enactments.

The tribunes finally succeeded in getting Naevius out of prison. Naevius escaped death and continued imprisonment, but went into exile, voluntarily indeed, so far as the law was concerned,<sup>2</sup> but really under the pressure of hostile influence<sup>3</sup> on the part of the Metelli and other *nobiles*. His defeat was so marked in his virtual though not formally legal punishment that no succeeding Latin poet ever ventured to repeat his offense. Possibly his sympathizing contemporary, Plautus, had this in mind when he wrote some years after:

Sed sumne ego stultus, qui rem curo publicam  
Ubi sunt magistratus, quos curare oporteat?

(Persa, I 2, 23-24.)

Naevius died in exile at Utica in 204 B. C., according to the common account. Though his death is probably later than this

<sup>1</sup> Lorenz, Einleitung zu *Miles*, p. 55, ed. of 1886.

<sup>2</sup> More than this could be asserted safely, for it scarcely admits of doubt that Naevius accepted banishment as a permissible substitute for the death penalty. The statute allowance of *exsilium* for a *civis* in place of death appears within a few years after Naevius—though a little later than the *lex Porcia* of 196 B. C. Compare *tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum est* (Sallust, Cat. 51) with *leges exsilio, natura morte multavit* (Cicero, Pro Cluentio 10) and *exsilium non supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii* (Pro Caec. 34). Madvig's discussion of this general question is very satisfactory (Verfassung und Verwaltung des Röm. Staates, II 284, 289; Leipzig, 1812). The interesting parallel to Naevius in certain features of the case of Cn. Fulvius in 211 B. C. also deserves examination. See Livy, XXVI 3.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly because of renewed slanders.

(as Varro thought), the date has value in that it points to the fact that whether Naevius was dead or not in 204, he had at least left Rome by that time. This gives ample time—a year or more—to include all the events between his arrest in 206–205 and his release and banishment, perhaps as late as 204.

The chain of evidence is now sufficiently complete to combine into a conclusion :

- 1) The *Miles* was produced while Naevius was in prison.
- (2) His imprisonment began some time in 206–205, probably between September or November, 206, and February, 205.
- (3) His imprisonment ended by 204 B. C. at the latest.
- (4) Consequently the date of the *Miles* is 206–205, most probably 205.
- (5) Hence, whatever references to public events the play may contain must be to events not later than 205 and, unless we assume Naevius to have stayed in prison well on towards 204, not much later than the earlier half of 205.

### III.—*The State of Public Affairs in Rome 205 B. C.*

By taking the middle (or, at latest, the autumn) of 205 B. C. as our standpoint for a retrospect of what were then recent and prominent features in public affairs, and bearing in mind that the passage in question consists of a series of military pictures, we shall be prepared to determine whether the passage reflects these features with any clearness. Here we must keep two things well separated ; for in any such view there are two factors. One is the general characteristics of the period. This will give us the commanding features, the ground-tone of a series of events taken as a whole. The second is the nearer view of events which closely precede the time taken as our standpoint of observation. These events gain much of their prominence just because they are the most recent of the entire series. Both in combination give us the true picture with background and foreground.

What, then, was the "situation" in public affairs previous to the summer of 205? We may say, in general, that it was towards the close of the most terrible of the Punic Wars, the "bellum Hannibalicum," which lasted from 219 to 202 B. C. So long as it continued it engrossed the Romans more than all other public interests combined. In a prolonged and desperate struggle for national existence other questions sunk out of sight. The history of Rome for these years is hardly anything else than the history

of this Second Punic War. If the military pictures in the *Miles* have any counterpart in public events, we are naturally impelled to refer them to events or features of the war. If, however, they do not so refer, we may at once dismiss any thought of their reference to other events of a military character, and consider the passage historically colorless.

The general features of the Second Punic War previous to 205 are strongly marked. All these years Hannibal was in Italy. The Romans had the novel and well-nigh fatal experience of war with a foreign foe at their own gates, a foe who inhabited their own land and fought them at his pleasure. His supremacy in the field was still unbroken. Fabius Maximus had directed the only policy of use against him for the earlier years of the war. Delay, with the purpose of wearing out Hannibal, was the Roman hope until Rome should grow stronger. Not in the field, but by siege did the Romans begin to achieve successes, as at Syracuse and New Carthage and most notably at Capua. And yet the Romans themselves, save for their walled towns in which they were shut up, were practically at Hannibal's mercy until 207, when Hasdrubal's defeat at the Metaurus occurred. Despite their network of fortresses<sup>1</sup> which guarded their seaports, their military roads, and the approaches to Rome, Hannibal passed in and out among them with masterly dexterity, burning their fields, cutting off their supplies, never entrapped, never driven into blockade, and never conquered in battle. Once even he had ridden with his Numidian cavalry up to the hills overlooking Rome and, as Silius Italicus dramatically says, "intrat urbem oculis." But with the death of his brother Hasdrubal in 207 the tide of his fortunes began to turn, and from this time (207) until 205 may be taken as containing the events of the most recent interest when the *Miles* was brought on the stage. Hannibal, though still unconquered in the field, was no longer the imminent terror of Rome. The Fabian policy of delay was worn out, like its author. Scipio Africanus had put new hope into the Romans by returning from his victorious campaigns in Spain towards the close of 206<sup>2</sup> with the news that not a Carthaginian was left in that country. He advocated an immediate offensive campaign against Hannibal. The people enthusiastically supported him and clamored for active measures. He was elected

<sup>1</sup> See the military map of Italy prefixed to the second volume of Momm-  
sen's History of Rome, London ed. 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, XI 34.

consul for the year 205. Early in this year he pleaded for authority to carry the war into Africa, and in spite of the determined resistance of Fabius Maximus and the hostility of the Senate, Scipio gained his point, although the Senate practically left him to raise troops as best he could for the expedition. By the winter of 205 Scipio had reached Sicily on his way to Africa, accompanied by his army, which was largely composed of raw volunteers. Now let any one, after reading in Livy or Mommsen the fuller descriptions of this particular period, read also the passage from the *Miles* written in that period and note how striking is the reflection of the times in the passage. As Professor Sellar, observes, it is "freshly colored with all the recent experience of the Hannibalian war."<sup>1</sup> Brix's remark that these allusions on the part of Plautus would be especially pleasing to Roman hearers in a time when the Second Punic War had taken a favorable turn is to the same effect.<sup>2</sup> The pictures of the passage fit even more closely than this. They fit perfectly with the supposition that it was delivered in the theatre in order to excite the people in favor of having Scipio sent to assume the offensive against Hannibal, and at a time when the Senate had not yet granted Scipio's request—that is, in the early part of 205.

#### IV.—*Particular Considerations.*

By examining the passage more in detail several confirmations of this conclusion will appear. In so doing we neglect all mere grammatical and stylistic accessories and notice the separate phrases which compose the body of the passage.

V. 219. *Hostis tibi adesse*—"The foe is near at hand." *Hostis*, in the sense of the public foe, is defined in the Twelve Tables: *adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas* and *status dies cum hoste*. The latter standard phrase is echoed in the Curculio of Plautus, I 1, 15, *Si status conductus cum hoste intercedit dies*. The only public foe of whom this phrase was true when the *Miles* appeared was Hannibal. Only he could be said to have been near at hand for years past. More than once had he been so near as to cause the wildest terror in the city. These were well-remembered and thrilling episodes in the war. The reader of Livy<sup>3</sup> will recall that historian's vivid descriptions of the terror at Rome after Lake Trasimenus in 217 B. C., after Cannae in 216, and most of all in 211,

<sup>1</sup> Roman Poets of the Republic, p. 175. Oxford, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Brix, ed. of the *Miles*, 1883, note on v. 221.

<sup>3</sup> XXI 57, XXII 54, 55, XXVI 9.

when Hannibal himself rode up to Rome and lingered near it for some days. Symptoms of a similar terror appeared as late as 207.<sup>1</sup>

V. 219. *tuoque tergo obsidium*—"a state of blockade at your rear." *obsidium* in early Latin is either a blockade or a siege. However, when a siege is meant, *obsidio* is ordinarily used. So Ennius in his *Telamo*: *Aiacem cui tu obsidionem paras*, and in his *Hector*: *haud cessat obsidionem obducere*. *obsidium* I cannot find in the early scenic poets<sup>2</sup> outside of Plautus. He appears to use it in distinction from *obsidio*. *obsidium* is almost entirely pre-classical or post-Augustan. It is nowhere found in Cicero or Caesar. When associated with *tuoque tergo*, as here, it conveys the idea of a siege from one side. Not an encircling siege, but rather a blockade, a being shut in from one direction.

This phrase completes the meaning of *hostis tibi adesse* and particularizes it as well. Hannibal's first approach and his attitude through the later years of the war in Italy correspond to *tuoque tergo obsidium* quite definitely. His attack came from a most unexpected quarter, over Alps and Apennines, the natural background on which Rome's security rested. Moreover, he drove the Romans into their towns and blockaded their movements without resorting to formal sieges, unless we count the investment of Tarentum in 212 a siege. When such fortified towns as Syracuse, Capua, Metapontum, and Thurii went over to his side, he was enabled to threaten and hamper the action of other cities, such as Spoletum, Cumae, Neapolis, and Nola. Add to this his raid on Rome, mentioned above. The Roman cities and Rome itself, though not formally invested, were effectually though irregularly blockaded. This was a leading feature of the war, and *Hannibal ad portas* remained a word of terror to children in Rome for generations afterwards.

V. 220. *Arripe opem auxiliumque ad hanc rem; propere hoc non placide decet*. *Arripio* in early Latin regularly indicates gathering or taking to one's self with haste or violence. So Plautus in the *Rudens* III 4, 64, *Curculio* II 3, 79, *Captivi* IV 4, 37. *opem auxiliumque* in a military connection, denotes the supplies and forces taken together, the men and money, which jointly furnish the necessities of war. *propere* is a favorite adverb in early Latin poetry. It is used again and again by Plautus and the other poets and regularly, I think always, to indicate great haste.

<sup>1</sup> XXVII, 38.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the early scenic poets not later than Plautus.

*placide* is the natural antithesis to *propere*. So regularly in early Latin. *propere* stands for haste and urgency, *placide* for easy-going delay.

The apparent reference in this whole verse is naturally to the two rival war policies which divided Rome in the winter and spring of 206–205. One was the policy of immediate active measures against Hannibal, the policy advocated by Scipio and strongly favored by the *plebs*. Scipio had returned from his victories in Spain towards the close of 206 and boldly advised assuming the offensive. He asked to have the task of conquering Hannibal assigned to himself. He spoke before the Senate in favor of this request, probably as early as February, 205. Antagonizing his request was the veteran Fabius Maximus, who favored delay and cautious measures—a continuance of his own former plan of action. The Senate inclined to this latter view.<sup>1</sup> Popular clamor against the Senate became more violent, as Scipio was the idol of the people, and soon the rumor became general that Scipio would take the matter into his own hands in case of senatorial obstinacy.<sup>2</sup> He was charged with this before the Senate, and evaded an answer, without denying the truth of the charge. In consequence of this outburst of popular feeling in support of Scipio, the Senate reluctantly abandoned the policy of Fabius and acceded to Scipio's request, though in a meagre and niggardly manner. Plautus here speaks for *propere* as against *placide*, urgency in military matters as against inactive measures, and this at a time in Rome when the *plebs*, of which he was a natural mouthpiece, were clamoring for just the same thing in regard to Scipio's request. The reference seems to me unavoidable. It is an appeal in the theatre and to a sympathetic audience in favor of Scipio's plan.

V. 222. *Ante ueni aliqua, aliquo saltu circumduce exercitum*—"Get ahead in any way, lead around your forces by some pass or other."

*Ante ueni* has two senses in Plautus: "excel," as in *amor omnibus rebus ante uenit*, Casina II 3, 1, and "get ahead of," as in *huic hodie ante ueni*, Trinummus IV 2, 66. Clearly in the latter sense here. These are the only three instances in Plautus. No other instance is to be found in the fragments of the other early scenic poets. In later writers, such as Sallust, it is used in connection with military terms in the same sense as here.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, XXVIII 40–42, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, XXVIII 38, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Exercitum Metelli antevenit*, Jug. 52. *Insidias hostium antevenire*, Jug. 93.

*circumduce* has two senses in Plautus: "lead around," as in *istum, puer, circumduce hasce aedes*, Mostell. III 2, 157, and "deceive," as in *me uelle argento circumducere*, Pseud. II 2, 39. In the former sense here. No other instance in the early scenic poets. The whole phrase is clearly military.

If there was one soldier in their history whom the Romans recognized as impossible to *ante uenire*, in the literal sense, that soldier was Hannibal. One of his most marked characteristics was his successful elusion or anticipation of all the Roman generals he encountered in Italy. If there are surprises in the war—and there are many—the Romans are surprised and Hannibal surprises. Again and again the attempt was made to corner him, but again and again he escaped unobserved. He seemed to be able to pass in and out through their chainwork of fortresses. None proved able to circumvent him or to entrap him. Hence the urgency of *Ante ueni aliqua*—"Get ahead of him in any way you can"; *aliquo saltu circumduce*—"flank him in some way, by coming around in some stealthy approach." Hannibal is not to be avoided, as Fabius had advised, but to be given a taste of his own tactics by entrapping or flanking him in some way.

V. 222. *Coge in obsidium perduellis*—"Drive our public foe into blockade or siege."

*perduellis*, the old severe name for the public enemy. In one place Plautus openly affixes this name to the Carthaginians:

Perdite perduellis: parite laudem et lauream  
Ut uobis uicti Poeni poenas sufferant.

(Cistellaria, Prologue.)

As late as 206 two consular armies were endeavoring to blockade Hannibal in Bruttium.<sup>1</sup> Their efforts in this direction were vain. Of this year Livy naïvely says, "Cum Hannibale nihil eo anno rei gestum est."<sup>2</sup> Hannibal refused to the very last to allow the Romans to shut him up behind forts or walls. He remembered Capua and his inability to cope with Roman sieges. Could he be once encircled in siege by circumvallation like that against which he dashed so futilely at Capua, then might the Romans count confidently on victory.

V. 222. *nostris praesidium para*—"prepare defense for our (allies? towns?)" *praesidium* is "protection" or "defense." Not a "garrison," for this is post-Plautine. The phrase fits with the interpretation which refers this to the preparation of proper

<sup>1</sup> Livy, XXVIII 10.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, XXVIII 12.

means of defense for the Romans and their confederates, who had been menaced and injured so severely again and again by their omnipresent enemy. It does not refer to the institution of garrisons against siege. Hannibal's sieges were never successful in Italy.<sup>1</sup>

V. 223. *Interclūde inimicis itinē, caute tibi muni viam*. Ritschl follows the MSS very closely and reads the first part of this verse *Interclūde commeatum inimicis*. The repetition (*commeatus*) in the next verse has caused several editors to insist on a change of position for the whole verse or its alteration where it stands. The proposed alterations are various and seem to involve difficulties greater than the stylistic fault they would remove. Into this discussion we need not enter here. The old reading retaining *commeatum* (which Brix still prints in his last edition) would perhaps add a ray of light to our historical picture, and is undoubtedly the MSS reading. Of the proposed substitutes, however, Ribbeck's<sup>2</sup> is the best, and is almost as good as the MSS reading for the objects of this paper.

*commeatus* has two meanings in Plautus: "corn-supply," as in *importare commeatum in coloniam*, Epid. III 2, 27, and "access" or "approach," as in *perforare parietem qua commeatus esset*, Miles II 1, 64. The military use of *interclūde* here needs no proof.

*muni viam*—"fortify your road, your approaches."<sup>3</sup> If this line means "cut off the supplies," we may cite the attempts made by the Romans to do this very thing in which Hannibal had been so successful against them. An example is Scipio's capture of Rhegium in 205, one of the principal ports through which Hannibal received supplies. If it refers to cutting off access on the part of the enemy, its Hannibalic reference is also easy. *commeatus* is, of course, capable of both meanings, and *itinē* of the latter only. *muni viam*: the early Roman *via* was a military rather than a commercial institution. How carefully every leading *via* was fortified from stage to stage may be seen by a glance at Mommsen's military map of Italy, already referred to. The importance of such strongholds is very evident, and, although these defenses were insufficient, they were yet the only check on Hannibal's ravaging and burning the country even more severely than he did. As it was, famine was more than once imminent.

Even his capture of Tarentum in 209 was effected, not by assault, but by treachery from within the city, which was retaken by the Romans in the same way three years later.

<sup>1</sup> Kien. Museum, 1874, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps simply the opposite of *commeatum*, if *commeatus* means "access."



Vv. 224-225. *Qua cibatus commeatusque ad te et legionis tuas Tuto possit pervenire.* This needs no especial comment. It makes more definite and confirms the historical reference of the previous verse, to which it is the natural sequel.

V. 225. *res subitariast.* ἀπ. λεγ. Not found elsewhere in pre-classical Latin. As *subitus* appears very frequently in *sensu ordinario* in Plautus, this sole instance of *subitarius* is not to be considered a variant form representing the meaning of *subitus*. It is a unique word and is used in only one sense in early Latin, according to the testimony of Livy. Referring to events of 464 B. C., he writes: "Latini, Hernicique et colonia Antium dare Quintio subitarios milites (ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant) jussi" [sunt].<sup>1</sup> In 457 B. C. "Senatum consules vocant: jubentur subitarium scribere exercitum."<sup>2</sup> In 201 B. C.—within five years after Plautus brought out the *Miles*—we read of "duabus legionibus subitariis."<sup>3</sup> In 181 B. C.—but three years after the death of Plautus—"Permissum [consulibus] ut, qua irent, protinus subitarios milites scriberent."<sup>4</sup> And in 176 B. C., C. Claudius, a pro-consul, "subitariis collectis militibus, exercitum ad fines Ligurum admovit."<sup>5</sup> These are all the instances of *subitarius* in Livy, and all the instances in Latin literature defining the early meaning of that word. They, and they alone, give us a complete conspectus of its use, and that use is single, continuous and unvarying. It is always military and designates the volunteers. *res subitariast*, accordingly, may be paraphrased, "The occasion is one which calls for *subitarii*, for volunteer soldiers." This agrees perfectly with Scipio's dilemma in view of the expected refusal of the Senate to accede to his request. The anxiety of the people to enlist was intense. When the Senate gave him only thirty ships and no formal *delectus* of troops, Scipio insisted that he had the right to receive *voluntarios milites*<sup>6</sup> (which is always the equivalent of *subitarii* in Livy), and so recruited his army amid great popular enthusiasm.<sup>7</sup> This army he took to Sicily and there drilled his raw soldiers.<sup>8</sup>

The next three verses (226-228) need not be given much attention. The third verse (228) is the only one of importance here. The MSS reading of this undoubtedly yields the words

<sup>1</sup> III 4.<sup>2</sup> XXXI 2.<sup>3</sup> XLI 17.<sup>4</sup> Ballas. *Phrasecol. des Livius*, 176-177. Posen, 1885.<sup>5</sup> Livy, XXVIII 45.<sup>6</sup> III 30.<sup>7</sup> XL 26.<sup>8</sup> XXVIII 45.<sup>9</sup> XXIX 1.

*incipissis* and *munis*, and this reading fits very well with the historical interpretation here given to the passage in general. But the passage has been corrected to *incipissit* and *munit* on grounds which, although grammatically impregnable, I cannot help believing insufficient to prove that the error itself is not a Plautine error and consequently part of the true text, and the total result has been to obscure the meaning of the whole of verse 228, as well as to render its proper place a matter of uncertainty.<sup>1</sup>

Vv. 229-230. *Tute unus si recipere hoc ad te dicis, confidentiast nos inimicos profigare posse. recipere ad te* is to assume anything in person. *hoc* is the task assumed, and refers this whole sentence to the previous context. The task to be assumed has been suggested in its main details. It is now gathered together in *hoc* as a major premise out of which the conclusion is to be drawn. *confidentiast*—personal trust, strong assurance. *profigare*, ἀπ. λεγ., means to beat 'down (as with a flail?), to utterly rout and scatter. It occurs nowhere else in the early scenic poets and is also the only pre-classical instance.

The entire passage is focussed in these two concluding lines: "If thou dost say thou wilt now take this task upon thyself alone, we have strong confidence that we can utterly rout our foes." How vividly does all before lead up to this climax! Scipio is the one hope and their confidence is centred in his leadership. It is not necessary to ask why Plautus did not use more direct language and call out names of public characters in this passage. It was not the habit of Latin poets to do so. Naevius was even then in prison. His was the first and last case of the sort, and Plautus had every reason at that time to be careful of naming Scipio even in complimentary fashion while the patricians of the Senate were hostile both to Scipio and the *plebs* and to any poet of the *plebs* who offended them in any way.

<sup>1</sup> The correction is based on the difficulty of disjoining *illic* from *homo* without violating their invariable union in Plautus. There is no question that Plautus does closely join them, but it does seem that Plautus ought to be allowed a careless slip here, rather than create so many new and apparently insoluble difficulties. No editor who supports the alteration has been well satisfied as to where the corrected verse ought to be shifted. Besides this, we have here a verse which on MSS authority contains a grammatical fault, but a verse whose MSS reading fits visibly with the historic bearings of the passage in general, whereas its altered form simply obscures this. If there be a place in Plautus where a syntactic irregularity might have been expected in advance, it is in this passage, which is in one of his earliest plays and bears in itself many marks of haste in composition.

The general conclusion at which we arrive is this: The passage, keeping steadily within the limits so rigidly imposed by Roman stage-censorship, is written from the standpoint of sympathy with the *plebs* in favor of Scipio's assuming command against Hannibal, and reflects very brightly and completely those features of the Second Punic War which were prominent and recent in 205 B. C. No other period in the war matches the passage with any completeness. The passage is one which might naturally be expected because of Plautus' plebeian sympathies, his desire in an early play to win favor with his audiences, and because of the fact that his dramas are loosely wrought and are free enough to admit of just such license. They were more like comic operas than formal comedies. The correspondence of this passage in important details with the date of the play otherwise ascertained is an additional consideration in favor of such date, and makes it reasonably certain, as between 206 B. C. and 205 B. C., that 205 B. C. is the true date of the *Miles*.<sup>1</sup> Many other questions of interest connect with this discussion; among others, the question of the operative severity of Roman libel law in its various stages. It seems to me that Rein's view needs supplementing by the use of the *Leges Valeriae* and similar laws.

One other consideration. If the passage be read as a whole in the light of the interpretation here advanced, we shall find the comic force of the phrases which immediately follow it decidedly heightened. How irresistibly comic is the stately answer of the slave Palaestrio to all this appeal, *Dico et recipio ad me!*—just as though *he* were a stage Scipio! Periplectomenus goes on earnestly, however, *Et ego impetrare dico id quod petis*, and Palaestrio brings down the house with his mock solemnity in *At te Iuppiter bene amet*—"Bless you, my boy." The passage, with its comic after-echoes, has now exhausted itself, the "hit" has been made, and the interrupted threads of the former dramatic action are gathered up again as the scene moves on.

ANDREW F. WEST.

<sup>1</sup> I think it quite a reasonable conjecture to say that, taking Naevius' offense as committed in Sept. or Nov., 206, the expiration of the term of office of the Metelli in Feb., 205, the plea of Scipio before the Senate in Feb., 205, the *Miles* on the stage while Naevius was in prison and Scipio was asking to be sent against Hannibal—that, under these circumstances, the most likely time for Naevius' release was not till after, but probably soon after, M. Metellus went out of praetorian office, in Feb., 205.

### III.—WILHELM SCHERER.

The early death of Wilhelm Scherer, Professor of the German Language and Literature in the University of Berlin, removes perhaps the most eminent of German philologists and literary historians. He died in Berlin, August 8, 1886. The philological gifts and varied knowledge of literature which were united in him makes his death in the maturity of his powers a loss to the learning of his native land.

He was born in Schönborn, in Lower Austria, April 26, 1841. His father was Oberamtmann of the Counts of Schönborn. He was educated first at the elementary school of a Bohemian teacher in Göllersdorf, and later in the Academic Gymnasium and University of Vienna, which latter he entered when only seventeen years of age. Here he was perhaps influenced most by Franz Pfeiffer, and a permanent direction given to his later studies. As a youth he had his literary heroes, who inspired him with enthusiasm for certain ideas which characterize his writings. From the works of Jacob Grimm he learned the contribution which language makes to our knowledge of the life, history and religion of early times. Herder's views of history caused him to see the unity which underlies historic phenomena, and that the present is the culmination of the past and the prophecy of the future. He was powerfully affected by two writers, whose early united labors exerted a wide influence in criticism and politics in the nation, viz. Gustav Freytag and Julian Schmidt. They brought a sober, if frequently a harsh, judgment to bear on the productions of "Young Germany," and in politics their views of constitutional liberty were a balance against feverish outcries for freedom, as well as against arbitrary authority. Freytag's enthusiasm for German nationality colored the views of his young disciple. In a letter to him, he says: "No one, in my youthful years, filled me with such a love for our people as you. What an advantage! what good fortune for a German-Austrian! I was freed from all jealous distinctions between the Austrians and the Germans of the Empire. I felt that I was one with our people, and was happy in this feeling. I gained a new basis for my whole moral being, a fixed direction, an immovable support, a richer background, if I may so express it, and deeper roots of existence."

These words are important as representing views that shaped his career as well as directed his intellectual activity. His early indebtedness to Julian Schmidt became a permanent one; his early regard for him never wavered, and he continued to place confidence in his literary judgments, however the popular estimate of his works may have varied.

After two years in the University of Vienna, he went to Berlin. Jacob Grimm was still living, in the fullness of his fame. Haupt, and Müllenhoff who had just left Breslau and entered upon his career in Berlin, became his friends and teachers. Scherer studied comparative philology with Bopp, and Sanskrit with Weber, and the history of German law with Homeyer. He gained not only in breadth of knowledge, but in a stricter scientific method. The confidence which his teacher, Müllenhoff, placed in him caused the latter to associate the young student, then only twenty-one years old, with him in the work of revising his *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert*, calling him "just such a colaborer as he desired." Scherer revised the text of this work and wrote the notes which accompanied the prose extracts, and part of those on the poetry.

His studies were directed to the life as well as the language of the early Germans, and he made profound researches in the music as well as the theology of the Middle Ages.

A characteristic picture of Scherer at this time is seen in the following incident. Jacob Grimm died Sept. 20, 1863. Two days passed, and no notice of his death or of his wonderful contributions to German learning had been published. The young Scherer was amazed at this oversight, and called at the office of the *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung* to inquire the reason; the greatest of German philologists was dead, and no recognition of a life that had cast a glory upon his country had appeared. The editor asked the young man why he did not write a fitting notice of his teacher. This was the occasion of his effort to erect a worthy memorial of the scholar who was as illustrious for his character and simple manhood as for his learning. He consented, and on Sept. 24 his tribute was published. This graceful and appreciative sketch, rapid in its summaries, and conceived in the spirit of profound reverence, is a glowing estimate of the work of the great master. It became the basis of his monograph on Jacob Grimm. One of Scherer's latest tasks was to prepare a new edition of this, his earliest work, for the one-hundredth anniversary

of the birth of Jacob Grimm. The controversy respecting the unity and authorship of the *Nibelungenlied*, which was begun by Lachmann, created at that time heated divisions among German scholars. Scherer had adopted the views of Lachmann and Müllenhoff, and thus placed himself in the ranks of those who were opposed to his old teacher, Pfeiffer, an attitude which separated them when, in 1864, he became Privat-Docent in the University of Vienna. Here his lectures attracted immediate attention. His scholarship was not only accurate and varied, but his reputation was already brilliant; his achievements, for one so young, were already of extraordinary merit. His room was crowded with eager listeners. His lectures were marked by a graceful style and brilliant generalizations, which are so attractive to youthful students. His sympathetic address and power of lucid presentation of the facts of language were not the only elements of his success. Literature had to him a value as the embodiment of national life, and as presenting the history of the world's intellectual growth. His article on the Unity of the German Language begins with the words: "The history of our language is, in a certain degree, the history of our people itself." He sought to find in language a revelation of life and an index of popular culture. He thus appealed to broad, human interests even in scientific study: what had been technical and verbal in the instruction of others, under his treatment cast light upon the problems of early culture and history. His views differed from those of his colleague, Franz Pfeiffer, and his ardent espousal and successful defense of his opinions created a divergence of feeling. The clearness and skill with which Scherer discussed any subject, and the literary charm which was unknown in the treatment of philological questions, created a distrust of his learning. Reviewers called him a "feuilletonist"; others characterized one of his books as "parlor lectures to ladies"; but able scholars even who differed from him recognized his pre-eminent merit.

Scherer was dissatisfied with his position in Vienna, when he was called to professorships in Graz and in Würzburg. He was wavering in the direction of his future, when his old teacher, Pfeiffer, died, and in 1867 he was chosen his successor. He was thus elected, when only twenty-six years old, to one of the most important chairs in what was then one of the largest universities of Europe. Scherer's literary productiveness in his new sphere was marvellous, and was not limited to a single field. His entrance

upon his professorship was signalized by the publication of his work *Zur deutschen Sprache*. This book exemplifies Scherer's strength and weakness. Many of its views are now obsolete, but at its appearance it was regarded as a work phenomenal in suggestiveness. It sought to find a simple historical explanation of Germanic inflexions in certain Arian forms. That this work was a safe guide, in many of the matters of which it treats, no one now holds. Its bold hypotheses, its discernment of unity in diversity, even if not soundly based, gave a glimpse of analogies and suggestions of truth which, though not final, paved the way for much that was valuable to come. There is a press, a rush of thought in all that Scherer writes, a struggle to attain that which is visionary and ideal, which is, after all, the only real. The present work shows how out from a chaos of facts he sought to attain principles, and these principles must be permanent elements of intellectual life and expression. Something unattained always urges him on: he does not rest in what has been achieved, but in what lies beyond.

Herder's *Ideen* gave him early the conception of harmony in history, of a definite goal in the progress of humanity. Buckle's *History* gave him a taste for brilliant hypotheses. What was outside the mere study of language and beyond it, guided his studies in philology itself. Scherer's extensive knowledge of theories appears throughout this work; everywhere is manifest the search for unity, for controlling principles that will harmonize facts. In this fertility of ideas, much that was casual and fanciful, based upon an assumed analogy or on uncertain form, has been set aside by later investigation. Much that was suggestive has led beyond itself to higher truth. There is everywhere the effort to emphasize the influence of mind upon form, of spiritual and historical influences in shaping speech. The elder school of philologists were amazed at the exaltation of forces in language of which they had not dreamed, often with a sweep of assurance hitherto unknown. This was the cause of much of the distrust and contention which Scherer encountered in his early years. Everything is stated with the marvellous clearness which characterized his mind, and with a felicity of style, a philosophy, a range of inference and conclusion, quite unknown in discussing this class of subjects. Untenable opinions he frankly abandoned, and was the first to recognize the advance of science beyond his own view.

The growing reputation of the young Privat-Docent, and the popularity of his lectures, treated envy. He was soon chosen a

Corresponding Member of the Imperial Academy, to which he contributed his *Leben Willirams*. Two years later the Franco-German war broke out. Scherer's ardent Germanism led him to espouse the German side; to him the success of the German arms was the triumph of nationality, the revival of the ancient glory of Germany, which could only be true to its destiny when politically free. The preface of his edition of Grimm's Grammar trembles with patriotic fervor. He advocated the German cause in his lectures and writings. He carried the enthusiasm of his student friends with him, but the adoption in a professor's chair of current and, in part, unpopular views, created a strong feeling on the part of the upper classes against him. He was warned by the university authorities to moderate the expression of his views, but his patriotism flamed out with a kind of defiance. The success of the German arms, and the foundation of the new Imperial University at Strassburg, to which he was summoned, alone prevented legal proceedings in the courts against him. Scherer's work at Strassburg was in the highest degree successful. His fame attracted numerous students, and the ample equipment of his department made its results noteworthy. He interested himself in the literary history and culture of the newly-acquired German provinces, and, in connection with ten Brink, planned the series of contributions to German literature and philology published under the title *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*.

Scherer possessed the qualities which stimulated and directed work in others, and an estimate of his life must embrace not only his own literary activity, but the forces which he set in motion. The period of his Strassburg residence is marked by extraordinary productivity, especially in publications upon the poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Scherer's part in the revision of Grimm's Grammar was confined to the incorporation in the text of the notes in Grimm's interleaved copy. The work involved was great, but Scherer attached little value to his part in it, as he could not attempt a revision of the views and his work was limited to the correction of obvious errors. Many essential changes which Grimm had seen necessary, and noted, could not be incorporated without a radical change in the proof references. If the result was unsatisfactory, the theory upon which the new edition was undertaken made it so.

In 1877 Scherer accepted a call to a professorship in the Univer-



sity of Berlin, not without great regret in leaving the field of his activity in Strassburg. Here the same activity was continued, and the range of his studies extended and included the modern writers of Germany, and even reviews of works in foreign literature. The versatility of his mind could not be limited.

Only two years before his death he had been greeted by the historian Mommsen, upon his election to the Royal Academy of Berlin, as the "many-sided and widely-active investigator, the scholar of rich fruit and richer hope." His life ended when fullest of purpose, and when he had assumed labors which would have appalled another. He had undertaken to prepare the *Altertums-kunde* of his revered teacher, Müllenhoff, for the press, only one volume of which had been issued, and he had become one of the editors of the standard edition of Goethe's works.

It was by the advice of his revered teacher and friend, Müllenhoff, that he undertook his *History of German Literature*. This work was published in parts as it was completed. The amount of reading and critical investigation which was necessary in connection with it can be judged in part from the vast range of citations in the bibliography. Its preparation was accompanied by the active discharge of the duties of his professorship and numerous subordinate literary occupations. He often wrote of the "terrible pressure" of the task which he had undertaken. In this *History of German Literature* there was ample scope for his wide learning as well as his critical ability, and it will remain the most permanent memorial of his genius.

He treats the history of German literature in a few great epochs: the early Germans and their condition in the time of the Romans; the origin and development of the heroic songs in the period of the migration of nations and in the Merovingian epoch; the mediaeval renaissance under the Carlovingsians and Othos; the Old High-German period; the Middle High-German epic and lyric poetry; the transition to the Reformation, and from the Reformation to the death of Luther. The author lingers long over works and writers which have affected profoundly or stimulatingly the life of the people, but minor authors are unnoticed, or assigned to their true place in a few words. His *History* is like that of Taine, a study not merely of men and books, but of literature as relating to the intellectual life of the time. No great work, either of literature or art, can be independent of the people and times which produced it: they are the soil out of which it grew. The

tragedies of fate of the Greeks could only have originated amid the beautiful but paralyzing faith of Greece. As our knowledge of the history and of the environments of a work becomes more complete, the aim of *tendenz* writings is better interpreted. Literary estimates will vary as the view of the historian judges the past from the present, or studies the past in itself as the parent of a new future. The value of a work may be local and temporary, and its mission limited to its own age, or it may have a perennial interest, and the author be the "eternal child" described by Emerson, whose revelation of truth is a fountain out of which all nations delight to drink. Most authors fulfil their destiny and are lost in the waves of the grand advance.

Occasionally the significance of a name among contemporaries is not fully recognized in this work. Thus Rist was praised in his day above Opitz as "*princeps poetarum totius Germaniae*"; his immense activity and the wide scope of his influence could not be gathered from these pages. As extensive as Scherer's learning is, it does not load or encumber his pages. Salient facts are selected and the narrative flows on uninterruptedly; the essential is uniformly presented, and nothing extraneous introduced. The history, however, often gains greatly by the delicate comparisons or references to English and French literature. Scherer is a German, but his judgment is seldom local or national; hence his book acquires a cosmopolitan character and value. There are graceful interpretative passages, full of suggestion, the product of wide reading and skillful generalization. "The highest ideal known to declining Rome in the intellectual sphere was Christianity, and the possession of the Bible has the same significance in the intellectual and religious sphere that the possession of Rome and Italy has in the political." "Dietrich of Bern has that moral depth which heavy and enduring ill, worthily borne, imparts to man."

In analyzing the *Nibelungenlied*, we do not think he does full justice to the canto which contains the death of Rüdiger, which, in our judgment, is the finest in the whole poem in psychological and splendid depiction of passion, of noble moral greatness, with loyal devotion to his promise, and in the conflict of motives. There are passages in which we cannot resist the feeling that rhetorical effect, even though most skilfully attained, betrays the author into antitheses and generalizations which are more striking than profound.

While Scherer's power is remarkable in the rapid summary of the striking events of a period, it is in such groupings that we most often find occasion to take exception to certain assumed facts and conclusions. He hardly does justice to the poetic spirit of the author of the Heliand. The formal, mechanical verse and narrative of the Evangelienharmonie of Otfrid apparently possess greater merit in his view than the Heliand, with its moral earnestness and charmingly *naïve* description of character, which is more true to the German spirit. Scherer's whole treatment of the Heliand is an example of a loose discrimination which a careful examination will find in many of his estimates. The poet of the Heliand stands, in his judgment, on the same level as the Anglo-Saxon priests: "The German poet could learn much from the English." "The Heliand is really no epic at all, but just the didactic poem which its author meant it to be." But he has previously said that the poet "transferred the spirit and costume of the secular epic to subjects which, from their very nature, were little fitted for such treatment. He makes the most of incidents, such as banquets and storms, which lend themselves to the established methods of epic description." Again, the poet carefully omits the humiliating command which bade men present the other cheek to the smiter, "but he could not in the same way suppress the story of the flight of the Disciples after the betrayal. They were guilty of one of the blackest crimes known to the German moral code, and yet they were holy men for whom the poet wishes to inspire veneration. . . . A true German would have accused those prophets of lying."

While loyalty to a chief was a characteristic of the early German spirit, flight before a more powerful enemy was often no occasion of reproach. Nothing could have been more natural in the work of a German poet who was accommodating a new moral code to the popular spirit of his countrymen than his representation of this scene. Scherer, in speaking of the inferiority of the Heliand to the Anglo-Saxon poems, does not mention that Caedmon's Genesis is borrowed from the Heliand. It is too early to determine, while investigations of the relations of Norse to Roman mythology are still incomplete, how far we may receive the traditional German Olympus, whose description by Müllenhoff shows manifest traces of elaboration from classic conceptions.

The treatment of the various periods and authors is, in general, skilfully proportioned to their relative importance. The arrange-

ment by subjects, in which the characteristic literature of a period is discussed, occasions often a derangement of the proper succession of authors. Thus we find, under the heading "The Mediaeval Renaissance," the writings of the nun Roswitha (963) described; later we find the *Ludwigslied* (881) mentioned. There are other breaks in the continuity of the narrative, with, however, the general advantage of grouping the literature of a particular type.

The treatment is artistic; there is none of the padding of unillustrative quotation which characterizes so much of Julian Schmidt's historical work, but there is everywhere manifest the humane influence of literature. Literature as it affects life is the deep undercurrent of the whole History. There are references to other forces than the purely literary. The relations of politics, of music, of science and the arts to the popular and intellectual life are finely portrayed. The first volume covers the history of the literature to the time of Frederick the Great; the second extends from this period to Goethe's death.

Though a Catholic, Scherer's judgment of Luther and the mediaeval Church is clear and judicial. Hardly any reforming and purifying force that flowed from that mighty upheaval is left unrecognized.

There are many passages full of wide suggestiveness outside the province of mere literary history, as the following from the chapter on the Goths: "We can only guess at the causes which influenced the people to forsake their old gods. The most important was the migration itself, the changed conditions which arose from the total change of locality. To leave their old homes, to leave the sanctuary of their tribe, where they assembled for their religious festivals, and the sacred groves in which the gods dwelt—this in itself was a great wrench. A time of great deeds, but also of great suffering, ensued. The excitement of the struggle for existence might nerve and elevate the hearts of kings and nobles, yet the mass of the people were, without doubt, exposed to extreme distress. They invoked the old gods, and finding no succor, began to lose faith in them. Why should they not try the new God, to whom the Greeks and Romans raised innumerable churches and altars—the gentle and merciful God, the God of the poor and needy, who had Himself suffered the greatest indignities? Even the Roman emperor bowed before this God; and He must surely be the most powerful Deity to whom the emperor himself could appeal for help. While these were probably the

feelings of the people, their chiefs, on the other hand, had good political reasons for offering homage to the God of the Byzantine Empire: they might thus acquire land, and favor with the emperor. So the vigilant Christian missionaries found ready listeners in chiefs and people."

Occasionally the merits or defects of an author are represented by a graphic touch which mirrors forever his strength and weakness. Of Laufenberg's hymns: "His elegant and melodious hymns sounded far more secular than religious; they shed an unholy splendor round the sublime subjects of which they sang, and drew divine things down to an earthly level."

"Luther's pre-eminent authority was not altogether a blessing for his church; it became also a weapon of intolerance, and a source of dissension."

"Luther, too, had imbibed the elements of humanistic culture, but he was not a true Humanist. He could esteem a few didactic productions of classical poetry and science, but the beauty of the classical authors left no impression on him. In the Scriptures he found both beauty and wisdom, and that sufficed him."

"As early as the eighteenth century science had suffered from the growing power of poetic imagination. Goethe, in despising mere analysis and mathematical calculation, was only realizing and strengthening the predominant tendency of the age. . . . Men's excited imagination scorned colorless abstractions, and demanded glowing life in everything. Nature's secrets were now no longer to be wrung from her by the forcible method of experiment. . . . The sensuous perception, which had been quickened and trained by the contemplation of the most sublime works of art, proved of great use in mineralogy. To distinguish and establish the characters of nations and countries was a poetical as much as a geographical task."

"Jean Paul had a great gift of humor, a rich imagination, and a strong faculty for catching the poetical aspect of everything. His narrative is broad and animated, full of life and action, but he seldom fuses his materials together into an artistic whole, and his writing shows the same want of force as Sterne's. His style is overladen with encyclopaedic knowledge, far-fetched metaphors, parentheses and digressions; his sentences are awkward, and he does not even shrink from violations of good taste: subjects the most wide apart jostle each other, and the author seems to delight in jumping from one extreme of feeling to another."

The treatment of the philosophical writers in a general history of literature is necessary in order to show their effect on contemporary thought. The criticism of the philosophers does not discuss the profounder problems of their works, but describes their literary influence. Scherer has often studied effect more than cause; he is throughout more objective than subjective in his treatment. He is less a philosopher than Gervinus and more an interpretative critic.

Hamann's influence, which is now fully recognized in Germany, although little known in England, is briefly outlined. The thoughts of this great man have exerted their power on a few enthusiastic disciples, and not upon the literary public directly. He has not, like Emerson, had his opinions adopted and promulgated by a school, thus reaching by intervention a universal audience.

The chapter on Romanticism in its relation to science, philology, philosophy and history is a vivid grouping of the forces that flowed from this remarkable manifestation. Although brilliant, there are manifest defects: the relation of Schiller and Goethe to the Romantic School, the "negative preparation," and the social influence of Romanticism as shown in the writings of Friedrich Schlegel and Tieck, so admirably presented by Brandes, are not adequately treated, and leave untouched some of the most prominent tendencies of this school.

Among the errors in translation, we note, Vol. II, pages 284 and 291, "feigned autobiographies," applied to Moritz's novel, Anton Reiser, which is really a *Selbstbiographie*, a hidden autobiography. The name of Karl Follen, Vol. II 268, appears in its Latinized form, Follenius. There are occasionally condensed statements which Scherer would himself have modified: "The translation of Ulfilas is a literal reproduction in Gothic of the Greek text." There are traces of the Itala and the Old-Latin versions. We cannot agree in calling the Elective Affinities the "*epic* masterpiece of the whole period from Schiller's death to Goethe's."

The History is accompanied by an appendix containing notes and authorities which will be of high value to all students of German literature who would be at a loss in the presence of the countless biographies, literary histories, commentaries and critical treatises on the whole or special fields of German literature.

The chronology in the period covered by Grimm's Life of Goethe is taken in part directly from that work; the statements for the

years 1783, 1785, 1786, 1787 are identical ; it is in itself a suggestive outline of the order and relation of the different writers and their works, while the bibliography is an admirable presentation of the best editions of the various works in German literature, often with brief and critical estimates of the merits of different editors and the results attained by their investigations. The fullness and accuracy of Professor Scherer's knowledge are shown by the wide range of citation of special monographs or isolated discussions treating of minor or related questions in biography or the history of the intellectual development of Germany.

The English version of Scherer's History is, on the whole, excellent. It is faithful, and may enjoy the high praise that it does not read like a translation. There are, however, numerous omissions of from ten to twenty lines without apparent cause. These are of no great importance, but prevent the work from being an exact reproduction of the original.

The name of Max Müller on the title-page is apparently a publisher's device to attract attention to a work whose merit would not be increased by such an addition. It exhibits no trace of his editing, though his advice may have accompanied his daughter, Mrs. Conybeare, in her work of translation.

WATERMAN THOMAS HEWETT.

#### IV.—THE SEQUENCE OF TENSES IN LATIN.

##### SECOND PAPER.

##### II.

In our former paper, the examination of the received doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses betrayed the fact that the great mass of constructions are exempt from the supposed Law ; and accordingly forced us to set up, for examination, the opposite hypothesis, namely, that there exists no such law,—that, in a word, the tense of the dependent subjunctive conveys temporal meaning, precisely as does the tense of an independent subjunctive or indicative.

To the support of this hypothesis every proof which we have seen militating against the other doctrine will at once repair, and will form a powerful force. The sole question then remains, Can phenomena be produced which the hypothesis cannot fairly explain? If so, then there exists, as yet, no tenable hypothesis, and we Latinists must go to work to study the facts and reach a sound doctrine on this important and very practical subject ; if there exist no such phenomena, then we may at once label our hypothesis *doctrine*, formulate it in a shape suitable for tender minds, and teach it.

Now, a search over the whole field will be able to produce six objections with which to challenge the hypothesis, namely :  
1. The fact that in the great majority of cases the tenses are such as would be in conformity to the supposed Law of the Sequence ;  
2. The fact that exceptions do not occur in the *antequam* and *dum* group of constructions ;  
3. The common use of the imperfect in so-called clauses of result after secondary tenses ;  
4. The use of a secondary tense of the subjunctive, in connection with a main verb in the past, to express ideas corresponding to facts known to be true at the time of speaking, or even universally true ;  
5. The use of a secondary subjunctive, in connection with conditions and conclusions contrary to fact, to express ideas corresponding to facts known to be true at the time of speaking, or even universally true ;  
6. The common use of the forms *-turus fuerit*, etc., after primary tenses to represent conclusions contrary to fact.



1. The first objection need detain us but a moment. As has been already suggested in connection with the use of the present in consecutive clauses, the phenomena are what they are because the ideas which they express are such as come oftenest, owing to the constitution of things in this world, into the human brain. To take up, for example, the "exceptions," there are not many present results of remote causes; while, on the other hand, the only result in the past that can follow a present cause is an historical example of a cause universally existing, or, at least, always existing up to the present time. A characterizing present is rarely found in connection with a remote main act, because the facts or tendencies which characterize a person concerned in a past activity are mostly facts or tendencies that were neighbors of the main activity.<sup>1</sup> When, however, a present fact or tendency can be found that characterizes a person concerned in a past activity, as in the case cited from Pliny the Younger, the Latin, like other languages, simply says in the dependent verb what there is to say. Similarly, the reasons which governed past acts or judgments mostly lie in, and are thought in connection with, the past, and can lie in, or be thought in connection with, the present, only if they are general or habitual facts on which a past act or judgment was based, or past facts on which a present judgment is based; and, in the same way, a present act or judgment is commonly brought about by a reason near at hand, though that reason may occasionally be an act habitual in the past, etc. The same things are true of acts that stand to each other in an adversative relation. As regards final sentences, the purpose of a remote act must itself have lain in the past, and the purpose of a present act cannot, in strictness, lie in the past; though a past purpose may be associated, as in Livy's *ut ferrent, porto*, with an activity begun in the past and still going on (cf. John I 31: but that he *should be made* manifest unto Israel, therefore *am I come* baptizing with water), and a past activity may be associated with a purpose expressed as now existing. And, in general, the theory that the Romans used the tenses they did in the subordinate clauses because in each case the particular tense used expressed precisely what they wanted to say, is entirely consistent, as I believe, with the facts, encountering not a single exception in the whole range of Latin literature; while the theory of an outside determination of

<sup>1</sup> I am obliged at this point, in default of the explanation of the meanings of the tenses in Part IV, to content myself with a defective phraseology.

the tense of the dependent clause is confronted at every turn by obstacles that cannot be disposed of, to the satisfaction of a thinking mind, by the magic of any such phrase as "exception to the rule."

2. The second objection likewise need detain us but a moment, for the facts on which it rests have already been explained in the answer to objection 1.

For brevity's sake we will speak of the set of constructions (after *antequam*, *priusquam*, *dum*, *donec*, and *quoad*) as the *antequam* set.

The indicative construction gives us two facts, main and subordinate, arranged in the order of their occurrence, and with a clear mark of that order in the shape of the adverb + relative, *antequam*. The subjunctive construction gives us no fact. The act pictured in it may have taken place later, or may never have taken place at all. All that makes no difference whatever. The act itself is simply represented as existing *in somebody's brain* at a certain time which the narrator has in mind. That time, of course, is the time of the main act. In Liv. I, 26, 1: *priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettius ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus*, we are not told in the least that Mettius and Tullus went away, but only that they *had a going-away in mind*, and that, *with that departure in view*, the one asked, and the other gave, instructions. *Digrederentur*, then, is not an historical incident noted by the narrator, an event (indicative) serving as a *terminus ante quem* for the main act, but the *thought* of Mettius and Tullus; and, in general, these subjunctive constructions present an act as *the thought of some important person in the main sentence*, generally the principal actor. Now, if the actor acted in the past, then the thought in the light of which he acted must have been in the past; while if the actor is acting as I speak, his thought must lie in the present, etc. So, then, the very simple reason why the verb of the main clause (act asserted) and the verb of the subordinate clause (act thought) are always of the same order of tenses (both in the past, or both in the present, or both in the future) is that, in the constitution of things, nobody's mind can conceive any other kind of combination; and what we cannot conceive, we naturally have no occasion to express. Precisely as under 1, then, the explanation of the grammatical phenomena is found to be, not a mechanical dependence, but the constitution of this world. And it would be as unreasonable to explain the observed facts by a supposed influence of tense upon tense, as it would be to explain in the same way the fact that we do not find in Latin literature any imperfect

subjunctive of result after a future cause, instead of recognizing that there never has been, nor ever can be, a past result of an act that has not yet taken place.

3. The common use of the imperfect in clauses of result attached to causes lying in the past.

In occasional instances, it might be claimed that the imperfect subjunctive has, so far as tense goes, the same force as the imperfect indicative, portraying *e. g.* a resulting state of affairs, just as the imperfect indicative does in Greek after *ᾠστε*. But in the great majority of cases in the narrative style there can be no doubt that the independent form of expression of the result would be the aorist indicative, just as in abundant cases in Greek. If, then, the tense tells its own story, why not the aorist subjunctive?

It is a pretty question, and all the more so because it is necessarily interlinked with another pretty question, namely: in clauses of strict result, which are necessarily clauses of fact, *why the subjunctive at all?* Why not the indicative, as in Sanscrit, Greek, German, English, etc., etc.? What is the history of this purely Roman form of expression?<sup>1</sup>

The solution is not difficult. The so-called result-clause is in its origin no clause of resulting fact. It makes no unlimited assertion—no assertion that a certain thing has taken place, is taking place, or will take place. The assertion which it makes is a *limited* one, an assertion that keeps within the limits of the visions of the mind. In Latin such an assertion is expressed by the subjunctive, in Greek by the optative. In Latin the limited nature of the assertion is marked by the mood only; in Greek it is marked not only by the mood, but also by the use of the admirable little label *ἄν*. Where the Latin says *scias—you'd know*—the Greek says *γινῶσκῃς ἄν*. Still, even without the *ἄν*, the Roman is able to make a clear difference between assertions like *you'd understand easily*, *facile intellegas*, and assertions like *you understand easily*, *facile intellegis*; between assertions like *you saw*, *videbas*, and assertions like *you'd see*, *videres*.

Now, the source of all the consecutive sentences, whether after *qui* or after *ut*—a perfectly definite and concrete source—is this expression of independent limited assertion.<sup>2</sup> In the coördinating

<sup>1</sup> From Anglo-Saxon the manuals cite a few examples of the subjunctive in a resulting fact-clause, of which I find no discussion.

<sup>2</sup> I dissent materially from Dahl (*Die lat. Partikel VT*, pp. 153-164), finding his treatment too metaphysical, and not resolutely historical.

form you may say, *e. g.*, of a given theory *you'd easily understand it : it is a very simple thing*. The first clause is just as independent a statement as the second ; it has a construction entirely of its own. So much is evident at the outset. Looking further at its contents, we see that the statement, in point of fact, throws a certain light upon the nature of the thing in question ; it is practically only another way of saying *a very simple thing* ; it is, in other words, an *independent characterizing statement*. Reverse the order, putting the subjunctive statement last—*it is a very simple thing : you'd easily understand it*—and it of course remains precisely what it was before, an *independent*, an *unattached*, *characterizing statement*.

Wait now for the use of the relative to develop, and then, since the same object of thought occurs in both sentences, tie them together by using *which* instead of *it* in the second, and you have, without any change in the grounds of the mood, the *dependent*, the *attached*, *characterizing statement*, common to all languages.

*I could a tale unfold whose lightest word would harrow up thy soul.*—Shak. Hamlet, 1, 5.

*Who is here so base that would be a bondman?*—Shak. Jul. Caes. 3, 2.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν τὰς πατρικὰς βασιλείας παραλαβόντων τίς οὐκ ἂν τοὺς Εὐαγέρου κινδύνους προκρίνειεν ; (independent characterizing question, corresponding to a characterizing predication). Οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν οὕτω ῥάθυμος ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο παρὰ τῶν προγόνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην παραλαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ κτησάμενος ὥσπερ ἐκείνος τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν ; (dependent characterizing predication). Isocr. Evag. 35 : . . . *who would not rather choose . . . ? There is no one so easy-going that (he) would prefer, etc.*

Τίς οὖν οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ἢ τίς οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς ὥς λιμῷ καὶ ῥίγῃ δύναται ἂν μαχόμενος στρατεύεσθαι ; Xen. Cyr. 6, 1, 14. *Who is so brave or who so strong that (he) could serve a campaign against hunger and cold ?*

*Nihil est aequè quod faciam lubens.* Ter. Phorm. 565. *There is nothing that I should so like to do.*

*Vin primum hodie facere quod ego gaudeam, Nausistrata, et quod tuo viro oculi doleant ?* Ter. Phorm. 1052-3. *Do you want to begin to-day, Nausistrata, by doing something that would delight me, and would make your husband's eyes smart ?*

*Cupio videre qui id audeat dicere.* Cic. Phil. 5, 2, 6. *I want to see the man that would venture to say that.*

By a precisely similar development the relative locative *uti* (*ut*), which differs from *qui* only in having a sentence for an antecedent instead of a single word,<sup>1</sup> introduces a characterizing statement (called a result-clause) of limited predication, precisely as do the corresponding Greek sentence-relative ὥς (an ablative) and ὥστε, and the English *that*. A perfect specimen would be had by transposing the two sentences, with *ut* for a connective, in the following, from Tac. Ann. 1, 81, 1: *de comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur.*

Βρέφος γὰρ ἦν τὸτ' ἐν Κλυταιμνήστρας χερσίν, ὅτ' ἐξέλειπον μέλαθρον ἐς Τροίαν ἰὼν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν γνωρίσαιμ' ἂν εἰσιδών. Eurip. Orest. 377-9. *He was a babe in Clytemnestra's arms when, setting off for Troy, I left my roof, (whereby) so that I should not know him setting eyes on him.*

*Quae (occupatio) etsi summa est, tamen nulla esse potest tanta ut interrumpat iter amoris nostri.* Cic. Att. 4, 2, 1. *Though my occupations are very pressing, still none could be so pressing as to (that they would) interrupt the course of our love.*

The Latin, however, alone among languages, extends this wholly logical characterizing construction beyond its original bounds. After τίς οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐστὶν ὑμῶν, *e. g.*, the Greek distinguishes perfectly between ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ and ὅστις ἂν ἀγνοοί, just as the English distinguishes perfectly between *that knows not* and *that would not know*. The Latin, however, fails to make such a distinction as might have been expressed, after *quis est vestrum tam stultus*, by *qui nesciat* and *qui nescit*. The form of which *qui nesciat* is a type comes to be practically a phrase of *tendency*, of *natural direction toward some act*, and so conveys very much the same feeling as does the English *such as to*, in which *as* is a relative, while the suggestion of *direction* is conveyed by the preposition *to*. This may be called the second stage in the history of the construction. Next there intrudes into the idea conveyed by the construction, which does not in itself deal with the world of reality, an idea that squints at that world. If I say *he is such a man as never to lie*, I might as well have said *he is a man who never lies*, and might, indeed, very easily be quoted as having said that precise thing. In many Latin sentences, in fact, it is impossible to be sure whether limited

<sup>1</sup> *Uti* might be rudely rendered *whereby*; for the word *by* likewise begins with expressing a local relation, and then passes into an expression of means.

or unlimited predication is meant. And so the thing felt and the thing said come to be confused, and the construction of the latter is used to express the idea of the former; or, in other words, in the Latin language the mood of characterizing predication limited becomes also, in relative sentences, the mood of characterizing predication unlimited.

So much for the mood. As regards the tense, the present expresses a limited predication of an act thought as future to the time of speaking; while the tense for limited predication of an act thought as similarly situated relatively to a past time is the so-called imperfect. An example will give a clear idea of this latter use. *In this way I should get at the real thing* would be, in Tacitean phraseology, *hoc modo id incorruptum sit*. The same idea put interrogatively would be *quonam modo id incorruptum sit*. Let time pass on, and then state a past question of this sort, and you have *quonam modo id incorruptum foret*, as Tacitus uses it in Ann. 2, 12, 3, in dependence upon *agitabat (igitur propinquo summae rei discrimine explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret secum agitabat)*.

Inasmuch as to carry a limited statement back into the past is practically to quote it, which requires the use of the infinitive, it is not strange that we but rarely find examples of this imperfect subjunctive in the independent declarative form. A remarkable instance, however, is to be found in the oratio obliqua in Caes. B. C. 3, 73: *contionem apud milites habuit . . . dandam omnibus operam ut acceptum incommodum virtute sarciretur; quod si esset factum (future condition), detrimentum in bonum verteret (future conclusion).*<sup>1</sup>

Now, the constructions *nihil est aequae quod faciam lubens* (*there is nothing that I should so gladly do*) become, when stated again for the original situation after some time has elapsed, *nihil erat aequae quod facerem lubens* (to translate into unfamiliar but intelligible English, *there was at that time nothing that I would at that time so gladly do*). *Faciam* and *facerem* both express limited predication, each from its standpoint, and the sole differ-

<sup>1</sup> Other examples are probably *proficeret* and *citaret* in Hor. Sat. 1, 3, 6 and 7. It is a very illustrative fact, furthermore, that in English the corresponding forms of limited predication from a past standpoint (namely, the auxiliaries *would, should, etc.*) are the regular forms of expression in indirect quotations, as, e. g., in the translation of *verteret* above. The construction, of course, plays a large part in both languages, in a secondary stage, as the means of expression for conclusions contrary to fact.

ence lies in that standpoint. The *faciat* of to-day becomes the *faceret* of to-morrow's retrospect. So far, all is strictly logical. And when the construction of the mood extends itself in Latin, the tense and the mood go together, the former still carrying the idea of *connection with a past time*; and the tense is no more the product of a subtle influence exerted by the tense of the main verb than is the mood the product of a subtle influence exerted by the mood of the main verb.<sup>1</sup>

4. The use of a secondary tense of the subjunctive, in connection with a main verb in the past, to express ideas corresponding to facts known to be true at the time of speaking, or even universally true.

A universal fact may be regarded with reference to its bearing upon some present act or judgment, or with reference to its bearing upon some past act or judgment. In the first case it is a universal truth put as *now applicable*, in the second a universal truth put as *then applicable*. That which tells whether the point of view from which the universal truth is applied is that of a present judgment or that of a past judgment, is the tense. Its power is seen clearly in independent sentences in English; *e. g.* the sentence *Tyranny is never right—the orator says—even if it be the tyranny of a majority over a minority*, becomes, as we speak of the same utterance later, *Tyranny was never right—the orator said—even if it were the tyranny of a majority over a minority*.<sup>2</sup> It is not even necessary, in such a use, to have any word indicating an indirectness of statement; *e. g.* in Guizot's *Earth and Man* (preface, p. vi) I find this sentence: *Numerous quotations and references were incompatible with the form of these discourses*. They remain incompatible; but the point is not the general incompatibility as recognized at the time of writing the preface, but the incompatibility as recognized and acted upon at the time of the writing of the discourses. The matter may then be briefly stated as follows: general or lasting facts may be put, in their larger aspect, in the general present or so-called logical perfect, or, in their aspect as bearing

<sup>1</sup> The mood in the resulting fact-clause never freed itself from its illegitimate origin, never became the indicative; but the tense in these clauses did after a while—first in Cicero's time—partly free itself from its illegitimate origin, and frequently appears, in appropriate places, as the aorist. In the main, however, the old habit continues, and the aorist therefore always had the power of catching sharply the attention.

<sup>2</sup> On this point, and others connected with it, Otto Behaghel's *Die Zeitfolge der abhängigen Rede im Deutschen* is very helpful.

upon some past act at the time of which they likewise existed, in the imperfect or logical pluperfect.

The same phenomena occur in Latin in the indicative in subordinate clauses, as in Cic. Fam. 5, 2, 9: *sed tamen fieri non moleste tuli atque etiam, ut ita fieret, pro mea parte adiuvī, ut senati consulto meus inimicus, quia tuus frater erat, sublevaretur* (the lasting fact, *tuus frater est*, furnishes a ground for action on the past occasion mentioned; for which time, of course, the statement must be, not *est*, but *erat*). A comparison of *pertinerent* and the precisely parallel *pertinebant* in the two sentences following will show what the feeling of the tense of the subjunctive is: Cic. Tusc. 1, 1, 1: . . . *et, cum omnium artium, quae ad rectam vivendi viam pertinerent, ratio et disciplina studio sapientiae, quae philosophia dicitur, contineretur, hoc mihi Latinis litteris inlustrandum putavi . . .*; De Or. 3, 19, 72: *Namque, ut ante dixi, veteres illi usque ad Socratem omnem omnium rerum, quae ad mores hominum, quae ad vitam, quae ad virtutem, quae ad rem publicam pertinebant, cognitionem et scientiam cum dicendi ratione iungebant.*

One cannot, therefore, believe in a mechanical and unfeeling use of the subjunctive in these cases, unless he is prepared also to believe in a mechanical and unfeeling use of the indicative in similar sentences, including independent sentences in modern languages.

5. The use of a secondary tense of the subjunctive, in dependence upon conditions and conclusions contrary to fact, to express ideas corresponding to facts known to be true at the time of speaking, or even universally true.

In complex sentences made up of a main sentence with subjunctive verb and one or more subordinate sentences, the modal feeling in the speaker's mind which expresses itself in the main sentence is, in the nature of things, very likely to continue in the speaker's mind in the subordinated sentence or sentences, either quite unchanged or but slightly shaded. If, for example, I say in Latin, *Let him send whom he will, mittat quem velit*, the mood in *velit* is not a case of "attraction" or "assimilation" at all. *Velit* is as much a jussive as *mittat* is. The meaning is, *Let him choose his man, and send that man*, or, in older English, *choose he his man and send him*. In *sei quæ esent quæ sibi deicerent necesus esse Bacanal habere* (C. I. 196), the *deicerent* is as much a future condition (= *sei quæ deicerent*) as *esent* is. In the sentence in Mr. Howells's Lemuel Barker (cap. 23), *If a person heard afterwards, when I*



had made out *something, if I ever did, that I had been a servant, would they despise me for it?* the *had made out* is as much an ideal state of affairs in the future as is the main condition, *heard*; and the Latin-speaking man would, of course, use in both of them the same mood, with an unchanged feeling. But he would also, of course, use a tense of the same set—not because he had used a primary tense in the main sentence, but because the feeling which he has to express when he gets to the second verbal idea requires the same kind of a tense to convey it. Tense and mood are here inseparable. Precisely like the case from Mr. Howells is Lucretius's *nec, si materiam nostram collegerit aetas . . . pertineat quicquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum, interrupta semel cum sit repentia nostri* (3, 847–851), though Munro, with a less delicate feeling than a Roman's, translates by *has* instead of *had*. Similarly in Cicero's *quod scribere, praesertim cum de philosophia scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo Stoicorum Panaetio* (Off. 2, 14, 51), *cum scriberem* does not mean *especially now that I am writing*, but *especially if I were writing* (*I should not venture to write this, especially if writing, as now, about philosophy, were it not that Panaetius takes the same view*), as Madvig recognizes (Gramm., §383, 2), though the translation fails to convey what he points out.

Now, this same delicacy of feeling appears to me palpably to obtain in a great many cases where we find, attached to a condition or conclusion contrary to fact, a subordinate clause the contents of which are known to correspond to objective reality. I do not feel that in these cases the Roman verb predicates objective reality at all, but rather that the thought is colored by the ideal complexion of the whole feeling. In Cic. N. D. 1, 17, 45: *si nihil aliud quaeremus nisi ut deos pie coleremus et ut superstitione liberaremur, satis erat dictum; nam et praestans deorum natura hominum pietate coleretur, cum et aeterna esset et beatissima . . . et . . .*, the aim in *coleremus*, whatever may be the objective facts in regard to our habits of worship, is in this case an inseparable part of the unreal condition *si nihil aliud quaereremus*; and, in precisely the same way, the *cum aeterna esset* is not a general ground asserted as having a present bearing, but a general ground recognized as one that *would bear* upon this ideal case (= *in that case the surpassing nature of the gods would receive the pious worship of mankind, being—still in that case—recognized as eternal, etc.*).

The same thing is true, though with a still finer shade of meaning,

in Cic. Inv. 1, 2, 3: . . . *qui tandem fieri potuit, nisi homines ea quæ ratione invenissent, eloquentia persuadere potuissent* . . . ; *how could all this have taken place, had not men—supposing them to have made discoveries—also had the gift of commending them by fair words?* *Quæ invenissent* is not an independent assertion, though such an assertion might, of course, be made, but an assumption forming a part of an ideal sum total.

So far under this head, I trust my readers are still with me, and are disposed, after these examples, to look for a modal feeling, rather than an entire absence of both modal and temporal feeling, in constructions of this sort in general: recognizing, too, that our own language is less fine in expression—which means that our feeling itself is less fine—than that of the Roman, as is exemplified by Munro's "*has*" in the rendering of the passage cited from Lucretius. This being so, we will now examine a case of the same kind, presenting as great a difficulty as can be summoned up, the passage Cic. Tusc. 1, § 91: *nam si scire eos diceres miseris quibus interitum esset, venturum in exitum eorum qui viverent exciperet.* A rough rendering would be: *For if you applied the name of death to such alone as were doomed to die, you could not make an entrance for such as breathed the breath of life, no, not for you.* Even in the English translation, I cannot feel that the verbs *were doomed* and *breathed* are merely perverted assertions—verbs not only useless but needless—but rather that though corresponding to words which every one knows they are here set up in the imagination as an integral and inclusive part of the sum total of the ideal overton and conclusion: so that it would be a bad rendering of the feeling, though a bulky one, to translate as follows: *Supposing there were none named in life—and we know that we were—and it was as if you called those people, and no others, to life, that you might the existence of living people in the case of a new assumption—you would have to call every man, woman, and child to life.*

The words *nam si* and *exciperet* here, then, are not specimens of a *conditione* or *propositione* in a strict term, but of a very subtle and delicate *assumptione* or *assumptio*—a feeling or overton in the main idea of the sentence, which would have to be rendered a part of it.

It is not, however, as if the *assumptio* were no longer a *conditione* or *propositione* in a strict term, but only of a *conditione* or *propositione* in a loose term. It is not as if there were no *assumptio* or *assumptio* in the sentence, but that the use of

6. The sole remaining hope of the doctrine lies in the use of the periphrastic form *-turus fuerit*, etc., in certain of those cases in which a conclusion contrary to fact is put as dependent—in certain of them only, be it observed ; for we have to begin at once to make inroads even upon this petty territory. Firstly, the matter touches only conclusions contrary to fact in past time ; conclusions contrary to fact in present time remain their simple selves and ignore the so-called sequence (A. J. P. VII, p. 463). Secondly, the rule is almost constantly violated after secondary tenses (where under its sway the tense ought to remain unaffected) by the change of a pluperfect to the historical perfect *fuerit* with the future participle, etc. The corresponding indicative form, the *modus operandi* of which we need not recall, is in use in the independent construction, but, be it observed, is there the less common construction, while in the dependent form it is used in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. Now, this use<sup>1</sup> marks a distinct preference of the Romans, and a preference all the more striking because it goes against the sup-

the tense in some of these cases is purely mechanical, then they should feel that we have come at last to a class of phenomena to which the doctrine of the temporal expressiveness of all subjunctives does not apply. But it by no means follows that they are thereby justified in holding the doctrine of the half-tenselessness (I say half-tenselessness because it is universally granted that the dependent subjunctive tense retains one of the two powers of the independent tense, that of distinguishing between actions complete and actions without reference to completeness) of all dependent subjunctives. They should in that case hold that, as there is undoubtedly a point in the stylistic development of the language at which the subjunctive mood is used without modal meaning (the final stylistic outcome of the common natural unity of modal feeling in a succession of verbs attached to a subjunctive)—though not commonly so used—in the same way, there is a point at which the tense also carries no meaning—though not commonly so used. And, at the very least, it is clear, after the exhibit in the previous paper of the great range of the “exceptions,” that one who believes in the Law of Sequence should believe in it as a law which nobody is bound to obey—a law which, whatever it may do, never trammels a speaker or writer ; for, even in the set of cases just now under discussion, a writer is perfectly free to break with the supposed Law, as Cicero does in the sentence already cited from Fam. 13, 6a, 4: *quae quantum in provincia valeant, vellem expertus essem, sed tamen suspicor*. Even to add to the statement of the Law in the grammars so much of a concession as this would save teachers in the preparatory schools from difficulties (see page 71, below) which I have been told they now experience.

<sup>1</sup> It is not quite universal ; see Livy, 2, 33, 10: *Tantumque sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcii, ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis columna aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset*.



it needs no boldness whatever to say, as I now do without reserve, that *the tenses of the Latin subjunctive, alike in dependent and in independent sentences, tell their own temporal story—that no such thing as is meant by the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses exists.*

But the conviction thus reached of the non-existence of an outside power controlling the tense of a subordinate verb is seen to be not merely true, but pleasingly true, the most natural and probable thing in the world, when we recall—what is now become a commonplace of the grammarians—that nearly all the dependent constructions were once simply independent constructions having neighbors related in the speaker's mind but not in formal expression; and that they then, as all agree, were able to tell their own temporal story. For example, the paratactical *Quid agerem? Nesciebam* (What *was* I to do? I *had* no idea) becomes *Quid agerem, nesciebam* (What I *was* to do, I *had* no idea). Can any one, then, seriously suppose that a Roman, using the imperfect in the side-by-side construction *Quid agerem? Nesciebam* because it expressed his meaning, would in the composite sentence use the imperfect *Quid agerem* because he used a secondary tense in the main clause? In the paratactical form *quid agerem* expressed that which he had to say, while *quid agam* would have expressed an entirely different thing, which he didn't at all want to say. Now, in the composite *Quid agerem, nesciebam*, is it not so obvious that it is hardly conceivable that there should ever have been any occasion for a paper on the subject, that *quid agerem* was said, and not *quid agam*, because *quid agerem* expressed what the speaker had to say, while *quid agam* would have expressed an entirely different thing? It is, in point of fact, not credible that a sweeping doctrine like that of the tenselessness of all dependent subjunctives could ever have come into general acceptance if it had been broached to a generation that had interested itself in the natural history of the subordinate constructions.

### III.

The selection of examples given in the first paper showed that any combination of temporal ideas (main and subordinate) that may possibly enter into a healthy brain is capable of expression in Latin (as would be expected), and that, when the combination is an unusual one, the subordinate verb is, alone and by itself, expressive of temporal relations as fully as an independent verb would be. To this position no denial is possible.

The highly probable explanation of the whole field of phenomena, usual and unusual alike, was, as we saw, that the power indubitably found to be exercised by a given tense in a given construction in an unusual combination was inherent in the tense, in whatsoever combination, usual or unusual. Where, as in the present case, a cause the existence of which is absolutely proved will account for all the phenomena observed, it is bad science to assume the existence of a second and entirely different cause. Further than this, it was shown that an absurd conclusion would follow from the adoption of the theory of a second cause in these phenomena, viz. that the present subjunctive in the result-clause is incapable of expressing the present result of a past activity immediately upon the conclusion of that activity, but is capable of expressing the present result of the very same activity ten years later.

In the present paper it has also been shown that the objections which might be brought against the theory that the subjunctive has temporal expressiveness disappear under examination. The case would seem to me to be made out, if I were to stop here. Nevertheless, I can conceive that a doubt in regard to one point may remain in the minds of some of those who have held the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses, and that a subtilized form of the doctrine may throw up an intrenchment in their minds upon this point; and I desire to show that no possible point of intrenchment exists.

We are obliged (they may say) to feel the living force of the tense in the unusual constructions, but we do not feel it in the usual constructions. The tense must clearly originally have had, in at least nearly every case, the power which we see it displaying in unusual combinations; but in the usual combinations it seems to us to have become a mere form—not a living tense, but a *speech-type*.

If the doctrine of the Sequence had not been in possession of the field for many years, the burden of proof would not fall upon an opponent of the doctrine, but upon its supporters. There are very strong antecedent objections against any form whatever in which it may be held. Let us consider what the effect of subordination is upon tense, starting from the Sprachgefühl of a modern language. No one has a right to object to such a method, for, even though the modern Sprachgefühl be a dangerous tool to handle, it is absolutely the only one that Heaven has vouchsafed us. Compare now the independent deliberatives in English and

Latin. *What am I to do* is *quid agam*, *what was I to do* is *quid agerem*. The sole difference between the first set and the second lies in the time at which the question is placed. *Quid agerem* and *quid agam* differ precisely as *am* and *was* differ, and in no other wise. Whatever be the history of the tenses of the Latin subjunctive in practical use, the idea of the present lies in *quid agam* as fully and strongly as in *what am I to do*, the idea of the past in *quid agerem* as fully and strongly as in *what was I to do*. Now let these sentences be attached to others, and we have, *e. g.*, *I don't know what I am to do*, *I didn't know what I was to do*,—*quid agam nescio*, *quid agerem nesciebam*. Has anything happened to destroy the activity of the tenses of *agam* and *agerem*? The absolutely identical English construction has kept its full temporal power; the *am*, the *was* have not lost their meaning. But the *am*, the *was* are a part of the very nature of *quid agam* and *quid agerem*. What ground is there for supposing that constructions absolutely identical in two languages, passing through absolutely the same experience, should suffer absolutely opposite fates? And how, there being no conceivable ground whatever for such a belief, can one nevertheless swear 'tis so, when he discovers and admits that this very same dependent *quid agerem* does retain its full force, precisely as does the English *what was I to do*, when found after a present:—*I ask you what I was to do*, *quaero a te quid agerem*? The last thing to be expected is that these fully expressive tenses will ever become, participial-like, half tenseless.<sup>1</sup> And the moment they are found with undeniably full temporal meaning in any construction of the same class, it is sound logic, and the only sound logic, to suppose that they have nowhere lost their temporal expressiveness.

This applies fully and without reservation to a construction that has remained unchanged in nature, like the deliberative. But it also applies with equal force to constructions that have suffered

<sup>1</sup> The fact is that the original force of the tenses in this and that construction must have been constantly preserved to the Roman mind, as it should be to that of the modern reader, by certain related constructions. *E. g.* the use of the jussive subjunctive without introductory particle in the *oratio obliqua* would keep fresh the temporal expressiveness of the verb in those subordinated jussive forms which we call final *qui*- and *ut*-clauses; the frequent collocation of the direct jussive and the corresponding dependent interrogative form (deliberative) would keep fresh the temporal expressiveness of the verb of the latter, as in Plaut. Merc. 624-5 (an "exception" to the Law of the Sequence, by the way): *Quid ego facerem*?—*Quid tu faceres*, *men* *rogas*? *Requirereres*, *rogitares* . . . ; etc.

some change of nature, unless there is distinct proof that this change has taken place in the temporal power itself. The jussive, *e. g.*, has a *future* force, the present placing the commanding as thought at the present moment, the imperfect as thought at a past moment. The construction, once independent, in time becomes very closely subordinated, but the future force is precisely that part of the original jussive force which remains unimpaired. And so the argument might be carried on through all the constructions of subordination. It could be shown that the original temporal force remained unimpaired in every construction except that of a part of the consecutive clauses; and even here it would be found that, though the present had changed its force, and the imperfect had changed its force, yet they had held to their power of saying, the one *in connection with this present*, and the other *in connection with that past time*; and that each was ready to tell its individual story in any company of main verbs whatsoever.<sup>1</sup>

But, happily, we are not dependent upon antecedent grounds, strong though they are. This subtle doctrine that the subordinate tense is at one moment living, at another lifeless, even if it had probabilities on its side, could be confronted with entirely sufficient indications of its unsoundness. Of these indications, some are themselves subtle, others very palpable.

1. The historical present puts a past, perhaps a very remote, act as if it were going on before the eyes of us, the readers. It is as

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that the tenselessness of many of our modern idioms in subordinate clauses has done much to blunt our sensitiveness for the temporal expressiveness of the corresponding Latin idioms. For the relative final clause in Plaut. Trin. 740-41: *non temere dicant te benignum virgini: datam tibi dotem ei quam dares eius a patre*, our common phrase would be *to give* (they'd say a dowry had been given to you, to give in turn to her, as from her father), a form which conveys no idea of the *place* of the plan in respect of the time of its formation. In the Latin, however, the form is precisely as in *daretis* and *quaereret* in Ter. Phorm. 296-7: *non fuit necesse habere: sed id quod lex iubet, dotem daretis; quaereret alium virum*. It wasn't necessary to take her to wife: the thing for you to do, as the law enjoins, was to give her a dowry, and the thing for her to do was to hunt up somebody else for a husband (you were to give, she was to hunt up—*ex post facto* commands). If, now, we were to translate the subordinate jussive clause (so-called final) *quam dares* in the Trinummus by the same formula as in the independent jussive *daretis* in the Phormio (they'd say a dowry had been given you, which you were to give to her), and if we similarly everywhere used, in Roman fashion, precisely the same English form for a given dependent construction and its independent form, the idea would never have been tolerated that the dependent subjunctives in Latin are void of temporal meaning.



if we sat in the theatre and saw the things of long ago done upon the stage. In Livy's story of what followed the death of Lucretia, we first hear the solemn oath of Brutus, "By this once holy blood I swear to pursue the whole brood of the Tarquins." We see him hand the knife to Collatinus, to Lucretius, to Valerius. We see them repeat his oath. Before our eyes they carry the body to the forum. We see the gathering of men, their lamentations, and their growing fury. It is not history that is given us, it is the mimic stage. Now, these stage-presents are followed in a dependent clause (say a final clause) now by a primary tense, now by a secondary. What is it that tells us, as we read, whether we are to keep up the fiction of the theatre, and wait to see the act of the final clause, say the intended blow of a murderer, actually performed upon the stage, or are to drop the illusion, and return to the fact of sober narrative, namely, that this was once upon a time a purpose? It is nothing but the verb of the final clause itself. In that verb, and in no other, lie, or do not lie, the directions. The choice of the subordinate verb is itself just as perfect and complete a method of communication between writer and reader as is the choice, for the main verb, between the sober aorist and the stagy present.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Roman has but one word for the aorist and the present perfect. As we read a complex sentence having for its main verb this defectively expressive form, what is it that tells us whether the writer thought aorist or thought present perfect? It is the tense of the dependent subjunctive. However it may have come to its meaning, it is gifted with power to tell us the very nature of the main verb. Here, then, the tense is clearly living.

3. The present perfect is capable, while remaining its true self, of being associated with either primary or, as in the final clauses given on pp. 463-4, with secondary tenses. What is it that tells us in such sentences whether the speaker puts his purpose as now entertained, or as entertained (say) at the beginning of the action? It is, not the inflexible main verb, but the flexible verb of the subordinate clause. Here, then, the tense is clearly living.

4. In impassioned language the present infinitive is often used in exclamations, even though the act or state thought of lies in the past, as in Ter. Hec. 532: *Adeone pervicaci esse animo, ut*

<sup>1</sup> To say, as Roby does (and others in differing phrases), that "the historical present is, in its effect on the verbs directly or indirectly dependent on it, sometimes regarded as a primary, sometimes as a secondary tense," is to content oneself with words.

*puerum praeoptares perire. The idea of your being so obstinate that you preferred that the boy should die!* (the tense of *praeoptares* as distinctly tells us that the act lies in the past, as does the tense of *preferred* in the translation); Cic. Sull. 20, 57: *iam vero illud quam incredibile, quam absurdum, qui Romae caedem facere, qui hanc urbem inflammare vellet, eum familiarissimum suum dimittere ab se et amandare in ultimas terras!* *Then too how incredible, how absurd, the idea of his being dismissed and packed off to the end of the world by the man who wanted to butcher people in Rome, who wanted to set this city on fire!*

Here, again, it is not the main verb, but the subordinate verb that tells the temporal story. The speaker relies wholly upon the subordinate verb for the conveying of the time of the whole sentence.

5. But the case is even stronger than this. For the number of sentences in Latin is very great in which there is no main verb whatever, and the entire burden of the expression of time falls upon the subordinate verb, as in Ter. Phorm. 364-7: *Saepe interea mihi senex narrabat se hunc neglegere cognatum suum. At quem virum! quem ego viderim in vita optimum.* *The old man used now and then to tell me that this relative of his was treating him shabbily. But what a man! the best I have seen in all my life;* Juv. 157-8: *O qualis facies et quali digna tabella cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum.* *What a sight, what a subject for a painting when the monster from Gaetulia was carrying on his back the great general—minus one eye;* Cic. Quint. 26, 80: *O hominem fortunatum, qui* (see how we wait for the verb to give us our temporal conception) *eius modi nuntios seu potius Pegasus habeat!* *O happy man, that has such messengers or rather winged horses!* In Cic. pro Arch. 10, 24: *O fortunate, inquit, adulescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris,* the subjunctive *inveneris* conveys the temporal idea for the whole sentence as perfectly as does the indicative *attulisti* in Cic. Flacc. 40, 102: *O nox illa, quae paene aeternas huic urbi tenebras attulisti,* and the indicative *ὑποκρίνεται* in Aristoph. Acharn. 400-1: *ὦ τρισμακάρι' Εὐριπίδῃ, ὃ' ὁ δοῦλος οὐτως σοφῶς ὑποκρίνεται.* So, then, it is not necessary, in order that the tense should carry to the mind a distinct temporal meaning, that it should follow a verb in whose company one is surprised to find it. The subordinate verb is capable, not only of piecing out the defective temporal expression of the main verb, as under 4 above, but even of getting along

entirely without it—of doing the entire work of temporal expression for the whole sentence.

6. A subordinate verb which, on the theory of the Sequence, accepts its tense from the main verb, nevertheless, upon that same theory, may, and mostly does, force its own dependent verb according to its will, and, breaking it off from all dependence upon the main verb, dictate to it what its tense shall be; in other words, to use a homely but scientifically exact phrase, it is only "playing dead," as in Cic. Ros. Am. 14, 141: *Quaeramus quae tanta vitia fuerint in unico filio, quare is patri displiceret*. Let us inquire what great faults there were in this only son, that would make him obnoxious to his father.

To grant to the subordinate tense the power of expressing in usual combinations the same meaning that it expresses in unusual combinations is a much easier postulate than to refuse to it the power to express meaning in itself, while conceding to it the power to dictate to another subjunctive what its tense shall be.

7. If we can find some indicative construction which, in passing into the subjunctive in the indirect discourse, would need to change its tense if there is a Law of the Sequence, we can get an absolute settlement of the whole question by watching its behavior. Such a construction is to be found in the common use of the aorist in temporal clauses introduced by *ubi*, *ut*, *postquam* and *simul atque*, as in Cic. Fam. 5, 2, 4: *Postea vero quam profectus es, velim recordere, quae ego de te in senatu egerim, quae in contionibus dixerim, quas ad te litteras miserim*.

When such a clause is thrown into the indirect discourse and made dependent upon a past tense, then, if the theory is true that dependent verbs have no temporal expressiveness, the dependent verb which we are watching will go into the pluperfect subjunctive, losing its peculiar individuality of expression; whereas if the theory is true that the dependent verb has an unimpaired power of temporal expression in and of itself, our dependent verb will be found doing in the indirect discourse precisely what it did in the direct discourse, unchanged in tense, affected in no respect whatever except that of mood. But everybody knows that, while in perhaps one case in ten the pluperfect is found, just as it is in the independent construction (cf. Liv. 43, 6, 8: *hoc etiam Lampsaceni, octoginta pondo coronam adferentes petebant, commemorantes discessisse se a Perseo, postquam Romanus exercitus in Macedoniam venisset*, with Liv. 44, 25, 9: *ubi ad pecuniae*

*mentionem* ventum erat, *ibi* haesitabat), in the other nine cases it is the unchanged perfect that we find, as in Liv. 1, 1, 7: *alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt; alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentinum exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam . . . fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. . . others have the version that Latinus inquired who they were, etc., and, when he heard (not had heard) that they were Trojans . . . gave by the offer of his hand a solemn bond of peace for the future; Cic. Rep. 2, 2, 4: *is igitur, ut natus sit, cum Remo fratre dicitur ab Amulio rege Albano ob labefactandi regni timorem ad Tiberim exponi iussus esse; Fam. 4, 3, 4: tantum dicam, quod te spero adprobaturum, me postea quam illi arti, cui studueram, nihil esse loci neque in curia neque in foro viderim, omnem meam curam atque operam ad philosophiam contulisse. Fam. 5, 8, 3: de me sic existimes ac tibi persuadeas vehementer velim, non me repentina aliqua voluntate aut fortuito ad tuam amplitudinem meis officiis amplexendam incidisse, sed, ut primum forum attigerim, spectasse semper, ut tibi possem quam maxime esse coniunctus.**

In the same way, when the common phrase *non putaram* goes into the subjunctive in the *oratio obliqua*, it preserves its individuality of tense, as in Cic. Sen. 2, 4: *obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putassent; Att. 6, 1, 6; and frequently.* No more absolute proof of the temporal expressiveness of the attached subjunctive verb could be desired than is given by these usages.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

The destructive part of my task has taken so much space that

<sup>1</sup>A complete survey of existing views would include a discussion of the application of the doctrine of Absolute and Relative Time to the field of the supposed sequence. The limits of the present paper exclude such discussion. What has been said above, however, in regard to a possible subtilized theory applies *a fortiori* to the coarser theory of Absolute and Relative Time; nor have I any fear that a reader who has agreed with me thus far will find a resting-place in that doctrine.

At a future day I hope to show that the doctrine is untenable. Nevertheless it has performed, especially in Germany, the good service of weakening popular faith in the universal truth of the old doctrine.

I am obliged to state the constructive part in very summary fashion.

With certain exceptions, each tense of the indicative indicates to the hearer two things, the stage of advancement of the action (whether it be complete, in process, or yet to be), and the position in time of the point of view from which the act is regarded (whether it be somewhere in the past, at the moment of speaking, or somewhere in the future). In each of the three verbs (*domus*) *aedificata erat*, *aedificata est*, *aedificata erit*, the house is presented in a completed state, the point of view alone changing. These verbs are, to use a more exact nomenclature than the one in vogue, respectively *past* perfect, *present* perfect, *future* perfect. In the same way *aedificabatur*, *aedificatur*, *aedificabitur* represent an action in process in the past, at the present, in the future; or, more exactly, these verbs are respectively *past* imperfect, *present* imperfect, *future* imperfect. In the three verbs *aedificaturus erat*, *aedificaturus est*, *aedificaturus erit* we have, similarly, a *past* future, a *present* future, and a *future* future.

Now, these indications in themselves convey each two things only: 1. The point of view of the mind asserting; 2. The stage of the action at that point of view. But a third conception necessarily enters in. If an act can be asserted to be in a complete state at a certain time in the past, it is a certainty that the activity had been prior to the time thought of as the standpoint. The idea of the priority of the act to the standpoint is, then, practically conveyed by the three perfect tenses. In the same way, if an act is asserted as in process at a certain time in the past, it is inevitable that the activity was contemporaneous with the time thought of as the standpoint. The three imperfect tenses, then, convey, in addition to standpoint and stage of action, a third idea, that of contemporaneousness. Each of these six tenses thus practically carries three distinct ideas to the hearer's mind: 1. The point of view from which the speaker puts the act; 2. The stage of advancement of the act at that point of view; and 3. The temporal relation of the activity itself to that point of view.

The subjunctive likewise is furnished with tenses which indicate that the point of view from which the act is seen in imagination is in the past or at the present, and that the act is seen as complete, or is seen without reference to completion (the past complete and present complete, the past non-complete and present non-complete). In other words, the subjunctive tenses indicate standpoint

and stage. So far they are like the indicative tenses. But they go no farther. The idea of the temporal relation of the activity to the standpoint, of its being before, or being at, or being after the standpoint, cannot, in the very nature of the mood, be involved. If, at the present moment, I form a picture in my brain of (say) a book completed, there is absolutely nothing in the tense that can fix the act at any point between the beginning of time and the end of time. The vision of the completed book may be of a book said to have been made long ago, or it may be of a book which I hope to have in completed shape ten years hence. The point of view is definite and exact; but from the very fact that there is no assertion of outward reality in the subjunctive mood, but merely an imagining of an act, no exact placing of the act here or there in time is possible. It follows that a form like *scriptus sit*, e. g., which is in its earliest history a parallel of neither the perfect indicative nor of the future perfect indicative, but merely a vision of a finished act, is used to represent what corresponds in the subjunctive to both these very different forms. I may say, for example, *ab Homero scripta sit* (suppose that Homer did write the *Iliad*), and, by the same tense, *sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque quid de re publica sentiat*. Cic. Cat. 1, 13, 32 (be it written on every man's forehead whether he is loyal or disloyal). In the same way the past non-complete subjunctive *facerem* and the present non-complete subjunctive *faciam* strictly present to the mind only a vision of an act without reference to completion, seen from a past and a present standpoint respectively. In these tenses, however, we find a certain necessary limitation. The activity is not thought as lying back of the standpoint, for then the tense used would be one of the perfects. But further than this there is no limit. The non-complete act seen in imagination as from the present moment may belong anywhere in the stretch from the present moment inclusive to the end of time, and the act similarly seen as non-complete from a past standpoint may belong anywhere in the stretch from that time on to the end of time. In other words, the subjunctive tenses of non-complete action can apply to any act present or to future to the standpoint.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this immediate power of application to the speaker's future lies the explanation of the fact that no new and specialized subjunctives from a future standpoint have arisen; and herein also is the origin of the temporal power of the so-called indicatives of the future, themselves no indicatives originally, but (to speak as a Latinist) subjunctives.

The subjunctive tenses, then, indicate, like the indicative tenses, the point of view from which the act is put as pictured in the brain, and the stage of advancement in which the act is represented to be ; but they here part company with the indicative, and are incapable of expressing the temporal relation of priority, contemporaneousness, or futurity to the standpoint. The complete tenses can apply to any act seen as complete anywhere in the whole range of time ; while the non-complete tenses can apply to any act seen as non-complete at or after the standpoint.

So much, and only so much, is inherent in the nature of the subjunctive tenses. But in their actual use in conveying this or that idea, a temporal feeling inevitably grows up with regard to each use of each of them. In thinking a realizable wish or a command (the point of view being of course the speaker's present) we have a mental vision of the act as lying in the future (whether immediate or remote) ; and the hearer, getting our idea, naturally associates futurity with the *tense* of the verb. In making a concession from the present point of view, on the other hand, we mostly have in mind a present act or state, or an act or state completed by or before the present ; and the hearer, getting our idea, naturally associates contemporaneousness or priority, as the case may be, with the *tense* of the verb. In this way there arise two distinct accretions of meaning for each subjunctive tense—significations not inherent in the nature of the tense, but naturally involved in the special kind of idea which the tense is used to convey. The so-called perfect subjunctive serves as an aorist or present perfect, and also as a future perfect ; the so-called present serves both as a present and as a future ; and, in the same way, the so-called pluperfect serves as a past perfect and as a past future perfect, the so-called imperfect as a past present and a past future. In other words, in practical use each tense of the subjunctive is found to be employed with two distinct ideas, one that which is indicated by the tense of the indicative bearing the same name (as in indirect questions), the other a future idea (as in the final clause, commands in indirect discourse, etc.) ; so that the so-called pluperfect and the so-called perfect serve, from their respective standpoints, as either perfect or future perfect, and the so-called imperfect and present serve from their respective standpoints as either present or future.

With each subjunctive construction, then, there is in time associated a definite temporal meaning, seen clearly in the independent

construction, and abiding in the dependent use of it. The jussive, *e. g.*, refers to a time future to the standpoint, and its dependent application (the final clause) expresses a present purpose (present subjunctive), or a past purpose (imperfect subjunctive). And in the same way a definite temporal meaning is found to be attached to each subjunctive dependent construction that has grown out of an independent subjunctive construction, while in each dependent subjunctive construction that is a conversion (the indirect discourse) of the indicative construction, the meaning is precisely the same as in the indicative; the clause *quid scripsisset*, *e. g.*, meaning precisely the same thing, so far as anything but mood goes, as *quid scripserat*.

Now, how to bring this to bear for a beginner? First make him understand precisely what the indicatives convey to the mind. Then show him, by giving him parallel examples in the direct question and the indirect question, that the tenses of the subjunctive convey precisely the same mental standpoint, or point of view, as the tenses of the indicative bearing the same name. Have this idea of the standpoint very clearly felt by the pupil. Then, in no haste, show him by examples that each tense of the subjunctive, beside the force corresponding to that of the indicative bearing the same name, has a future force, as in the purpose clause, the standpoint always remaining unchanged. Add to that the statement that, by a peculiar development, the tenses for conditions, conclusions, and wishes put as from a past standpoint came to convey the idea of conditions, conclusions, and wishes contrary to fact, in Latin as in English, and that by another peculiar development the imperfect came to express past results in their temporal relation with their causes, and you have a practical treatment covering the entire ground. For the converse work of writing Latin, tell the student to use a pluperfect or imperfect to indicate that the point of view is past, *i. e.*, if it is a past purpose, a past question, a past ground of action, and so on; and a perfect or present to indicate that the point of view is present or future, *i. e.*, if it is a present purpose, a present question, a present ground of action, etc. Make him see that our use of tenses in English is mostly the same, alike in independent and in dependent sentences, as, *e. g.*, in the coördinated *What was she trying to tell me? I had no idea*, and the subordinating *I had no idea what she was trying to tell me*.

This is all simple enough, and young children, provided they have not been taught a rule that "primary tenses are followed by



primary," etc., have, as has been proved by actual experiment performed by other teachers under my own eyes and at a distance, no difficulty in understanding it in an entirely real and unmechanical way. But no one can venture to make such a statement as regards the practical working of the rule about primary tenses being followed by secondary, and the rest. *Understanding* is precisely the thing that cannot be claimed for those mental processes in interpreting and writing Latin tenses which the grammars aim to set up in the learner's mind. The directions which I have given above, though they take the student only part way on the road toward a complete theoretical understanding of the whole matter, are sound as far as they go, and calculated to develop understanding, needing only to be filled out at a later day; while the ordinary rules, which are founded on nothing but a count of examples, are calculated to beget a self-contented mental vacuity, and must be wholly swept away before any true comprehension can be brought about.

If, in opposition, it is urged that students must have the rule of the Sequence in order to write Latin, I should answer, first, that they do not handle their tenses so successfully at present, even under the help of the Law, as to justify any white lies; secondly, that a man who hits the right tense by a rule of thumb without understanding or feeling, writes better Latin but is not a better man; thirdly, that, though the uses are essentially the same in German and French, one who should attempt to introduce a doctrine of a Sequence as indispensable in learning to write those languages would be derided; and, lastly, I should call attention to the fact that the rule of the Sequence very frequently betrays the student. Every teacher must have had the experience of correcting, under a hidden linguistic impulse, such as will sometimes rise above the grammars, a Latin tense written by a student in entire conformity to the rule, but conveying a wholly different idea from the English which it is meant to represent. Suppose, for example, I ask a student to express in Latin, under the "Law," *what was the character of the state at that time, and what had it been up to that time?* He will write, with perfect feeling for the tenses, *qualis erat illo tempore civitas, et qualis antea fuerat*. Suppose, now, I ask him to write in Latin *let us see, in Cato's own words, what was the character of the state at that time, and what it had been before that time*. He will not dare to write *qualis esset illo tempore civitas, et antea qualis fuisset, videamus in ipsa sententia Catonis*, as a student

who knew nothing about a Sequence of Tenses would, and as St. Augustine, who also had the advantage of being in ignorance of the rule, did, in *De Civ. Dei*, 5, 12; neither would he dare to write *though the battle lasted till evening, nobody could catch sight of an enemy's back*, as Caesar did in *B. G.* 1, 26.

## V.

And now a brief last word about the history and the hopes of the doctrine here professed, that the tenses of the subordinated subjunctives are expressive, not mechanically dictated by a preceding verb; that they mean the same thing, tell the same story, as the tenses of the corresponding independent indicatives or independent subjunctives.

In 1872 Lieven (*Die Consecutio Temporum bei Cicero*), laying down the traditional rules for the Sequence, proved by examples that consecutive, causal, concessive and relative sentences (not final) are exempt from the law when following secondary tenses, and that unreal conditional sentences are exempt from the law when following primary tenses. Other apparent exceptions he accounted for on the theory of "pregnant" uses of the main tense. His dictum ("The tense chosen in the subordinate sentence is that which would have to be chosen if the sentence were independent") would have been a complete statement of the matter, if it had been intended to be thoroughgoing. In point of fact, however, he limits it to the cases above mentioned. The way in which he went astray is clear: he treats the subjunctive in the main as a mere mood of subordination. As he glances back over the growth of the language from the paratactic to the hypotactic stage, he sees independent indicatives becoming subjunctives, and retaining their tense; and so far he sees quite rightly. But he fails to see the great part which is played by the passing over of independent *subjunctive* constructions into the dependent form. And, in so doing, he not only misleads himself in regard to the history of the subjunctive causal, concessive, and consecutive sentences (all of which, as I hope to show in a later paper, go back to independent *subjunctives*), assuming them to be substantially merely subordinated indicatives, but also draws his line of limitation for the exceptions very far short of the true point, and leaves the old rules in the main standing. In spite of this, however, the method he applied ends logically in the destruction of the traditional doctrine, though he himself failed to see its full sweep.

Five years later, Martin Wetzel, in his doctorate-dissertation (Goettingen), said in his preface that the force and meaning of each tense was the same in the subjunctive as in the indicative, so that the question why this and that tense was found to have been employed did not turn upon a Law of Sequence, but upon the force inherent in each; and that, consequently, to speak accurately, there was no such thing as a Sequence of Tenses. The statement is in reality nothing more than Lieven's statement more effectively put, but subject to the same errors and limitations.<sup>1</sup> The examination is confined to an analysis of the uses of the tenses in subjunctives which are such by reason of being in the indirect discourse, and to certain *changes* of tenses of other subjunctives in the indirect discourse after a main verb of one and another tense; and does not take up the question of the force of the tenses in dependent subjunctives corresponding to independent subjunctives.<sup>2</sup> And Wetzel's subsequent work should have carried him on, through a wider survey of the field, to the doctrine that the tenses of the subjunctives in dependent constructions convey the same meaning as the tenses of the subjunctives or indicatives, whichever it may be, in the corresponding independent constructions. But, as we shall shortly see, he did not attain to this doctrine.

In 1882 Ihm, in his *Quaestiones Syntacticae de Elocutione Tacitea comparato Caesaris Sallusti Vellei Usu Loquendi* (Giessen), finds the solution of the whole problem in the application of the doctrine of Absolute and Relative Time—that doctrine, taught by Hoffmann and supported by Lübbert, which has been so potent in Germany and America, for good or for evil, since the appearance in 1870 of the latter's *Die Syntax von Quom*. Ihm was followed in 1884 by Lattmann and Müller in their *Kurzgefasste Lateinische Grammatik*, and in 1885 Wetzel, in his *Beiträge zur Lehre von der Consecutio Temporum*, amends, and, as amended, accepts the doctrine of Lattmann and Müller. The same man, then, who in 1877 said, at the end of his university career, the best thing that had then been said on the subject, and was distinctly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also, from the preface, p. 6, the following: *Ac deliberanti mihi saepenumero in eo potissimum omnium errorum fons et causa posita esse visa est, quod temporum consecutionem illud efficere, ut tempora in coniunctivo enuntiatorum secundariorum non omni ex parte eandem vim retineant quam in indicativo habent, sed sola verbi regentis forma definiantur, plerique opinantur.*

<sup>2</sup> The force of the tense of the subjunctive in the dependent deliberative question, the original consecutive clause, the final clause, is not the same as the force of any existing indicative construction.

on the right road, has led himself into the cloudland of Absolute and Relative Time. Meanwhile, however, Hermann Kluge, of the Gymnasium at Cöthen, published in 1883 a treatise of great importance, *Die Consecutio Temporum, deren Grundgesetz und Erscheinungen im Lateinischen*.<sup>1</sup>

In this treatise Kluge, *omnia ad se trahens*, ignores the great suggestiveness of Lieven's and Wetzel's partial proposition of the years 1872 and 1877; ignores the very great contribution to a proper psychological treatment of the general question and the explanation of important details given by Otto Behaghel in 1878 in the treatise already cited; and ignores the very helpful statement of the general nature of the indicative and subjunctive tenses given by Haase in the second volume of the *Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft* (edited by Hermann Peter, 1880). Further, he is astray, *me iudice*, in very many important details, which I have space barely to enumerate in part, without discussion: The theory that the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive are originally tenseless, differing from the present and perfect only in presenting a more remotely conceived idea; the theory, naturally connected with this, that the use of the imperfect and pluperfect in wishes, conclusions, and conditions referring to the speaker's present is not derived, but original—a view which would find it hard to reckon with the indisputable origin of the imperfect and pluperfect indicative referring to the same time in cases like *oportuerat*, *oportebat*, and the analogy of the history of, *e. g.* auxiliaries like the English would, should, might (preterites), and

<sup>1</sup>A word of personal explanation must at this point be granted me. The doctrine of this paper I taught, somewhat timorously, as became a young instructor, as early as the years 1877, 1878, and 1879, but with emphasis since the year 1880, when I was called to another university and to a position of responsibility. It was my purpose to publish and advocate my doctrine at the earliest possible moment, but in the press of duties I allowed the years to slip by, and was obliged to see the main tenet of my belief first printed in Kluge's book. As will appear below, I regard Kluge's treatment to be in many respects unsound; but the essential doctrine is true, that the tense of the subordinate verb is the direct expression of the speaker's meaning. Anticipated, then, in date of promulgation, and quite possibly even in actual length of years of possession of these views, I avow myself a supporter of Kluge, and a preacher of his faith. The question of priority of publication is, at the present point in the development of human nature, of much interest to the individual, but it is of little consequence to the world. What is of consequence is that sound doctrine should be reached as early as possible, and taught by as many men as possible.

the German würde, sollte, möchte, etc.; the theory that the imperfect indicative indicates duration of action ("Dauer"); the astounding theory that in a sentence like Livy's in I, 3: *tantum opes creverant . . . ut ne morte quidem Aeneae nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam . . . movere arma . . . ulli alii accolae ausi sint*, the perfect is used because the statement fills Livy, as he tells the story, with such interest that the incident appears to him not to be on the same plane with the other points of the narrative, but to be, in a word, remarkable enough to be brought into connection with the actual present of the writer; by which Kluge means, as clearly appears elsewhere, that such perfects as *ausi sint* are *logical perfects*, *perfects definite*, utterly failing to recognize, as many had done, years ago, that these perfects are simply subjunctive aorists corresponding precisely to independent indicative aorists;<sup>1</sup> the theory that the final clause is developed out of the consecutive clause. He errs, moreover, in attributing metaphysical rather than concrete origins to the various dependent subjunctive constructions. He gives no proof, such as has been attempted in this paper, of the unsoundness of the prevailing doctrine, nor does he protect his theory from attack by raising and meeting the apparent objections founded on the common use of the imperfect subjunctive in result-clauses (he is quite wrong in the matter, regarding the tense as always indicating the action as "laufend"), and the use of the form *-turus fuerit* in subordinated conclusions contrary to fact, etc., etc. Nevertheless, the doctrine that in the subordinate sentence the speaker's meaning alone determines the tense is here for the first time stated sharply and as covering the whole ground; and to have done this is a very great service.

In no school grammar or manual published in Germany since then, however, has this doctrine been taught, so far as my knowledge goes—not, at any rate, in the grammars of Schottmüller-Putsche (1884), Ellendt-Seyffert (edition of 1886), Kühner's *Elementargrammatik* (1884). Of the still recent grammars, etc., published a little earlier, Josuweit's (1882) states to the full the old doctrine in these words: "In the dependent subjunctive the con-

<sup>1</sup> This forcing of the meaning of the perfects in question is as shortsighted as it is extraordinary; for Kluge fails to see that, when he has tortured these perfects into perfects definite, he still has to confront and account for the fact that, as noticed on page 65 of this paper, they themselves are followed in most cases by the imperfect and pluperfect.

ception of time utterly vanishes; that conception is given by the governing verb; nothing remains to the subjunctive except the conception of the act as complete or still lasting with reference to the governing verb" (§83). Feldmann (1882) says (§69, 3) that "result-clauses are not subjected to the Sequence of Tenses." Goldbacher (1883) says that in all "innerlich" dependent subjunctives the tense is under the influence of the tense in the governing sentence; these "innerlich" dependent subjunctives being those that are expressed as in the mind of the subject of the governing sentence, namely, final sentences, sentences after *antequam*, *priusquam*, *dum*, *donec*, *quoad*, many relative sentences, questions and subordinate verbs in the indirect discourse; in result-clauses, however, that tense is used which would have been used in an independent construction, excepting that in pure result-clauses with *ut* the imperfect usually stands after the perfect. Here is to be seen a single plant sprung from the seed planted by Lieven in 1872. In the grammars of Holzweissig (I have before me the edition of 1885) and Ellendt-Seyffert (1885 and 1886) a richer growth appears, but nothing more than in Lieven's treatise; for these grammars teach that the rules of the Sequence of Tenses hold, but only for "innerlich" dependent sentences, while consecutive, causal, concessive, and non-final relative sentences are not subject to the rule. In no school grammar in Germany, then, has the true doctrine found a lodgment. Still there is great significance in this distinct narrowing of the field of the operation of the Law. Such things show a drift of opinion; and that drift is clearly away from, not in the direction of, faith in the Law of the Sequence.

Antoine, in his *Syntaxe de la Langue Latine*, 1886, has got no farther on than Lieven. In the latest French grammar, Reinach's *Grammaire Latine*, a dissatisfaction with the old way and an unreadiness to break with it are shown at the same moment in the statement that "the concord of tenses in Latin is subject to two general rules, which are rather logical tendencies than laws of the language: 1. If the main verb refers to the present or the future, and the dependent to the present or the past, the present or perfect of the subjunctive is used in the dependent verb; 2. If the main verb refers to the past, the imperfect or pluperfect is used in the dependent verb"; and the same jarring of views is seen in the quoting of a sentence from Kluge and another from Ihm in the immediate neighborhood of the statement that "the other irregularities in the *consecutio temporum* are to be referred to the struggle

of logic with grammar," a sentence not to be reconciled with the true doctrine that the Latin tenses successfully tell their own story.

So, then, it appears that no school grammar has yet taught this simple doctrine. In one notable case, however, has a refreshing, even if too brief, treatment appeared, in what may be called a grammar for specialists. In the grammar of Stolz and Schmalz, published in 1885, before that of Reinach, the entire treatment of the "*sogenannte consecutio temporum*" is confined, with a noble disdain, to fifteen lines and two-thirds; and although no proof is given, and no light thrown upon the apparent difficulties, as, *e. g.*, the use of the imperfect in result-clauses (a matter especially suitable for explanation in a grammar of such aims), yet it is expressly laid down, in the exact words of Kluge's treatise, that "a mechanical dependence of the tenses of the subordinate sentence upon those of the main sentence does not exist, and that the choice of the tense in each sentence depends upon the conception lying at the bottom of it." After such a note as this, struck by what may be expected to prove an influential grammar, I have entire faith in the success, at no remote time, of the true doctrine, to the immense relief and profit of the Latin-studying mind. This true doctrine cannot, however, be preached to the people in the highways. It can reach them with ease and conviction only through their sacred books, the school grammars. And I therefore address my protest to that body of actual or potential makers of those sacred books, the constituency of the Journal of Philology.

WILLIAM GARDNER HALE.

## NOTES.

### THE DERIVATION OF STAMBOUL.

It has become a commonplace that Stamboul or Istamboul, the modern Turkish name for Constantinople, is a corruption of *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*; but, like many of our commonplaces, this derivation has been questioned and in some cases discarded by men whose opinions carry weight. The earliest mention of it that I know is to be found in Ducange, *Gloss. ad Scriptores Med. et Infimae Graecitatis* (1687), under the word *πόλις*, where he says, following the "Grammatica Linguae Graecae vulgaris inedita" of Romanus Nicephorus:<sup>1</sup> "[πόλις] Sola Constantinopolis a Graecis hodie appellatur per excellentiam, cum urbes caeteras omnes *κάστρα* vocare soleant. Unde accidit ut ex *στὴν πόλιν* quomodo vulgus dicere amabat, cum Byzantium proficiscebantur, aut de hac urbe loquebantur, Turci fecerint Dorice *Στάμπολ*, mutato *η* in *α*." For this simple and plausible explanation some modern scholars have attempted to substitute two others. Egli (*Nomina Geographica*: Leipzig, 1872) in his article on Constantinople says: "Der oriental. (-türk.) name *Stambul* ist eine verstümmelung von *islam* = rechtgläubig und *bul* = menge oder vielheit." He expresses no doubt in the matter, and quotes no evidence except the circulation in Georgia of coins which were struck in Constantinople and which have *islambul* inscribed upon them.

But the most triumphant assault upon the old derivation is in the article on Constantinople in Ersch and Gruber, 83 Theil (Leipzig, 1885), written by G. Rosen. I quote the whole of it for the sake of what will follow: "Stambul, wie wir seit einem Jahrhundert jahraus jahrein von jedem Reisebeschreiber, der die Tertia

<sup>1</sup> Ducange's *Index Auctorum* tells us that Romanus Nicephorus came from Thessalonica, lived in France, and was a Capuchin monk. His grammar is in the National Library. He lived in the 17th century. The passage in Romanus' MS reads: "Unde fit *στὴν πόλιν* pro *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, ad urbem (id est Constantinopolim) per excellentiam. *Πόλιν* enim nullam aliam urbem vocant Graeci, solum vero Constantinopolim per excellentiam: sed alias omnes urbes vocant *κάστρα* (τὰ *κάστρον*). Ab isto igitur *στὴν πόλιν* Turci fecerunt Dorice *Στάμπολ*, mutato *η* in *α*." Quoted by E. Jacquet, *Journal Asiatique*, IX 458.



eines Gymnasiums absolvirt hat [Poor old Ducange!], von neuem belehrt werden, aus *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, in die Stadt entstanden. Diese Etymologie, welche nicht bloß zum Verstand, sondern auch zur Phantasie redet, hat ausserordentliches Glück gemacht. Sie setzt voraus, dass die Türken als ganz wilde Horde vor den Mauern der ihnen unbekannten grossen Stadt erschienen, und da sie sich nach ihrem Namen erkundigten, von den Butter und Käse auf den Markt bringenden Landleuten die Antwort erhielten: *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, mit welcher sie sich ebenso beruhigten, wie nochjetzt manche moderne Reihe Schriftsteller und ihr Publicum. Woher die alt-dorische Form *τάν* in Konstantinopel, dem vornehmlichsten Sitze des modernen Itakismus, darum bekümmerte man sich nicht; günstigstenfalls hätte aus *is tin polin*, wie die angeführten Worte gesprochen werden, im Türkischen Stambul werden können. Wie war es aber möglich das die Vertreter der Anatolisch-türkischen Bildung von Konstantinopel nichts wussten, dessen Erwerb schon vor Jahrhunderten das Ziel des politischen Ehrgeizes der Seldschuken gewesen, ganz abgesehen davon, dass die Osmanen selber längst auch auf rumeliotischen Boden heimisch geworden waren und unablässig bald kriegerische, bald friedliche Beziehungen zu dem Kaiser geflogen hatten? Im *Islam* war die Kenntniss Konstantinopels noch viel älter. Die Araber nannten die Stadt Kostantinijet, und das dürfte auch für die Seldschuken ihre erste Benennung gewesen sein. Als aber nach der türkischen Eroberung Kleinasien massenhafte Uebertritte der halb gräcisirten und christlichen Landesbewohner zum Islam stattgefunden hatten da musste durch den Einfluss dieser eine ihren alten Gewohnheiten mehr Rechnung tragende Benennung sich Bahn brechen, und so entstand aus Kostandipol Stambul, in welchem Worte die Silbe *stan* als Ueberbleibsel von Konstantin zu betrachten ist." Could anything be more convincing and plausible? We immediately sympathize with the learned Orientalist in his sarcastic protest against third-form learning and wonder that we had so long endured it. But can anything be said for the old derivation? Let us see. In 1810 Silvestre de Sacy published in the "Notices et Extraits des MSS de la Bibliothèque Impériale," etc. (Vol. VIII, p. 132), an account of a MS work by the celebrated Arabian *savant* Masudi (floruit early 10th cent.) which is called by De Sacy, *Le livre de l'indication et de l'admonition*. On p. 172 De Sacy quotes the following about Constantinople: "Les Grecs, jusqu'au temps auquel nous écrivons, la nomment *Polin* [Arabic omitted]; et quand ils veulent faire

entendre qu'elle est la capitale de l'empire, à cause de sa grandeur ils disent *Stan polin*. Ils ne la nomment point Kostantiniyyèh; ce sont les Arabes qui lui donnent ce nom." The same passage is in De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe* and in a brief article by E. Jacquet in the *Journal Asiatique*, IX (1832), 460. He transliterates the Arabic as Bôlin and Stanbôlin. He remarks that it is to be noticed that Masudi implies that this namè had been long in use and that the name Constantinople had ceased to be employed by the Greeks, though customary among the Arabs. Jacquet argues further, that the Chinese name for the Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages, *Folin*, is simply *πολις*, which they had heard but misunderstood.

Ibn Batouta, another famous Arabian traveller, whose travels extended over the years 1325-49, visited Constantinople. He says: "Elle est extrêmement grande et divisée en deux portions que sépare un grand fleuve . . . une des deux portions de la ville s'appelle Esthamboûl. . . . Quant à la seconde partie. . . on la nomme Galata." (Ed. of Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Vol. II 431-2.) On p. 437 he says a certain convent "est situé hors d'Esthanboûl [*sic*] vis-à-vis de Galata."

A similar form even earlier was current among the Armenians, for Jacquet (ibid. 459) says: Déjà cependant on lisait, dans la Géographie arménienne dite de Vartan, et qui n'a pu être écrite au plus tard que dans les premières années du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, qu' Heraclius enleva le bois de la vraie croix aux Persans et le transporta à Esdampol. (Armenian omitted.)

The Spanish ambassador, Clavijo, from Henry III of Castile to the court of Timour at Samarcand passed through Constantinople on his way thither in 1403. He remarks: "The Greeks do not call it Constantinople, as we do, but Escomboli." (Markham's ed., Hakluyt Soc., p. 47.) The editor notes that Escomboli is probably a misunderstanding of Estomboli. Johann Schiltberger, a Bavarian, in the account of his captivity among the "Infidels" and of his travels, describes Constantinople as he saw it about the year 1426. Among other things he says: "Constantinopel hayssen die Chrichen Istimboli und die Thürcken hayssends Stambol." (Ed. of Langmentel, Bibl. des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart: Tübingen, 1885, p. 45.) "The Greeks call Constantinoppel Istimboli, but the Turks call it Stampol." (Ed. of Telfer, Hakluyt Soc., p. 79.)

In view of these indisputable proofs of the derivation of Stamboul from *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, the learned German Orientalist's heat over "third-

form" learning becomes somewhat comical. It is unnecessary, however, to delay over the vagaries of an Orientalist unacquainted with some of our best sources of information about the East in the Middle Ages, or a Greek scholar who decides offhand on the date of a modern Greek corruption without thinking of consulting Ducange. But I must not conclude these remarks without expressing my obligations to the English Orientalist, Col. Henry Yule, the learned editor of *Marco Polo*. I had spent a considerable time in fruitless search to find out how old the corruption *Stamboul* was, in order to test Rosen's derivation, which seemed very strongly put. I found nothing better than Von Hammer-Purgstall's assertion of the *εἰς τὴν πόλιν* derivation (was Von Hammer-Purgstall one of Rosen's "third form" scholars?), and later the remark in Ducange, when one day, in consulting Yule's "*Cathay and the Way Thither*" (Vol. II 402, Hakluyt Soc. 1866), I lighted upon a note which directed my attention to these Oriental travellers, and above all to that quotation from Masudi which settled the point. Col. Yule's note also incidentally explains Egli's derivation from *Islambul*, for he says that after the capture of Constantinople some of the Sultans tried to change its name to *Islambul*. He further notes that some Turkish writers of the time gave various explanations to *Istambul*, one affirming that it meant "You will find there what you will," which seems to have been Rosen's method.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

P. S.—Since writing this note I have met with two or three good parallel cases which I have thought best to add with some previously noticed.

*Setines* for Athens (*εἰς Ἀθήνας*), a mediaeval corruption noticed in Gibbon, ch. 62, note 59. In Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* (pub. 1731-50) we read: "*Setines, Satine, oder Attines sind die jetzigen Nahmen des alten Athen.*" The supplementary *Dict. de la Géog. Anc. et Moderne*, which is designed to go with Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, refers this form to the Middle Ages and adds the variation *Astines*.

*Isnicmid*, from *εἰς Νικομήδειαν*. Yule, *Cathay*, as above.

*Samson* (on the Black Sea), from *εἰς Ἀμισον*. Fallmerayer, quoted by Brunn in Telfer's *Schiltberger*, 119.

*Tzitana* or *Sitana*, from *Itanus* (Brunn's note in Telfer's *Schiltberger*, 119).

*Setea*, from *Etea*, *ibid.*

*Tzerapetna*, from *Hierapytna*, *ibid.*

Tzembela, from *εἰς ἄμπελον*;

Tzecampo, from *εἰς κάμπον*; quoted as Cretan corruptions from Spratt's Researches in Crete by Brunn, *ibid.*

Standia, from *εἰς τὴν Δίαν*. Dapper (Beschryving van Archipel, 283) states that in Italian charts it is also written Stantea and Estanti.

Stanco, from Kos.

Satalia, from Attalia (Pamphylia).

This list, doubtless, could be easily increased, but examples enough have been given to support the derivation of Stamboul by analogy, if any one should be disposed to doubt the historical evidence set forth above.

E. G. B.

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#### SUUM CUIQUE.

My attention has been kindly called by Prof. Usener to the fact that in the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* for 1878 (Vol. 117), pp. 78-80, he had anticipated the views as to the indeclinability of *meridie* in the earliest authors expressed by me in Vol. VII of this Journal, pp. 228 ff., and supported them by reference to nearly the same passages. He gives, moreover, in addition, Fronto ad M. Caesar. IV 5, p. 68 (Naber), *inde post meridie* (*posteridie* first hand, *post meridiem* corr.) *domum recepimus*, and II 6, 31, *exim antemeridie apricum, Tusculanum: tum meridies fervida, Puteolana*, and Cicero, Tusc. II 3, 9, where the Parisinus (first hand) and the Gudianus have *post meridie*. In the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for May 8, 1886, at which time my article was already in print, Prof. Usener cites the four passages in Vegetius, also given by me, where the oldest MSS have *post meridie*. He also cites a passage unknown to me from Lucifer of Cagliari (Hartel's ed.), p. 144, 27, *et tenebrae tibi ut meridie erunt*, repeated in p. 145, 3, and Cod. Theod. XV 5, 2 (according to Cod. Petav.), *ante meridie*. The forms *antemeridie* and *postmeridie* quoted by me from the Notae Tironianae 74, seem thus to be amply supported by MS readings, and doubtless still other cases may be found. I am glad to find so eminent a scholar agreeing with my position, and to accord him the precedence which he deserves. My article was chiefly devoted to the defense of Varro's etymology, and here I regret to say that Prof. Usener does not agree with me, taking a view to which I cannot subscribe. He says, l. c. p. 78, "nur ist *r* nicht vertreter

von *d* sondern von intervocalem *s*, und dies war assibilationprodukt aus *di*: vgl. *Claudius Clausus*, *Fidius* umbr. *Fisus*, \**Condius Consus* nach Grassmann in Kuhn ZS XVI 109, *Bantia* osk. *Bansa*," etc. I still hold, on the evidence of the examples given by me, that *d* could and did pass directly into *r*. The absurd etymology given by Servius, Comm. on Aen. 8, 138, "*Alii Mercurium quasi medicurrium a Latinis dictum volunt, quod inter caelum et inferos semper incurrat*," may be added to the testimony already given to show that the Romans themselves recognized a kinship of sound between *d* and *r*.

The last number of the Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie contains (p. 566) a short review of Prof. Dr. Val. Hintner's "*Meridies, eine etymologische Untersuchung: Jahresbericht des kk. akadem. Gymn. in Wien, 1886.*" This Programm, which also attempts the defense of the Varronian etymology, I have not seen, but from the statement of the reviewer, "*ebenso wenig ist bewiesen dass d im Inlaut in r übergehe, da die allbekannten Formen arvorum arfuerunt u. a. doch nur Komposita sind*," I should infer that he had not produced the instances which I have given for this change.

MINTON WARREN.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

*Studies in Greek Thought. Essays Selected from the Papers of the Late*  
LEWIS R. PACKARD, Hillhouse Professor of Greek in Yale College. vi,  
182 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1886.

The interest attaching to this little book is chiefly personal ; for of the essays here issued, the two more important have already appeared in print, and the remainder are of value as specimens of the finished work of an eminent college lecturer rather than as distinct contributions to science. The readers of this *Journal* (Vol. V, p. 403) have already gained some glimpses of the brave and pathetic life of Professor Packard, who, struggling against the fearful odds of failing health, ever remained faithful to a singularly high ideal of duty and of scholarship. The essays in this book will serve to illustrate certain traits in his scholarship which it is well for American scholars to lay to heart : a severe literary taste and style, a certain analytic acumen in the study of literature as well as of language, and a mental habit of directness, precision, and simplicity, with no pomp of erudition.

The subjects treated are : The Morality and Religion of the Greeks (President's Address at the Cleveland meeting of the American Philological Association, 1881 ; afterwards privately printed) ; Plato's Arguments in the *Phaedo* for the Immortality of the Soul, and Plato's System of Education in the Republic, two lectures which formed part of a course prepared for college classes ; the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophokles, a lecture in Sanders Theatre, at Cambridge, before the Harvard Philological Society, in 1882 ; summaries of the *Oedipus at Kolonos* and of the *Antigone* of Sophokles, written in Athens during the author's last winter of feverish weakness and suffering (1883-4), and *The Beginning of a Written Literature in Greece*.

The first essay appeared before the issue of Leopold Schmidt's great and indispensable work upon the same subject, which in many respects meets the want of detailed treatment often expressed by Professor Packard. While it is hardly more than a sketch, it is a sketch from a master's hand, and it indicates more than once—especially in its emphasis of the historical method of research and of the proethnic elements of Greek culture—a more satisfactory point of view than that of Schmidt. As, perhaps, the most perfected, and at the same time the most typical, piece of literary work left by its author, it deserves more than casual mention. For those who may not have access to the essay in its printed form, an outline of the course of thought followed in it is here offered.

After discussing and discarding several theories of the basis of the moral ideas of the Greeks—viz. that they sprung from the Olympian theology, from the mysteries, from the teachings of the philosophers, from the worship of the dead—the author draws the inference that the morality of the Greeks was

inherited from that of their Aryan ancestors, which was based upon their religion. What this early morality was it is almost impossible to ascertain: we can only trace it in its subsequent historical development, with the materials at our command. These materials are: First, monumental records; second, customs and institutions; third, recorded incidents of private life; and, fourth, which are of least importance, the deliberate expressions of moral and religious feeling by poets and philosophers. There was in most respects a distinct progress in morals from the Homeric to the Periklean age: for example, in regard to the position of orphans, the treatment of homicide, and of the slave (as already noted by Grote). There was also evident progress in respect to the laws of property and of inheritance, and in commercial honesty, where we are inclined unjustly to depreciate the Greeks, and in genuine courage: all of which show a development of social relations, and an increased sense of society as having claims on the individual recognized by him as duties. There was a decline in morals, however, in two particulars at least, viz. the change in the position of woman in the family, and the change in the forms of slavery. The progress was occasioned proximately, we may believe, by the gnomes of the wise men, the responses of the oracles, the elevated utterances of poets, the general advance in the arts of life, the establishment of law, great historical events, like the Persian wars, exciting deep feeling and bringing forth shining examples of heroism. Back of it all was that native and inexplicable capacity of the Greeks for progress—their instinctive sense for proportion and moderation, their love of freedom, their clear-headedness, their power of reasoning on abstract principles—which guided them between a rigid caste system, of which there are traces in their culture, and a rude barbarian license. How good was the result? In many respects not only the theories but also the condition of morals among the Greeks were not different from those of our own time. Thus truth, family affection, courage, patriotism, temperance, justice, reverence, were praised and the correlative vices condemned. In some respects there is a difference: in bodily purity the best standard of the Greeks was low; revenge is a duty until we come to Plato, who first gives us hints of a nobler conception; the passive virtues are ignored, such as meekness and gentleness; charity in the form of benevolence was practised, but not inculcated as a duty, unless it is to be recognized in the sacredness of the suppliant. The morality was that of a self-regarding system, and built up on the idea of fitness rather than of right. The relation of the morality of the Greeks to their religion is a problem not yet solved: we cannot assert, on the one hand, that there was a complete divorce between ethics and religion, nor, on the other, that religion was purified only with the progress of ethical conceptions. The influence of religion on morality may be observed in the power of oaths, in the views upon suicide, to a certain extent in the conception of *ἱερίαι*; many duties are emphasized by appeals to the god whose titles, *ξένιος*, *ἱετήριος*, *ἐρκεύς*, show his direct relation to human duty. It would seem, however, that the conception of religion as a distinct motive-power available as a sanction of moral duty was not yet fully formed and developed in the consciousness of the mass of men.

There are reasons why it is difficult to frame a clear conception and precise description of the religion of the Greeks. It had no standard, no creed, no

accepted head to control and co-ordinate local varieties; it was hospitable to novelties and was composite in character. Its inherited mythology it retained in some of its features, modifying their interpretation, expanding and enriching. It embraced "most widely divergent views and dispositions towards the gods, including in one fold the stern, devout Puritanism of Aeschylus and the scoffing, obscene Puritanism of Aristophanes." Even in the same mind it allowed the co-existence of different conceptions of the supreme divinity (the Zeus of the Agamemnon and of the Prometheus of Aeschylus). The historical method of inquiry should precede the comparative in the study of the religion of the Greeks. Enough of resemblances exist between the earliest religious system of the Vedas (as described by Barth) and that of the Homeric poems, in spite of great differences, to warrant the belief that the two had a common origin. The details of the form of religion—worship of the powers of Nature—brought by the Greek settlers into Greek lands, we have no means of knowing. We may, however, infer (Herodotus, II 52) that the ancestors of the Greeks, like the singers of the Vedic hymns, had no representations of their gods and even a less elaborate mythology than the Vedic. In the lapse of time new divinities are introduced (Dionysos), sometimes, however, adopted under old names and blended with old Indo-European conceptions, thus producing a syncretism puzzling to the student of Greek mythology (the Semitic goddess whom at different points along the lines of trade the Greeks adopted under several different names, as Aphrodite, Hera, Artemis and perhaps Athene); human feelings and functions, social principles and abstract qualities, begin to be personified. This multiplication of deities was due not wholly to a mysterious impulse towards polytheism, but in large measure to the early separation into small communities and the subsequent combination into larger aggregates. The anthropomorphizing tendency in mythology, which exists among all people, only in different degree, was due to the influence of the poet, and to the vivid defining imagination of the race, subsequently powerfully seconded by the plastic and pictorial arts. This tendency showed itself in life, and developed a feeling of comradeship with the gods; it produced a tone of simple gladness, a sort of consecration of physical and social happiness, which may have weakened the moral influence of religion in some directions, but must have strengthened it in others. "The book of Genesis tells us that man was made in the image of God. Aristotle supplies the counterpart to this by his observation that the Greeks made their gods in their own image" (Pol. I, 2, p. 1252b). It would follow that as the character of the people improved, their conception of the gods would become correspondingly elevated. The most prominent agents in this upward movement, or the embodiment of the spirit that caused it, seem to have been the Delphic oracle and the tragic poets of Athens. From the belief in Apollo—which has not yet received the study it deserves—not simply as the revealer of the will of Zeus, but as the agent of purification to the soul, seems to have grown up a strong faith in the power of the god to bring about an atonement, a reconciliation between the sinner and the divine wrath against sin. This faith marks the highest point of practical religion reached by the Greeks. Zeus, however, remains to the end the supreme god of Greek religion. With the decline of national life, religion suffered, though there are indications that it exercised its sway for several centuries with undiminished pomp of observance.



Our survey of their morality and religion shows us that the religion of the Greeks was not a worship of beauty, nor a worship of Nature, nor the display of human nature unclothed and unabashed, acting itself out in the joyous innocency of infancy. For "all through the literature of Greece is felt the sterner strain that distinguishes the man from the child—a sense of duty and of responsibility for the discharge of duty—appearing in Homer, rising to its highest expression in Aeschylus, not wholly lost in Aristophanes, translated into the love of the supreme idea by Plato, and formulated with mathematical precision by Aristotle." Nor, finally, do we find in Greek myths profound truths disguised as fables. The motive-cause at the bottom of the phenomenon of religion is the need of man for an object of worship—a primal need, since we cannot tell whence it arises, whether from fear or from wonder or from a sense of sin or from a feeling of material dependence (πάντες δὲ θεῶν χάριον ἀνθρώποι). This impulse to worship seems to have produced in the minds of the ancestors of the Greeks a threefold result—worship of the powers and forms of Nature, a worship of fire, and possibly a worship of the dead. This inheritance was brought to Europe, and in time became localized, humanized, and systematized. It was also enlarged on Greek soil by the adoption of new deities, both native and foreign. The Greeks were ever ready to see a divine agency all about them; their conceptions, though clear and clean-cut in some respects, were in others vague and elastic; they had a theory of the close association of gods and men. All along from the beginning their conception of these divine beings was just enough above the moral standard of the average man to exert some control upon him and through him upon the community. Thus we see how the religion of the Greeks was elevated by the improvement of the moral character of the people, and how at the same time it helped elevate the character of the people. The apparent consecration of vice in the worship of Dionysos and Aphrodite needs no explanation here. Both of these cults were apparently introduced from foreign lands; and in the case of both there is evidence of a time when sobriety and chastity were required of the worshippers. The gross indulgences which became associated with them were not the legitimate product of a distorted idea of religion, but the abuse of a natural and right idea. On the whole, the religion of the Greeks, though when compared with some others, Christianity and even Mahometanism and Buddhism, it appears wavering in its conception of a divine nature and feeble in direct moral influence, was yet worthy of the name of religion; that is, it was a system of belief as to the relation of man to the divine being which influenced him in his conduct towards reverence, integrity, temperance, and good-will to his fellow-men.

The last essay, on The Beginning of a Written Literature in Greece (Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. XI, 1880), is a review of Professor F. A. Paley's article on the same subject in *Fraser's Magazine* for March, 1880. Professor Packard clearly shows, by detailed criticism, that Paley's position (that the use of writing to multiply copies of books cannot be proved to have been common in Greece before 400 B. C.) is untenable, and he gives reasons for believing that the use of writing was familiar before 400 B. C., and cites frequent references to books occurring between 425 B. C. and 400 B. C. Several passages are quoted and interpreted, bearing out this view, some

of which imply the collection of a library and the exportation of books. The passages are: Pindar, *Ol.* XI 1 f.; Aeschylus, *Supp.* 946 f.; Herodotus, I 123, 125, III 42, 123, 128, V 58, VI 55, VIII 133, IX 81; Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 52 ff., 943, 1113 f.; Thucydides, I 23, 97; Kratinos (*Pollux*, VII 210); Eupolis (*ib.* IX 47); Plato *Com.* (*ib.* VII 210). From Xenophon and Plato were selected several passages to show how very common books must have been before 400 B. C., or at least before 360 B. C., and on how many subjects they were composed—viz. Xenophon, *Mem.* I 6, 14, IV 2, 1–10, *Anab.* VII 5, 14; Plato, *Apol.* 26 D, *Phaed.* 97 C, 98 B, *Symp.* 117 B, *Gorg.* 462 B, 518 B (*Mithaikos*, author of the “Handbook of Sicilian Cookery”), *Protag.* 325 E, *Phaedr.* 228 D, 230 D, 273 A (the phrase *πεπότηκας τινα*, ‘to be familiar with an author,’ found also in Aristophanes, *Birds*, 471; B. C. 415), 276 C, *Theaet.* 152 A, 162 A, 166 C, *Soph.* 232 D, *Polit.* 293 A, *Parmen.* 128 D.

While here and there in the course of the book exception might be taken to certain statements, and modifications might be suggested,<sup>1</sup> every one will admit that in the main the positions assumed are sound, and that they are defended alike with logic and with learning. The thoughtfulness and scholarly suggestiveness of the essays here selected for especial mention are matched by like features in the other essays of this collection, which show, besides, the art of appropriateness to the occasions that called them forth. This book is a fit memorial of its author. It is to be hoped that among his papers there may yet remain material for a second volume, or at least for an enlarged new edition of the present volume.

J. H. WRIGHT.

*Anecdota Oxoniensia.* (Semitic Series.) Vol. I, Part II. *The Book of the Bee.* Edited by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, A. M. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1886.

“The Book of the Bee” is a work of whose existence nearly every student of Syriac has heard something, but only those who have access to the manuscripts in European libraries have really known anything but its name, its author, and a few extracts. It is at last published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford, in the Semitic Series (as Vol. I, Part II) of the “*Anecdota Oxoniensia*,” and edited, with an English translation, by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, A. M., of the British Museum. The Syriac text, as its date reads, was printed in 1885, but the whole book was published in 1886. The work is well edited, and well

<sup>1</sup> For example: on the strength of evidence from the grave-monuments of Peloponnesus and of Attica lately made available, the word “possibly” should be erased from the statement that the primal impulse to worship produced, among the ancestors of the Greeks, “possibly a worship of the dead” (p. 35). This worship, of which these monuments are the record, could hardly have sprung up on the soil of Greece. The remark that “Thucydides . . . is not mentioned, I believe, by any writer whose works we have, earlier than Dionysios of Halikarnassos” (p. 162) might convey a false impression. The historian is certainly mentioned not only by Roman writers earlier than Dionysius (as Cicero), but also by Greek writers of a still earlier date—at least in quotations and citations preserved to us in the later literature. Thus in Marcellinus’s life of Thucydides there are references to statements about Thucydides made by Timaeus, Philochorus, Polemon (fl. B. C. 300–200), and others. The account of the relation of Demosthenes to Thucydides, though given only in late writers, has also the weight of much earlier evidence (Θουκυδίδου *ζηλωτής*, Dion. Hal., *de Thuc.* ind. 53, p. 944; τὰ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου . . . παρὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους . . . ὁκτάκις μεταγεγραμμένα, Lucian, *adv. ind.* 4, 102).

translated, the author having the help of the distinguished scholar, Prof. William Wright, LL. D. (the Arabic professor, not the William Wright, D. D., author of "The Empire of the Hittites"), who read every page of the proof, and, further, edited the Arabic extracts from a translation of the work, which form a part of the book. Besides the matters just indicated, the book contains a competent and instructive preface, a glossary of Syriac words either not found or not well explained in the *Lexicon* of Edmund Castle (whom the editor calls "Castell," doubtless voting himself the orthographic freedom of the seventeenth century), an index of proper names, and a list of Scripture references. There are also abundant foot-notes, text-critical in the Syriac portion, explanatory and literary in the English portion, which are very valuable; though they by no means exhaust the information which a Talmudic or a patristic student could profitably impart. The text is based upon four manuscripts, of which one, dated A. D. 1559, belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society; another, dated A. D. 1709, is in the British Museum; the third, belonging probably to the last century, belongs to the Royal Library at Munich; and the fourth, dated A. D. 1584, belongs to the Bodleian at Oxford. The editing of the text is especially satisfactory. That the copies have been somewhat changed since the work was composed appears in the list of the "Catholics (*i. e.* Patriarchs) of the East," which has been continued, with apparent correctness, for some two centuries later than the date of the author. The Munich MS has been once translated into Latin, and the translation (by Dr. J. M. Schoenfelder) published at Bamberg in 1866.

The book is a curious affair, compiled by the bishop Shellmôn (Solomon), of Akhlat in Armenia, in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It belongs to a class of compositions of which there are many examples in Syriac literature, though they are not always put forth frankly under their true colors, but are composed like accretions about some nucleus of an ecclesiastical work or service-book, to which they serve as a *quasi catena* or commentary. One of these is to be seen in one of the newly-acquired manuscripts of the Union Theological Seminary in New York; whose nucleus is the Church cantilatory responses or songs, but the accretion an almost endless set of discourses and quotations, embracing the topics which begin with creation and end with the blessedness of the righteous after the day of judgment. So the *Book of the Bee* is intended to "inform briefly concerning God's dispensation in the two worlds." Says the author, according to Budge's translation: "We have gleaned and collected and gathered together chapters and sections relating to this whole universe from the garden of the Divine Books and from the crumbs of the Fathers and the Doctors, having laid down as the foundation of our building the beginning of the creation of this world, and concluding with the consummation of the world to come. We have called this book the '*Book of the Bee*' because we have gathered of the blossoms of the two Testaments and of the flowers of the Holy Books"; and so on, with an expansion of the simile of the bee which would do credit to any modern versatile exhorter.

The book is interesting to the Syriac student, of course, in a linguistic point of view; but it is more interesting as a gauge or index of the literary furniture and attainments of a Nestorian bishop of those days, and still more so as disclosing the books and sources which enlightened the Syriac speakers and

writers of the time. To-day, even, the Bee is much read by the Nestorian ecclesiastics; among some of them, almost as a sort of Pilgrim's Progress. Next to the Bible and the service-books, it is said to be the common classic for candidates for clerical orders in some districts. Extremely interesting would it be to parcel out each spoonful of honey laid before us by this bee, and assign it to the flower whence he gathered it—for the assimilation has been none too perfect. The editor, in his notes, has pointed out most, if not all, of the Scripture allusions and extracts; which, indeed, for the most part, lie on the surface. He has also done a man's work in noting the others as far as he could; but the reader of patristic Greek, especially if he have read much of Aristotle, can easily "spot" whole passages as quotations or extracts or translations. The more nearly original Syriac sources can also be easily recognized in large measure, since some of them occur in accessible works, and a few even in Syriac chrestomathies. Even to hint at the identifications, however, requires some account of the structure and contents of the book.

It is divided into sixty chapters, of which the author obligingly gives a list in the opening section or introduction. Chapter I is on God's eternal intention in respect of the creation of the universe; and then, after one chapter on the creation of the seven natures or substances, and another on the four elements, one on heaven, another on the angels, there follow a series on the Creation, on the Biblical history, interspersed with patristic tradition, down to the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles, after the Ascension; then traditions about the Apostles, the names of the Eastern patriarchs, the names of kings who have reigned in the world from the Flood till the author's time, the names of the seventy translators of the Scripture, etc.; then of future events—Gog and Magog, Antichrist, and so on—until the Resurrection, the blessedness of the righteous, and the misery of demons and sinners in Gehenna, with some discussion whether these sufferers will ever receive mercy, and if so, when.

The opening chapters have much from the Mishna and other Jewish tradition. The chapter on the angels comes—at least in part—either directly or independently from the sources whence the Israelites elaborated their angelology and demonology during the Captivity; though earlier Syriac writers and the New Testament show their influence with the author of the Bee. The chapters on the different stages of the Creation exhibit much Talmudic influence. The speculations on Paradise come from a whole field of flowers. Just where the author learned that the fig-tree was the forbidden one, it is hard to say; but the supposition that the "skins" with which God clothed Adam and Eve were "barks of trees" is found in sundry other Syriac compositions. At least down to the dispersion after the Flood, the author has other Syriac authority and rabbinic tradition combined; but he is a trifle incorrect in his identifications of the early cities. In all this, as elsewhere, when the subject-matter calls for it, the Bible furnishes the main thread. Some of his interpretations of Scripture passages are very suggestive, and worth considering by Western commentators. It is not to be supposed that the author drew from the Talmud or the rabbinic sources at first hand. Nor does he always follow them; for he makes Syriac the primitive language. (Some writers would even go so far, apparently, as to make the Greek words adopted in Syriac to be primitive Syriac words,

and the Greeks the borrowers.) Nor does he seem to have borrowed from the Jews the statement that magic began in the days of Nahor.

In the subsequent history there appear borrowings from the so-called New Testament Apocrypha even. The death of the prophets, which is related in Chapter XXXII, immediately after that which gives the list of the kings of Judah, is from the same source as the Lives of the Prophets of Epiphanius (real or pseudo-), whom the Greek sources confound with him of Tyre, whose literary remains Dorotheus translated from their original Latin and "Hebrew" (*i. e.* the local Aramaic) into Greek, and him of Cyprus, to whom the Syriac versions unqualifiedly attribute them. It is, however, a different Syriac recension from that printed by Nestle. The genealogies of Matthew and Luke are reconciled in a way which many an independent and complacent later discoverer would imagine prophetic. For extra-Biblical matters respecting the birth and childhood of Jesus, see the Apocryphal Gospels and like compositions. The accounts of the Star, the visit of the Magi, and sundry kindred matters, are paralleled by various other Syriac compositions, and seem to be diligent extracts and abbreviations from familiar stories. The revelation of the Trinity to men in Jesus' baptism is only one form of a much-worn patristic argument. The washing of the Apostles' feet by Jesus is called the baptism of the Apostles, and is laid down as the authority for the apostolical succession (of patriarchs, of course, not of mere bishops—for the Western churches are less orthodox), under which alone people may be baptized, and so enter paradise. The authority for this doctrine the author himself mentions. On the "Passover of our Lord" (*i. e.* the one preceding the Passion) the author himself names many of his sources. On the Passion itself, as the editor notes, certain parts are drawn from John Chrysostom. The chapter on "The Teaching of the Apostles," etc., is not on the tract discovered by Bryennius, but substantially identical with the account given by Dorotheus, above mentioned; and the same is true of the names of the seventy disciples. The *Διδαχὴ*, however, does seem to furnish something for the chapter on the General Resurrection, and others near it. But it would require much time and great labor to hunt out all the sources; and, besides that, the drops from different flowers are sometimes mixed. The compilation, however, is the most interesting point in the book, and here and there seems to give light as to one limit of the probable age of certain compositions; though, again, as in the case of the anonymous "Vision of Ezra the Scribe," it is hard to say whether that or the Bee is the elder. The curious will desire greatly to know on what authority the Bee states that Christ was born in the forty-third year of the reign of Augustus (baptized in the fifteenth year of Tiberius is doubtless a conclusion from Luke iii), and crucified in the seventeenth year of Tiberius. But the author does not always give a statement as undoubted. He frequently gives the different opinions held on a point in controversy, sometimes stating the accepted and orthodox belief of the Church, and sometimes leaving the decision in suspense.

To the technical scholar the book is very entertaining and instructive; to the general cultured reader it will prove (of course in the English translation) sometimes like stupid sermons, and sometimes like music and stained windows; but as a piece of work well done, and as a valuable addition to the stock of

printed Syriac literature, with its lexical and grammatical *Ausbeutung*, it reflects credit on both editor and publisher, and is to be heartily welcomed. (4to, pp. xvi, 156, 185—the last numbered in Syriac and Arabic.)

ISAAC H. HALL.

Corso de Historia da Litteratura Portugueza, por THEOPHILO BRAGA. 8vo. 6 + 411 pp. Lisboa, Nova Livraria Internacional, 1885.

On the tenth of June, 1880, was enacted in Lisbon one of the most remarkable pageants ever witnessed in any country or in any age. It was the tercentenary of Camoens' death, when literary representatives from the civilized world gathered in the Portuguese capital to help his countrymen pay appropriate homage to the memory of the great poet. The remains of the bard and those of the statesman whose valorous deeds he had sung, Vasco da Gama, were transferred to the same resting-place, while kings, princes, nobles and people joined the *literati* in making this the most unique occasion in the nation's history. Hundreds of special publications, artistic productions and historical contributions bearing upon the life and writings of the singer of the *Lusiads* were issued, and served to mark a notable era in the literary life of Portugal. It was the beginning of a new epoch that has since been prolific in works and monographs of special investigation into the sources and earliest documents of Lusitanian lore. A recasting of methods in the treatment of her literary history has naturally followed, and one of the best examples of it is seen in the treatise before us. The man who seems to be actuated above all others by something of the literary spirit that moved the great Camoens, is the author of this work. His unflagging energy, his wonderful capacity for work, his extraordinary production, have scarcely been surpassed in the same length of time by any *littérateur* of the Peninsula, and, particularly in modern times, has his example been exceptional among his countrymen. Fired by an unwavering patriotism, he has pushed forward against insurmountable obstacles, making known to the world outside the rich treasures of Portuguese lore, and carrying back to his countrymen, so exclusive in their literary life, those germs of modern European thought whose liberalizing influences have emancipated modern culture and raised it above the formalism and narrowness of that of mediæval times.

In the spirit of reform, the author wrote, in 1875, his "Manual da Historia da Litteratura portugueza," which was a failure because it was so much in advance of the public demand; or, as a critic facetiously said of it: "Acharam-o sempre grande, e que por este motivo deixavam de o adoptar." In this work the writer formulated his canon of literary criticism in the following words: "A reforma do ensino da litteratura deve partir da conclusão a que chegou a sciencia moderna que o estudo das creações intellectuaes não se pode fazer em abstracto. É necessario nunca abandonar a comunicação directa com os monumentos, explicando-os e apreciando-os pelas suas relações historicas como o meio e circumstancias em que foram produzidas. O estudo da litteratura feito nos vagas generalidades, conduz a essas receitas de tropos, que tiram a seriedade as mais altas concepções do espirito humano. Na instrução de um paiz deve entrar com toda a sua importancia um elemento nacional; no ensino

fundado nas ócas abstracções nunca esse sentimento se desperta." It is in conformity with this doctrine that the "Curso de Historia da Litteratura" represents the last stage of growth of the author's literary conception, promulgated with unbounded enthusiasm in a long series of publications during a long term of years. It has behind it twenty volumes of the "Historia da Litteratura portugueza," twelve volumes of "Fontes tradicionaes," "O Cancioneiro portuguez do Vaticana," various critical editions of national poets, "Os Elementos da Nacionalidade portugueza," the "Historia da Pedagogia em Portugal," "Systema de Sociologia," and, moreover, a decade and a half of active service as Professor of Modern Literature, especially of Portuguese literature, in the Curso Superior de Lettras of Lisbon. Such a schooling ought to be sufficient guarantee that the author will give us here his best thought, sifted and presented according to good method, in a clear and incisive manner; and, in truth, we do find his present work far superior to that of ten years ago from many points of view, but especially in that he shows here a more thorough comprehension of the Middle Ages in their relation to the historic periods that preceded and followed them, in his application to the literary life of nations of the striking division of static and dynamic as given by Comte for social phenomena, in his systematic co-ordination of modern literatures, his determination with clear judgment of the relation of Portuguese literature to that of foreign countries, and, finally, his philosophic presentation of the unity of Occidental literatures that thus form a counterpart to the social elements of Western society.

In his introduction the author expounds what he holds to be the basis of literary criticism, and proceeds directly to the discussion of the static elements of literature—race, tradition, language and nationality—and then to the further determination of the dynamic element, defining literature as "uma synthese, o quadro do estado moral de uma nacionalidade; a expressão consciente da sua evolução secular e historica. . . . Subordinada ao meio social pela sua origem e destino, a litteratura reflecte todas as modificações successivas d' esse meio, achando-se como todos os outros phenomenos sociologicos, sujeita a leis naturaes de ordem *statica* ou de conservação, e de progresso ou de acção *dynamica*. Sem o conhecimento dos elementos staticos das litteraturas, é impossivel comprehender a sua origem e modo de formação; sem a apreciação das condições dynamicas, mal se avaliara o que pertence a influencia individual dos escriptores de genio. Pela mutua dependencia entre os phenomenos staticos e dynamicos é que se podem caracterisar as epocas litterarias de esplendor ou de decadencia, de invenção ou de imitação." The characteristics of race, traditions, forms of language, the sentiment of nationality, are the universal elements of emotion expressed by the writer or by the artist in his works, and hence that only is a *chef-d'oeuvre*, literary or artistic, "que mais assenta sobre bases ethnicas e tradicionaes."

With these fundamental principles constantly in view, our author now moves on to the investigation of the different epochs of Portuguese literature, to a characterization of the writers that have held most closely to popular sources and traditions, from the famous king Diniz, of the thirteenth century; the poets of the *Cancioneiro* de Rezende, in the fifteenth; Gil Vicente, Christovão Falcão and Luiz Camões, in the sixteenth; Rodrigues Lobo and D. Francisco Manuel

de Mello, in the seventeenth, down to Almeida Garrett, in the nineteenth century; and he would see in the celebrity of each one only a measure more or less full of his adherence to national tradition. So much the greater will be the poet in proportion as he is able to merge himself into the great current of popular sympathy, into the spirit-life of the people!

Dividing the history of Portuguese literary life into six epochs, the author discusses in the first (twelfth to fourteenth century), which he designates *Trovadores Gallegio-Portuguezes*, the influence of Southern France upon home thought and writing: it is the origin and diffusion of Provençal literature and its extension to Portugal; the connection of Northern France, through the Chanson de Geste, with the literary production of his native country; the elements of Gallo-Breton thought as represented in her Lays, her Legends of King Lear, of Arthur, of Merlin and Tristan; the ecclesiastic and humanistic influence through Latin translations, and the organization of Chronicles in prose. In the second epoch (the fifteenth century), entitled *Os Poetas Palacianos*, he seeks to trace the elaboration of Provençal lyricism in Italy, and its passage thence into Spain, and the imitation of the Spanish poetic school in Portugal as represented by the *Cancioneiro geral* of Garcia de Rezende; the spread of the Romances of the Round Table; the diffusion of Latin erudition through translations, and the development of a popular element, as shown in the formation of the *Romanceiros*. The third period (sixteenth century), named *Os Quinhentistas*, represents the high-water mark of literary activity in Portugal: the renaissance of Graeco-Roman culture, the conflict between mediaeval and classical erudition—the latter represented especially by Italian influence. Here Fernão de Oliveira and João de Barros made the beginnings in the discussion of Portuguese grammar, Gil Vicente founded the national theatre, Bernardino Ribeiro and Christovão Falcão developed to its highest point popular lyric poetry, Sá de Miranda and his school, favoring Italian influence, introduced the imitation of classic models, and, finally, came Camões to conciliate and bind together the classical and mediaeval spirit in the greatest of modern epics, *Os Lusíadas*. In the fourth period (seventeenth century), *Os Culturistas*, the author discusses the syncretism of Italian and Spanish influence in Portugal, and the attempted reform in grammar-study of the Portuguese language. In the fifth (eighteenth century), *Os Arcades*, the influence of the pseudo-classicism of the French, the reaction against the humanism of the Jesuits, the reforms of the Marquis of Pombal and the formation of the *Academia real das Sciencias*, with their characteristics and results, are presented in a forcible manner, and the chief causes indicated that produced a transition into the sixth and final epoch (the nineteenth century), *O Romantismo*. Here the renovation of Portuguese literature, as a consequence of the importation of liberal thought; the liberal romanticism, as represented by Almeida Garrett; the religious, by Herculano; the classical reaction of Castilho, and the dissolution of romanticism through the revolutionary and critical spirit of the present time, are set forth with a vigor that enables one to seize readily upon the main lines of literary growth as it exists in Portugal. In the early part of the treatise, especially, the author is careful to give the sources of literary documents, to indicate where the MSS are to be found, to present *aperçus* of comparative literary growth that are most encouraging and stimulating to the student of comparative European literatures, and show a striking contrast to the general treatment



of this subject by his countrymen. A further important feature of the work is the benefit the reader derives from the author's acquaintance with the recent investigations of English, German, French and Italian scholars in this field. In this respect, the modern school of criticism and the writers on literary history in Portugal give evidence of serious labor that is refreshing when compared with their forerunners of only a few decades ago. In truth, they have fully entered into the quickening spirit of nineteenth-century culture, and nowhere else more than in the noble Lusitania of to-day do we find the liberal thought of European literary life productive of richer fruits and the enthusiasm of the workers marked by a truer sense of their obligation to the glorious past. To be convinced of this, one has but to read this important and timely treatise of one of her most brilliant scholars and most polished writers.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

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Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie. 2 Aufl., Bd. II. Herausgegeben von  
RICHARD PAUL WÜLKER.

To the kindness of the editor of this celebrated work, Prof. R. P. Wülker, I am indebted for advanced sheets of the second volume, containing the poem *Andreas*. Since the publication of the first volume, and of his admirable "Grundriss," Wülker's name has been a sufficient guarantee for painstaking, diligent investigation, accurate scholarship, and original research. This volume is no whit behind his former work. In the small compass of eighty-six pages we have the best text of this poem that has yet been published, and at the same time the cream of what has been said about it by others. He has liberally accepted former emendations, though he has rejected without hesitation those which did not commend themselves to his critical judgment. Some of his own emendations and readings commend themselves to us at once. One is so simple that I do not see how the other editors could have overlooked it, as every one has done heretofore; that is, in l. 1082, Wülker retains the reading of the MS, and simply separates *aenig* and *ne* and *cwic* and *ne* in the next line. Again, in l. 855, he seems to me to have passed over a reading equally as simple; for he has followed Thorpe in changing *weorðode* of the MS to *werðeode*. By punctuating differently, we can, I think, get a perfectly easy passage out of what has heretofore given us all so much trouble. I would, therefore, suggest placing a semicolon after *ferde*, l. 853, and read as follows:

in þam ceole wæs cyninga wuldor :  
waldend weorðode ic, his word oncneow,  
peh he his mægwlite bemiðen hæfde.

In l. 1154 I cannot agree with his acceptance of Grein's emendation—*freod* for *freond*. The *hie* in this line could not possibly refer to any other word grammatically than to *geoce* in l. 1152. But if any change is to be made, why not change *hie* to *hiene*, and retain *freond*? This word seems to me much stronger in this connection than *freod*. His minor changes I shall not notice in this paper, as I am now engaged upon a thorough revision of my own text and notes, and shall take note of them all in a new edition of *Andreas*. But a few important readings I wish to notice here. In l. 733 I am glad to see he retains the MS reading, although *s* does alliterate with *sc*. Wülker rightly

refers to Schipper's *Metrik*, I 50 f., and says that at the time of the writing of this poem such an imperfect rime could easily have slipped in. Imperfect rimes are frequent enough in this poem; cp. ll. 864, 865, 1434, 1562, etc.

Between ll. 828-30 Wülker leaves a gap. After careful study I am convinced that my understanding of this passage, as given in my edition of this poem, is in the main correct, though I arranged the lines incorrectly. Wülker confesses that there is no gap in the sense, and is in doubt only about my translation. Arranged as follows, it seems to me as clear as any other passage in the poem:

purh lyftgelac on land becwom  
to þære ceastre þe him cining  
engla ða þær aras siðigean  
eadige on upweg, eðles neosan.

The MS has *ða þa*; but the combination *ða þær* (cf. An. 1298, 1557, 1571, 1627; El. 417, 871, 875, etc.) occurs often, and gives better sense.

Beginning at l. 1036, we have a corrupt passage which Wülker has thrown some light on, though he has left it unsettled. He prints thus:

- l. 1035.      tu 7 hundteontig geteled rime  
              swylce *scofontig*  
              generede fram niðe: þær he nænigne forlet  
              under burglocan bendum fæstne,  
              ond þær wifa þa gyt weorodes to eacan  
1040.      anes wana . . . þe fiftig  
              forhte gefreoðode.

The emendation *ond* for *on*, in l. 1039, does not seem to be what the sense calls for. I should suggest to retain *on* in the peculiar sense which it has with verbs of *taking*, *receiving*, etc. (cf. Grein's *Sprachschatz*, II 330, 5, and Harrison and Sharp's *Beowulf*, p. 247 *d*, under *on*), and to change *þær* to *þam*; cf. *on þam*, Dan, 750. Then, by emending l. 1040 so as to read thus:

anes wana *orwyrþe* fiftig,

we get the following out of this passage: "Two hundred, counted by number, also seventy, he saved from destruction; there he left not one fast with bonds in the city enclosure, out of which then also, in addition to the men, of women fifty wanting one he freed from ignominy, from fright." For *orwyrþe* cf. Grein's *Sprachschatz*, II 360. This word is found Jul. 69; Ps. Stev. 82, 17.

At l. 1664, and again at ll. 1667 and 1668, Wülker accepts a gap in the text, though none exists in the MS. Wülker's objections to my reading—that the people could not be afraid of death, etc.—are well taken. *is him fus hyge*, *their mind is sad*, does refer to the departure of Andreas. For *fus* = *sad*, *tristis*, see Grein, *Sprachschatz*, I 359, under *fus*. Grein quotes this passage, and understands it as I do. But he is mistaken, I think, in supposing that they are not also sad "*on account of their sins*" of *frenum*. What would so likely occur to them on the eve of his departure as the remembrance of their former evil deeds and unholy lives, from which they had been rescued by Andrew? Hence they thought that, if he should leave them, they would relapse into their former sinful state. The two half-lines in 1666 and 67 can easily be printed as one. As we have shown above, imperfect verses are frequent in this poem. Grein does not emend on account of the sense, but seemingly only to better the verse.

In the passage beginning with l. 1478, it is difficult to understand Wülker's punctuation, especially his placing a full stop at the end of l. 1480. By this punctuation he has, I think, made the next two or three lines more difficult than before. But here, as in several other places, he has given us little clue to his understanding of the passage. I would call special attention to these: l. 375, *wado gewatte*; l. 1159, *winræced*; l. 1169, *weriges*; l. 1173, *gefered*; l. 1266, *acol*, etc. In the first passage, l. 375, every editor has, I think, construed these words differently. In other places he has given the different opinions; cf. l. 742, *septe*; l. 819, *berede*; l. 942, *heafodmagu*; l. 999, *god*, *dryhtendom*, etc. All these words and passages will, it is true, be settled when the second edition of the *Sprachschatz* appears. But it seems to me a mistake to explain some and to omit others that require explanation just as much.

In numerous places in Wülker's notes attention is called to false readings in my edition. I have carefully compared every variation between his and my own readings, and I find that the following false readings were given me in the copy of the MS which he kindly furnished me: l. 37, *murndon*; l. 105, *tires*; l. 136, *kuwenne*; l. 358, *sibbe*; l. 401, *agefon*; l. 439, *cunnedan*; l. 504, *meowæð*; l. 556, *fruman*; l. 613, *forleote*; l. 663, *siðfate*; l. 664, *ellefne*; l. 719, *Cheruphim* 7 *Seraphim* (MS *et*); l. 770, *alfale*; l. 776, as MS, *arenðu*; l. 801, *gewæoton*; l. 859, *eade*; l. 987, 7 *synfulra*. This character, I find, though placed just before *synfulra*, was intended to mark the end of a page (42 b) in the MS. l. 1074, *geleah*; l. 1154, *cann*, Wülker left this uncorrected in a copy of Kemble's edition which he corrected for my use, but supposing that it was an oversight, I did not give it as a MS reading; l. 1192, *þar se cyninga*; l. 1193, *nenndon*; l. 1338 Wülker omitted *on his mægwlite* in the copy furnished me. Hence my note. l. 1381, *forhogodes*. There are seven other errors called attention to in his notes, for which I am responsible: l. 85, *scild hetum*; l. 143, *gleawne*; l. 479, *þinne*; l. 828, *ða þa*; l. 925, *ond-* (MS *and-*); l. 929, *meahte*; l. 1699, *blyssum*.

The proof-reading has been done and the references made with remarkable accuracy. Only the following few misprints and mistakes have been noticed: p. 23, l. 496 (note), B. accredited with two different readings for the same words; p. 26, l. 561 (note), *hearmwude*; p. 29, l. 620 (note), incorrect statement about B.'s punctuation; p. 33, l. 733 (note), *cyðde* twice for *cyððe*; p. 48, l. 103, incorrect statement made about *crunge*: cf. my edition; p. 66, l. 1376, *gescyldeð* for *gescilðeð*.

Let us hope that Prof. Wülker will give all his time to this work, till he has thoroughly revised both the *Bibliothek* and the *Sprachschatz*. All students of Old English are awaiting their revision with the greatest interest.

W. M. BASKERVILL.

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Der Diphthong *ei* im griechischen unter Berücksichtigung seiner Entsprechungen in verwandten Sprachen, von HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, Ph. D. Göttingen, 1885.

In this diligently prepared paper Mr. Smyth has given a valuable contribution to the study of Greek vocalism, and especially to the study of Homeric forms, inasmuch as he has confined his treatment to the cases of *ei* that occur in Homer or in the old epic poetry, illustrating these at the same time by

inscriptions antedating 403 B. C. The questions that come up for discussion are many and varied, both as to difficulty and intrinsic importance. In some cases the author simply states the theories of others, especially when these are generally accepted; often he has explanations and suggestions of his own, in some cases of especial value, in all worthy of consideration; sometimes again he refuses to offer an explanation for questions that have puzzled every one working in the same field heretofore.

The Greek diphthong *ei* is of threefold origin: First, the original Indo-European diphthong in the row *oi, ei, i*; second, the diphthong which has its origin in the separate and individual life of the Greek language out of *e + i*, these elements coming together in various ways; third, the spurious diphthong *ei* derived from contraction or compensative lengthening. In treating the first class, the recent investigations of Indo-European vocalism and ablaut are alluded to, but not discussed; it would seem, though, that the author has a bias for De Saussure's views, for, in his very first sentence, he derives *ē, ē, ā* from *ei, eo, ea*. This may be true or not, yet it is hardly made more acceptable by the author's defense on p. 6. Speaking of the development of diphthongs from long vowels, as O. H. G. *uo* < P. T. *ō*, he says: "Dass sich Diphthonge aus den reinen Längen haben entwickeln können, ist ein Beweis, dass diese reinen Längen ursprünglich diphthongischer Natur waren."

Pure possibilities afford but slight proof of actual linguistic phenomena. According to Mr. Smyth's own view (Am. Journ. Phil. VI, p. 420), the spurious diphthong *ei* derived from compensative lengthening assumed after 380 B. C. a diphthongal character. The English diphthong *ai* in *five* is of similar history, yet surely this later development is no proof of diphthongal origin. After this general introduction we are given a list of 69 groups of words showing the ablaut *oi, ei, i*. The fullness with which kindred forms are cited from inscriptions is of the utmost value. Under the group *Feidenai* the form *Πολύιδος* offers some difficulty, and the explanation the author suggests as lengthened under the ictus for *Πολύιδος*, he seems himself inclined to retract in Vol. VI, p. 440 of this Journal.

The second diphthong *ei*, originating out of *e + i*, brings up the question of *διάσπασις* in Homer, which the author discusses very fully. The conclusion is reached that diaeresis occurs finally and medially in the case of *ei*-stems, with the exception of those words that form or contain a proceleusmaticus; in the case of *eu*-stems always finally, but failing often medially, especially in the case of feminines. This diphthong *ei* may also be reduced from *ηi*, or it may be occasioned by epenthesis, or it may arise from a prehistoric contraction in certain forms of the verb, as, 2d and 3d pers. sing., pres. and fut. ind. act. The author favors us with a theory of the 3d pers. sing. which is certainly original and striking: "*φέρει* ist *φερε-*, Nebenform zu *φερο-*, + *i* Locativelement, also 'im tragen,' reines Infinitiv als 3 p. s. gebraucht." In discussing epenthesis he says: "Es ist undenkbar, dass das *i* in *κρετjων* sowohl das *τ* in *co* umwandeln könnte, als auch die Kraft besässe, vorzuspringen."

With the correctness of the explanation offered for *κρείσσων* we are less concerned than with the view here indicated of the nature of epenthesis. Surely it is not unthinkable that epenthesis or umlaut may occur without the *i* or *j* being removed from its original position. Has not Zend numbers of such forms as *tr̥cāiti*, Skr. *tr̥cāti*; *navaiti*, Skr. *navati*? And, if this be true,

what is to hinder the remaining *i* or *j* from exerting a further influence on the consonant after which it stands? This is exactly what occurs in the West Germanic dialects in such cases as A.-S. *\*banjās* > *\*benja* > *benna*; *\*satjan* > *\*setjan* > *settan*; *\*racjan* > *\*reccjan* > *reccan*; and still more strikingly in Old Saxon *settian*, *reccian*.

The spurious diphthong is discussed under the following heads: First, *ei* from compensative lengthening; second, *ei* < *e* under the ictus; third, *ei* derived from *e* + an *i* developed in certain cases before vowels; fourth, *ei* arising from contraction of *ee*.

Dr. Smyth's treatise is a most welcome contribution to the scientific study of grammar, and shows the praiseworthy tendency of recent investigations to deal with minute points and collect, as far as possible, complete material as the only sure basis for satisfactory theories. A favorable review of Dr. Smyth's work by Gustav Meyer may be found in the Berliner Wochenschrift, 31 July, 1886.

J. H. K.

The Roots and Stems of Words in the Latin Language Explained and Illustrated with Examples. By JOHN WENTWORTH SANBORN, A. M. Albion, N. Y., Published by the Author, 1886.

This little pamphlet, of barely ten pages, is designed to throw light on the difference between roots and stems, and to furnish a guide to teachers and pupils. It seems to us to throw very little light, and often to lead astray. The writer's lack of sound linguistic training is everywhere evident. On the very first page we are told that the word *ēs-sē* has the root *ēs*, and this is also its stem. It is certainly time that a long-mark over a vowel should mean simply that the vowel itself is long. In *rex*, king, *rēg* is said to be the verbal root designating an *object*. Here the difference between *rēg* and *rēg* of *regere* is certainly not made clear. Nor is there much illumination in the following sentences: "A few examples of pronominal roots will illustrate: *mē* in *mei*, *tū* in *tui*, and such remains of pronominal roots as *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ie*." "*Iudicis* is such a word; its compounded roots are *iu* and *dic* (from *ius* and *dico*)."  
 "The stem of *principes* is *princeps*." "The root of *gēnu* is *gon*; the stem is *genu*." "The stem of *hic* is *hō*; if the enclitic *ne* is added *ce* (*ci*) appears; as *hiccine*." "The stem of *illd* is *illō*, or an old form *ollō*." Finally, the root of *bibo* is said to be *bo* or *bib*. In the face of these and other statements, which it is superfluous to mention here, we humbly beg leave to differ from the opinion of "several distinguished instructors," who, according to the writer's preface, examined the manuscript and thought it would prove "no sacrifice of thoroughness." M. W.

Ovid, Tristia, Book I. The Text Revised, with an Introduction and Notes, by S. G. OWEN, B. A. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1885. Pp. lxiv, 115.

This book, as the editor announces, is only an instalment of a larger commentary on the complete Tristia, which is in preparation. It can hardly be denied that Ovid has received of late less attention from scholars than he deserves. Robinson Ellis has given us a learned edition of the Ibis, contributing much to its elucidation, and the idea of the edition before us seems to have been suggested by him. As the last commentary to the Tristia was that of

Lörs, in 1839, a more modern commentary was sorely needed. For the constitution of the text, Owen has collected new materials, in using which he has shown himself very conservative, giving little room to conjectural emendation.

For many of the statements in the introduction he acknowledges his indebtedness to recent German dissertations. The life of Ovid is given at length, with copious foot-notes referring to the authorities. The works of Ovid are briefly described in the order of their chronological sequence. Book V of the *Tristia* is assigned to the spring of A. D. 12, in opposition to the view of Graeber, who puts it at the end of 11 A. D. A long section is devoted to the friends and patrons of Ovid addressed in the *Tristia* and Pontic epistles. It is assumed that the persons addressed in the two collections are substantially the same, although in the *Tristia* the names were suppressed. To the settlement of the vexed question as to the cause of Ovid's banishment nothing new is added, the view followed being in the main that of Gaston Boissier. In a chapter on the literary value of the *Tristia*, an attempt is made to reply to some of the strictures which have been passed upon them, especially to Macaulay's charge of pusillanimity and impatience. Certain faults of form are admitted, and attributed to lack of pruning, to rhetorical exuberance, and the imitation of the Alexandrine school. The section on the MSS ought certainly to be expanded in the complete edition. Owen has made an independent collation of the Marcianus (L), the most important MS, and has collated for the first time a MS belonging to the Earl of Leicester, at Holkham Hall, Norfolk (H). Of the Vaticanus (V) a careful collation was made for him by Mr. Monaci. G, already well known (Guelferbytanus), H, and V, he considers to be of equal value, although he gives no proof of this statement. They are of the same class with L, and are used to supplement it. Occasional references are also made to a Bodleian MS of the fifteenth century, and a thirteenth-century MS at Arras. We have noted fourteen passages where Owen follows the reading of L, or of the better MSS, where Gütthling has deserted them. In II 91 he keeps *corpora*, against the plausible *carbasa* adopted by Riese and Gütthling. In X 24 he keeps *reliquit*, which had been set aside by previous editors in favor of *relegit*, and puts verses 25, 26 after 27, 28. In V 35 *rebus succurrite laesis* is supported by Silius XI 6. In III 97, following HV, he reads *nataque virique*; but may not *vir* have come from the line above, and is not *nataque meumque* of G2 to be preferred? Gütthling reads with Merkel *natae meumve*. To decide this question we need a more complete conspectus of the kind of errors common to HV than is afforded by this one book. In IV 23, by a typographical error, Gütthling is made to read both *revelli* and *repelli*. In IX 35 Owen ingeniously conjectures *esto et iam miseris pietas*; but Roby, in a note given in Appendix, p. 109, is inclined to defend the reading of the MSS, *est etiam*, as a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. I 462, *Sunt lacrimae rerum*. It may be noted here that in the commentary hardly enough attention has been paid to Vergilian parallels, although several reminiscences are pointed out. The notes, as a whole, are very clear and thorough, and much light is thrown by judicious translations. In VII 33, where *libelli* is defended, no mention is made of Birt's objection (Das antike Buchwesen, p. 30) to the use of *libellus* for a complete work in several *libri*. Birt proposes to read either *primi* or *libellis*. We trust that the complete edition of the *Tristia* will not be long delayed.

M. W.

## REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Dritter Jahrgang.

Heft 1.

The first article in this new volume, "Lucifer von Cagliari und sein Latein," pp. 1-58, is by W. Hartel, who has just prepared an edition of Lucifer for the new *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*. This fierce polemic against Arianism shows little trace of any classical training. His only borrowing from Cicero is so characteristic that it is worth quoting. 310, 11: "Quousque tandem abuteris dei patientia, Constanti?" He repeatedly calls attention to the *rusticus sermo* of his epistolae. All his works fall between the years 356 and 361; but, singularly enough, in the later works there are fewer vulgarisms of form and syntax, while the periods are more perspicuous, and the diction more choice. Lucifer is chiefly acquainted with African writers, especially Tertullian and Cyprian, and his language much resembles theirs. Orthographical peculiarities, which Hartel thinks may have been characteristic, not simply of Lucifer, but of the average Latin of his time, are taken up and illustrated with some fullness. I mention here some of the more important:

1. Interchange of *e* and *i* (*es, is, em, im*). However, dative forms in *e*, as *rege, destructore*, are not common.
2. Interchange of *o* and *u* (*o, um, os, us*), e. g. accusatives in *us* like *servus* and in *os* like *conatos*.
3. Interchange of *u* and *i* in root-syllables and endings.
4. Interchange of *a* and *e*, sometimes merely graphic, as in *corum* for *coram*, sometimes, perhaps, phonetic.
5. *qu* for *c*, as *quo apostata, quoram*.
6. Confusion of the dental surd and sonant, *t*, however, being more frequently written for *d*, than *d* for *t*.
7. Dropping of the final consonants *m, t, d, c, n, l*.
8. Absence of assimilation, especially in the groups *bt, bs*, as in *obtinum, scribsi*.
9. False aspiration is frequent, and its opposite *psilosis*, e. g. *hinanimamur, hoccidendum odierna*.
10. *g* for *j*, as *regecit*.
11. Occasional aphaeresis of vowels, as in *stud, stote*, and the opposite *extricta* for *stricta*. Hartel, in his further examination, shows that Lucifer has all the peculiarities which stamp the African Latinity. Under "Lexikalisches" he discusses, in alphabetic order, the use of nearly three hundred words and phrases. Interesting is the use of *ab* with the abl. after comparatives and *dissimilis, an* for *quam* after a comparative idea, and the combination *an necne, certus* in the sense of *quidam* = Fr. *un certain*, *civitas* = *urbs* everywhere, *urbs* not being found. Compounds of *con* are very numerous; *cur* with subjunctive is frequent for *quia*; *facere* with infinitive is common in the sense of French *faire*; *factum* = *mortem*, found also in inscriptions, the pronunciation of *factum* probably being the same as that of *fatum*; *fortassis* found ten times for *fortasse*; *infirmitas* = *morbis*; *ne* (not enclitic) in sense of *nonne* and *num*; *nimius* = *magnus* (cf. Archiv I 98), *populi* = Ger. *Leute*, *quam* = *magis, potius quam*; *quasi* = *ut, si* is used in direct questions.

II. Declension and Conjugation. The details are too numerous to be given here, but there are many deviations from the normal usage, e. g. *diademam*, acc.; *anathema*, abl. Infinitives of *i*-stems are regularly contracted, as *servisse*, *quæsisse*; *toto* and *alio* occur as datives. Hebrew names are usually treated as indeclinable, but there are several exceptions, as *Danihelem*, *Scariothae*, etc. Forms based on false analogy are *plaudeas*, *compulserunt*, *desinuerint*, *reverso*, and others. We find *odivi*, *odis*, *odimur*, *odies*, *odire*, *odiri*, *odientes*. There is a decided preference for contract forms like *audisti*, *delessent*, *replesti*, *laudavit*. Especially noticeable is the periphrastic use of *esse* with participles in all the moods and tenses. A few examples of this from earlier writers, beginning with Cato, are given in Draeger, Synt. I<sup>o</sup> 293. Over 200 examples are found in Lucifer. Often the subjunctive is used in clauses parallel with the indicative without distinction of meaning. In the compound tenses of deponent verbs, *fui*, *fuim*, etc., are used for *sum*, *sim*, etc. This tendency, already noticeable in Livy, seems to have steadily increased in later writers.

III. Syntax and Style. In the use of the cases the deviations are not numerous. *uti*, *frui* and *potiri* are sporadically used with the accusative, and *credere* takes the acc. twice. The accusative more frequently extends its sphere than the other cases, and there are at least two instances of an accusative absolute. Adverbial phrases are *in æternum*, *in perpetuum*, *in totum*, *ad ultimum*. For the genitive we find *ad* with acc. in *necessitas ad absentem percutiendum*. So also *dicere ad aliquem* for the dative. The subject accusative with inf. is often omitted, but it is found expressed after numerous verbs, as *cogere*, *concupiscere*, *dolere*, *facere*, *hortari*, *rogare*, etc. The nom. with inf. is also found after numerous passive verbs, as *adseverari*, *agnosci*, *doceri*, etc. The ablative of the gerund is used after *desinere*, *desistere*, *dese*, and also where we should expect *dum* or *cum*. Instead of the infinitive we have *quia* as often with the ind. as with the subj., and *quod* more frequently with subj., *quoniam* occurring but once in this sense. We even find an acc. with inf. after *quod* and *quia*. *ut* is used with ind. in clauses expressing a consequence. The ind. is often used in indirect questions. The subjunctive shows a very confused use in dependent clauses, where no connection is established by *ut* or any other conjunction, and frequently in co-ordinate clauses the ind. and subj. are used with no appreciable difference of meaning. The subjunctive is not only found after *quia*, *nisi quia*, *quia enim*, *quoniam*, *quando*, *siquidem*, to assign a reason, but also after *postquam* and *postequam*, while *cum* with the ind. is more frequent than we should expect. The tenses also have lost their sharp definition. The preference for pluperfect forms is marked, and adds to the evidence for the gradual disappearance of the imperfect subj. (see Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in the Roman Folk-Speech, Vol. I of this Journal, pp. 410-15). In the matter of style, Hartel calls attention to the frequent *anacolutha*, the use of *ellipsis* and *asyndeton* and *tmesis*, which often obscure the sense.

In a brief note, p. 58, Wölfflin shows that the French *cabriolet* comes from *capreolus*, with reference not simply to the springing motion of the buck, but probably also to some resemblance between the shape of the vehicle and of the horns.

Pp. 59-69. Zu den lateinischen Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, by P. The proverbs in which some animal is mentioned or referred



to are here treated systematically, to the exclusion of those already treated by Genthe in his *Epistula de proverbii Romanorum ad animalium naturam pertinentibus*, Hamburg, 1881, and by Wortmann, *De Comparationibus Plautinis et Terentianis ad animalia spectantibus*, Marburg, 1883. Under *sus Minervam* a reference should be added to *De Oratore* II 233. In Varro, *Sat. Men.* 575 (ed. Bücheler), the expression quoted by Gellius 13, 31, 14, *prandium caninum*, is interpreted, in opposition to Gellius, as meaning "Der mittlere Wein sei so schlecht das man ihn den Hunden vorsetze." Possibly, however, *caninum* refers to the cynics.

On p. 69 Goetz gives, in a note, further evidence to show that *ultimorum* should be read for *intimorum* in Placidus, p. 49, 10.

Pp. 70-91. Der substantivierte Infinitiv, by Wölflin. The Latin grammarians recognized that the infin. was used for a substantive in the nom. and acc. Wölflin treats the subject historically. I. Archaic, classical, and silver Latin. 1. Inf. dependent upon *inter* and *praeter*. Greek influence is discernible in the first and only instance in Cicero, *De Fin.* 2, 13: *inter optime valere et gravissime aegrotare nihil interesse*. Similarly Seneca, *De Benef.* 5, 10, 2. In the Church Fathers there are more examples, Tertullian extending the usage to passive infinitives, as *inter dici et esse*; and so Augustine, who furnishes several instances of an inf. depending on *inter*. Rufinus, in a translation of the Dialogue against the Gnostics, goes so far as to make an object depend upon the inf., e. g. *inter habere potestatem*. *Praeter plorare* is used by Horace, *Sat.* 2, 5, 69, which is followed by Ovid, *Heroid.* 19, 16, *praeter amare*, and *praeter amasse meum*, *Heroid.* 7, 164. 2. Pronouns in agreement with the infinitive, e. g. *hoc, illud, ipsum* taking the place of the Greek *τὸ*, and *meum, tuum, suum*, etc. Examples are given from Persius I 122, I 9; Plautus, *Curc.* 28; Cic. *de Fin.* 1, 1; 2, 18; 3, 44; *Tusc.* 3, 12; 4, 46; 5, 33, and others; from the letters to Atticus three examples, and from the remaining correspondence but one, *Ad Fam.* 15, 15, 2; but in the Orations there are none. Seneca is the first here to use an inf. perf., *Oed.* 992, *ipsum metuisse*. Petron. 52 has *meum intellegere*; but, after all, there are comparatively few examples in the first century and in the first half of the second century. 3. Personal genitives depending upon an infinitive. Valerius Maximus, 7, 3, 7, has *cuius non dimicare*. Seneca, *Epist.* 101, 13, *huius vivere*. Patristic Latin furnishes numerous examples of the genitives of pronouns thus used. The Christian poet, Marius Victor, makes the innovation of using the genitive of substantives, e. g. *scire ipsius dei*, which Gregory the Great frequently uses. More seldom the dative is used in the same way, as Sedulius *carm. pasch.* 4, 14, *cui condere velle est*.

II. Late Latin. 4. Other accusative prepositions on which the infinitive depends. Under Greek influence we should expect the usage to widen. Fronto and Tertullian are surprisingly conservative. Tertullian has one or two instances of *in* with inf. Hilarius introduces *ad*, which is taken up by Augustine and Boetius. Scattered examples are given of *contra, iuxta, secundum, propter, supra, ante, per, post* and *ob* + inf. 5. Prepositions which govern the ablative. There are no examples before the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Augustine furnishes examples of *in, de*, and *pro*, Marius Victor of *sine*, Boetius and Venantius Fortunatus of *a, de*, and *ex*.

In later literature *pro posse* is especially common, taking the place of the obsolete *vis* and *vires*. 6. The infinitive with a modifying adjective. This is late and never became very common. The earliest good example is, perhaps, to be found in Hieronymus adv. Pelag. 3, 12 (796), *immaculatum cum Christo vivere*. The freest use is found in Marius Victor. 7. Pronomina and pronominalia. Comparatively few examples are found in poetry, very few in history (none in Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius) or in the Orators. Macrobius and Martianus Capella furnish some examples. The Jurists have strictly avoided this construction. In the Patristic literature after Augustine it is common, and some examples are found before him in Tertullian, Lactantius, and others. It is worthy of notice that *illud*, which we should expect as the equivalent of the Greek *τό*, does not appear with the infin. until Augustine uses both it and *hoc*, although he uses by preference *ipsum* for *τό*. Marius Victor shows greater variety in the construction than any of his predecessors. 8. The infinitives thus used. The inf. pres. pass. is very uncommon. The inf. perf. act. is found in poets, and later in prose. The inf. act. followed by an object is not at all common. The most frequent substantive infinitives are *amare*, *credere*, *dolere*, *esse*, *intelligere*, *mori*, *nolle*, *posse*, *videre*, *sapere*, *scire*, *velle*, *vivere*. Perhaps we have here the forerunners of the substantivized *être*, *pouvoir*, *vouloir*, *savoir*, etc.

Pp. 92-107 give an exhaustive lexical treatment of *abdicare*, by Edm. Hauler.

P. 107. Konrad Hoffmann explains *cantuna* as = *quintana*, a street in the camp and market, changed to *quantuna* under the influence of *quanto*. How much? a question often asked in market. The editor gives other instances of the forms *besta*, *bestea*, *bestulus*.

Pp. 108-16 exhibit in full the use of *intimare* in its literal and transferred senses.

Pp. 117-30. *Curvus*, *uncus* und Komposita receive from Adolf Müller an interesting historical treatment, which is not concluded in this number.

P. 130. Wölfflin tries to establish the form *pacificavi* in the Monum. Ancyranum 5, 13 (cap. 26).

Pp. 131-7. Addenda lexicis Latinis, beginning with *ecfamo* and ending with *gulositas*; in all over 160 words. To this we would add *exceptive*, Donatus Comm. Hec. 4, 3, 2; *exegematicus*, Serv. Verg. Ecl. 3, 1; *farcina*, Euphrasius And. IV 4, 30; *gesticulose*, Donatus, Eunuchus V 2, 64.

P. 137. B. Dombart disposes of the word *dimicatura* by reading in Commodian. Instruct. 2, 12, 12, *dimicat vestram* for *dimicaturam*.

Pp. 138-43. Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter, by G. Gröber, continued from *haedus* as far as *ilicem*.

P. 143. Karl Sittl, in the much-disputed verse of Propertius IV 6, 3, where the MSS give *cera Philetaeis certet Romana corymbis*, would restore to its rights *cerrum*, i. e. the fruit of the *cerrus*, reading *cerra—certent*. "Italien's Eichenlaub streite mit dem Epheu des Philetas."

Pp. 144-50. are devoted to Miscellen, of which we give the titles: "Zu Lucilius und zur altlateinischen Poesie," by F. Bücheler; "Storia. Inormis," by B. Dombart; "A, ab, abs," by Johannes Haussleiter; "Transitive Verba als Reflexiva bei Corippus," by Michael Petschenig.

Pp. 151-8 are given up to reviews of the literature of 1885, 1886.

## Heft 2.

The first article, pp. 161-7, is entitled "Der Untergang der geschlechtlosen Substantivform," by Hermann Suchier. The facts are well known, but how are they to be explained? In the earliest times certain adjectives with stems ending in *c, d, t, p, b*—like, e. g. *princeps*—assumed in the neuter the masculine termination *s*; and the nom. *felix* was also used as acc. n. This was the only step, however, taken thus early in this direction. In late Latin the assigning of m. and f. genders to neuter nouns must not be regarded as the result of a personifying imagination. It is rather due to form-association and idea-association: e. g. *aestas* became m. in French because the names of the other seasons are masculine; while, on the other hand, *parentatus* gives *parenté, f.*, due to the numerous words ending like *santé*. Probably it was neuters of the second declension which first became m., as *fatus, vinus*. This was assisted by the loss of final *m* and *s*, and the merging of the cases. If one said *ventu* for the nom. and acc., it was easy from the acc. *fatum* to form a nom. *fatus*. The fourth declension was probably next affected. In the third declension many nouns like *antistes, princeps*, formed new nominatives, as *antistites, principes*, and after this analogy neuters like *rete* formed *retes*. Combinations like *bonus tempus* probably helped to make neuters in *us* masculine. So, too, the merging of acc. and abl., as in *per multo tempore*, C. I. L. X 3344. In Italy, and to a certain extent in France, forms like *folias velas* arose, and as a further consequence feminine singulars were formed like *vela, folia*. In the seventh century the neuter had already been reduced to substantially the same condition which we find in the Romance languages. This is illustrated by instructive examples.

J. M. Stowasser, pp. 168-76, contributes some ingenious suggestions to the settlement of the difficult problems presented by the *Hisperica famina*, already discussed in the second volume of the Archiv. In opposition to Geyer, Stowasser thinks that *Hisperica* has nothing to do with Spain, but rather with *Hesperia* = Italy, as in Verg. A. I 530. He happily compares the passage beginning *Alterum barbarico auctu loquclarem inficit tramitem . . . quaternaue nectit specimina*, etc., with Charisius, 265 K, *Barbarismus fit quatuor modis*, etc. In *bis semos exploro vechros qui ausonicam lacerant palatham*, it seems much better to us to take *palatham* = *palatum*, as Appel, De genere neutro intereunte, p. 82, has done. Stowasser is at a loss to explain *vechros*. For *inclitos apices* I would suggest *inlitos apices* = letters. Stowasser says: "*Inclitos* spottet der Auslegung."

In a brief note, K. Hofmann, p. 176, seeks to explain *ullageris* as = *orcularis*, by a metathesis similar to that seen in *clustrum* for *crustlum*, *fraglare* for *flagrare*.

Pp. 177-206, Ph. Thielmann treats of *Facere* with the Infinitive. A. *Facere* = *fingeré*. In Cato Maior 54 we have *facere* in this sense with the present participle: *Homicrus Laertem colentem agrum fecit*. There being no perf. part. act.,

the infinitive had to be used here. So Ter. Haut. Prol. 31; and so where an act was represented in the passive, we find, e. g. *aedificari mundum facit*. The construction was then extended to the inf. act. So in Cic. Tusc. 4, 35: *Poetae impendere saxum Tantulo faciunt*. This is found afterwards in all periods, and is taken up by the Romance. It is especially common in grammarians like Servius and Macrobius. Vergil uses *facere* of an artist, Aen. 8, 710; Pliny of a sculptor, N. H. 34, 59. *Facere*, in the sense of to assume the case, is regularly used with acc. + inf.; so Tusc. 1, 82.

B. *Facere* = *machen, bewirken*. The regular classical construction is *ut* with the subjunctive; but Plautus has the inf., Epid. 3, 3, 30; and so Ennius and Varro. Classical prose holds itself aloof from the usage. Cicero uses it once (Brutus 142) for balance of clauses. Lucretius has several examples. Vergil only in A. 2, 538: *me cernere letum fecisti*. Ovid has at least six examples. In Augustan prose the usage is rare. It is common in Gaius, the Jurists, in Apuleius, Gellius, and the African writers generally. The reason for the extension of the usage may, perhaps, be found in the comparative dearth of causative verbs in Lat. like *fugare*: *fugere*. Sometimes a compound was formed like *calefacio*, but it was easier in general to use the inf. Tertullian and the translators of the Bible make large use of it.

C. *Facere* = *iubere*. Perhaps it was thus used in the Monumentum Ancyranum, but until toward the end of the third century there are few examples. It occurs in the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, in the later historians, in patristic Latin, and in the Vulgate of Jerome. Macrobius, 6, 6, 2, explains Verg. A. 7, 283, *creavit*, by *creari fecit*, where the agency is intermediate. The construction crept gradually into Christian poetry. Prudentius has two examples, Venantius Fortunatus sixty. *Esse facis* made a convenient pentameter ending. In official documents it occurs all through the Middle Ages; so regularly in papal edicts. Often we find the act. inf. where we should expect the passive. Probably the two infinitives were almost alike in their pronunciation. Gregory of Tours uses regularly the passive, but in the next century Fredegar regularly uses the active. Thielmann shows, by numerous examples, how the French use of *faire* was anticipated in the Latin.

Pp. 206-29. Die Götter und Halb-götter im Sprichworte, by A. Otto. As Roman mythology is so largely under the influence of the Greeks, many of the proverbs may be traced to a Greek source. An interesting collection follows, grouped under the following heads: 1. *Deus, dii*. 2. Heaven. 3. Hell. 4. Juppiter. 5. Apollo. 6. Minerva. 7. Mars. 8. Venus. 9. Ceres. 10. Neptune. Then minor deities; e. g. abstractions like *Salus Iustitia*, and heroes and demi-gods, as Hercules, and mythological persons like Circe, the Sirens, Charybdis, etc.

Pp. 230-235. H. Dombart discusses the various meanings of *Historia*. Quintilian, II 4, 2, assigns to it nearly the sense which we give. Tertullian uses it more in the sense of mythical tale = *fabula*; and so also Suetonius, and even Plautus, Horace, Propertius and Ovid. Tertullian uses *historiam saltare* of the dramatic representation of myths. A similar use of *historia* and *historicus* is proved for Commodianus. Attention is also called to the fact that in Italian *storia* is used both for history and for comedy. The editor asks whether in

Greek *ιστορία* ever had the sense of *μῦθος*, and shows that the Romans did not require of a historian the absolute truth. Our expression Natural History seems to be a translation of the title of Pliny's work, which is an inadequate translation of the Greek *ἡ φυσικὴ ἱστορία*. Havet, p. 235, proposes to read in the fragment of Ennius preserved Cic. Rep. 1, 64, *Pectora pia tenet desiderium* (MSS *dura*), claiming that the *i* of *pia* was still pronounced long, as in Umb. *peihaner*, Osc. *peihiol*.

Pp. 236–50. Adolf Mueller brings to a close his exhaustive treatment of *Curvus*, *uncus*, and their compounds.

Pp. 251–63 give 370 addenda lexicis latinis from *Habeno-Ovofarius*. Some of these are very remarkable in their formation; e. g. *honorificabilitudinitas*, *illassabiliter*, *inconsuetudinarius*, *inventuosus*, *iusiuramentum*, *loquestis*, *magefio*, *mariambulus*, *nugiloquium*, *orcigenus*.

Pp. 264–75. G. Gröber continues "Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter" from *ille*, whose subsequent forms in the Romance languages are very fully given, to *lamna* = *lamina*.

Johannes Schmidt notes the occurrence of *Inpaestator* = *qui exercet artem*, *ἐμπαιστικὴν*, in C. I. L. VIII 9427.

Miscellen, pp. 276–86. "Geographische Eigennamen als Appellativa," by Konrad Hoffmann. *Huesca* = *Osca*; cf. Du-Cange-Favre 4, 236: *Hoscha, portio terrae arabilis fossis vel sepibus undique clausa*. *Ischia* has had several names, the oldest—1. *Pithecusa* = ape island; 2. *Inarime*, derived from Iliad, 2, 783, εἰν Ἀπίμοις; 3. *Iscla*, perhaps from *Iscola*, and connected with Greek *σκολιόν*, may be compared with *Procida* = Προχύτη. The prosthesis of *i* is interesting. An attempt is made to connect the name of the Danes with Skt. *dhanu* = bow, from the form of the Danish islands. Fr. *écueil*, Ital. *scoglio*, and Eng. *shoal*, are also derived from *σκολιός*. 4. *Aenaria*, probably from some connection with the Aeneas legend. *Padus*—*Eridanus*, because the river carried along amber, *Eridanus* is identified with *Rudon*, and *Padus* connected with the *padi* of Pliny, N. H. 3, 122.

"Vermischte Bemerkungen," by Emil Baehrens. In Lucretius 1, 363, read *subidam* (for the MS *subitam* and the vulgate *solitam*) in sense of 'burning.' In Hor. Epist. II 1, 114 ff., the proper reading may be quod *magicorum* est promittunt *magici*; cf. Porphyrio to Epist. II 1, 213; and II 2, 209; and Servius de centum metris, Keil IV 463, 27. In Gellius XVIII 11, 3, read *nigrefacit* for *nitefacit*. In Atilius Fortunatianus, Keil, Gr. L. VI 218, read *candificat* for *canificat*. In Lucilius (Lach.) 393 f., Baehrens proposes:

'idne aegri est magis an quod pane et viscere privo'

'quod viscus dederas tu, equidem hoc rest; viscera largi.'

*Masio*, by Louis Havet. In the Placidus Gloss *masio*: *malo*, *maslo* is to be read, and here the *s* was not pronounced, but must be taken as a sign of *ā*, as *eisdem* for *idem*, *thensaurus* as *ensor*, pronounced *cēsor*. Similarly, *FOSLIUS* was pronounced *Folius*. In a fragment of Naevius found in Nonius, p. 124, Havet proposes *Oderunt di homines iniustos*, for *iniuros*.

Stowasser reads in Nonius, p. 210, 6:

*lente calido eluellat, rapla, rumice.*

*Eluella* would be a verb from \**eluella* = *cluvies*, as we find in late Latin *querelari*, etc. In Enn. Ann. 588 M, he proposes

*huic statuum statui? malo removatur Athenis.*

*Offendo* : *offensio*, like *formido*, is a noun in Afranius :

*quoque, nunc offendo saepe procul nostrat mala!*

where *quoque* = *coque* = *νῦν ὑβρις κακή, μάγειρ', εἰρκτῆς ἐμῆς πορωτάτω*.

B. Dombart discusses the gloss *Antistes* : *princeps speculator, graece episcopus*.

M. Petschenig gives examples of the reflexive use (without *se*) of *frangere*, *trahere*, *vertere*, *volvere* in Corippus.

Instead of *plumorati*, Pliny, N. H. 18, 172, G. Baist reads *plum Rhaeti*.

Karl Sittl identifies *crumelum*, in Gregory of Tours, 810, 8, with *grumellum*, which is seen in Ital. *grumolo* (cf. *grumus*, *grumulus*).

A brief necrology is given of Georg Kettler, one of the contributors, born in Nürnberg 1852, died in Meran, April 12, 1886.

Pp. 287-308 are devoted to reviews of the literature of 1885, 1886.

MINTON WARREN.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von Dr. EUGEN KÖLBING. Heilbronn.

IX Band, 1886.

I.—L. Toulmin Smith, in St. Patrick's Purgatory, and the Knight, Sir Owen, prints the versified legend as found in the recently discovered Brome MS.

F. G. Fleay, On the Chronology of the Plays of Fletcher and Massinger. The discrepancies between the results of Fleay and those of Boyle (v. Am. Journ. Phil. VII 111) are worthy of notice.

F. Kluge, On the Vocabulary of Old English. This paper communicates, in the interests of lexicography and grammar, a number of excerpts from the interlinear version of Bede's Liber Scintillarum.

Minor Publications from the Auchinleck MS, by E. Kölbing. Under this head are reprinted three Middle-English poems, On the Seven Deadly Sins, a Pater Noster, and Psalm 50, which are all in Laing, A Penniworth of Witte.

Under the title, The Boke of Curtesy, Karl Breul prints MS A of this Middle English poem of 112 lines, with the variants of the four other manuscripts and the two printed texts.

The Book Notices contain, among other matter, favorable criticisms of Grion's Italian Version of Beowulf, Hausknecht's Floris and Blanchefleur, and Techmer's Zeitschrift, with severer strictures upon Stratmann's Mittlenglische Grammatik.

In the Miscellanea there is an important paper by W. Fick, On the Authenticity of the Middle English Version of the Roman de la Rose, which ascribes the authorship to Chaucer. There is likewise an obituary notice of Oskar Zielke, the editor of King Orfeo.

II.—C. H. Herford records an important discovery, under the heading Gascoigne's Glasse of Government, and shall be permitted to state his conclusions

in his own words: "The scholastic problem which beset the devout Humanism of Germany and Holland, how to instil the idiomatic tongue of the old comic poets without their '*profanae lubricaeque fabulae*,' was solved, as is well known, by the creation of a sort of hybrid, which, in its most fully developed form, became known as the Terentius Christianus. Biblical or non-pagan stories, the idylls of the Old Testament, the parables of the New, German fairy tale, and even, now and then, a decorous fabliau, were arrayed in flowing senarii for the adornment of school-festival as well as to form part of the routine of school-work. Reuchlin's Henno led to the Asotus of his more brilliant disciple, Macropedius of Utrecht; Crocus, at Amsterdam, followed independently with a Joseph; Gnapheus of the Hague with a play of European celebrity, the Acolastus. . . . None of these stories, however, fell with so little change into the scheme of Latin comedy as the parable of the Prodigal, with its veiled suggestions of adventure and intrigue, revel and harlotry, loss and discovery, all made innocuous by an enveloping sheath of Christian sentiment. The best of the long series of 'Prodigal Son dramas' is certainly the Acolastus of Gnapheus, acted 1529, and printed 1534. . . . The Acolastus was early read with great admiration, and in 1538 was translated by Palsgrave, for scholastic purposes, with an interesting dedication to the king. . . . All three dramatists must have been well known by name and reputation to the literary and university circles in which Gascoigne moved. But in 1572-3 circumstances took him to the actual scene of the work of two of the three. . . . He joined the Prince of Orange in Holland. . . . If I am not deceived, then, there are plausible grounds for supposing that one of the most respectable pioneers of the great age of the English drama stood for a moment in literary contact with the most original Latin dramatists of the previous generation; that he met with their writings either in England, where they were in any case known by repute, or during the Dutch expedition which immediately preceded the writing of his own play; and that he learned from them what no Roman or English dramatist could then have taught him—the idea of a '*Glass of Government*' in which the unsavory world of Roman comedy is boldly adopted with a Christian purpose, while the story of the Biblical prodigal is worked out, much enlarged and still more extensively '*amended*' in the sphere of the modern school."

In continuation of his paper on Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger, R. Boyle quotes a long list of parallel passages from Massinger's dramas, to be afterwards used in determining the authorship of certain doubtful plays, asserting that Massinger indulged in the "habit of repetition to an extent unexampled in the works of any other author, ancient or modern."

Hermann Varnhagen, *The Story of the Cradle* (Chaucer's Reeve's Tale). This is an attempt to determine the genetic relations of the eight versions, of which two are Old French, one Italian, two English, two German and one Latin. The second French version is contained in Hamilton MS 257, which is now at Berlin, and dates from the close of the thirteenth century. This is of prime value, for it contains the two motives of the tale, the miller's theft and the clerk's revenge, and is, apparently, the direct original of the Chaucerian story. Chaucer individualizes the characters and localizes the incident; he omits the unessential, accentuates the comical situations, makes the contrasts

sharper, and lends more unity and naturalness to the action of the tale. As for Boccaccio's novel, the Sixth of the Ninth Day, it is assumed to be derived from another Old French version, co-ordinate with Chaucer's original, but containing only the one motive, while *La Fontaine* merely follows Boccaccio.

K. Elze, Notes and Conjectural Emendations to "Antony and Cleopatra" and "Pericles."

Arnold Schröer, *De Consuetudine Monachorum*, prints a chapter of monastic rules in Old English from MS Cotton. Tiberius A III, fol. 174a-176b.

The Book Notices review, among other works, Ernest Rossi's *Studien über Shakespeare*, Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik*, and Koch's *Revision of the Shakespeare Translations* by Schlegel, Kaufmann, and Voss.

The *Miscellanea* contains a Report on the Sessions of the Modern Philology Section, held at the 38th Convention of German Philologists and Teachers (1885). The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

"Supplementary to the resolution which was unanimously adopted last year at the Dessau Convention—namely, that, in elementary instruction in both French and English, the reading-matter is initial and cardinal, and grammar is always to be treated inductively at the outset—we are agreed upon the following points :

"1. Reading is likewise to be made the principal feature of superior instruction.

"2. Grammar is, as far as possible, to be treated inductively in the upper classes.

"3. Modern historians should have a prominent place among the authors selected.

"4. Written exercises upon the selections read should gradually take the place of translation from German.

"5. It is desirable that at the final examinations there should be a substitution for the usual written theses, either of a free written thesis corresponding to the aim and character of the school, or a translation into German."

At a later session, the following resolution was adopted by a large majority :

"In consideration of the fact that linguistic instruction on a phonetic basis promises much greater success than the prevailing method, which regards the letter and the rule as fundamental, the Section is of opinion that preparatory training by instruction in Latin, which alienates the pupil from an understanding of the sounds, is injurious in its bearing upon rational linguistic instruction in general."

Besides, the following resolutions were adopted unanimously :

"1. It is of the highest importance that a position corresponding to its importance should be accorded to the subject of Modern Languages in all upper schools.

"2. The employment of Grammar (Mittel)-school teachers, and those destitute of special training, to impart instruction in Modern Languages, is, on principle, not to be tolerated.

"3. In order to make proper provision both for the practical and the historico-philological training of such University students as design to become teachers



of modern languages, it is necessary to aim at the establishment of two professorships each for both French and English in every German university, including the whole domain of Modern Philology, theoretically and practically considered. It is likewise desirable that every Modern Language teacher, before entering upon the practice of his profession, should be enabled to spend a considerable time abroad, in order to gain a completer mastery of his subject."

III.—R. Thum, Notes on Macaulay's History, VII.

E. Kölbing, Minor Publications from the Auchinleck MS. Kölbing here reprints the poem which had been published by Scott and Laing, in their "Owain Miles and Other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry," Edinburgh, 1837, under the title of A Moral Poem.

The Book Notices are unusually rich. F. Liebrecht writes an appreciative review of Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads, on which he bestows unstinted praise. Joseph Hall comments on Lucy Toulmin Smith's edition of the York Plays. K. Breul describes at length Kölbing's edition of Amis and Amiloun and Sarrazin's Octavian. W. Sattler touches upon the second part of the Philological Society's New English Dictionary, and there are several other notices of less important works.

In the Miscellanea there is an excellent obituary of Ludwig Lemcke, by W. Mangold, Kluge clears up the difficulties surrounding the word *gref*, and Skeat and Fick respectively decide that the Romaunt of the Rose is not and is a translation by Chaucer.

ALBERT S. COOK.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1884.

Fascicle 7.

57. Der Papyrus Massiliensis des Isokrates. F. Blass. Alfred Schöne had declared this MS to be as old as the first century, but B. denies this and assigns it to the fourth or fifth century. The article is chiefly occupied with a comparison of the different MSS.<sup>1</sup>

58. ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ. F. Weck. The ordinary derivation of *πτερόεντα* and *ἄπτερος* from *πτερόν* is incorrect, for this would require the two words to be used with opposite meanings. On the contrary, they both seem to have similar significations, which may be included under the idea of "forcible," or "efficacious." *ἄπτερος* is derived from the root *ἀπ-* or *ἀπ-*, which appears also in *ἀπάτη*, *ἀπαφίσκει*, as well as in *ἄπτω*, *ἄπτομαι*. *ἄπτερος* means "urgent" or "pressing." From *ἄπτερος* is derived *ἄπτερόεις* (for "*ἔπεα πτερόεντα*" should always be written "*ἔπε' ἄπτερόεντα*") by the passive ending *-εντ*. Both words have practically the same meaning, and both should probably be written with the rough breathing.

59. Timaios als Quelle Diodors für die reden des dreizehnten und vierzehnten Buches. E. Bachof. This is an elaborate argument to show that Timaios is the source from which Diodoros drew the speeches of Nikolaos and Theodoros in Books XIII and XIV of his History; and at the same time a

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VI 109.—B. L. G.

reply to Unger, who supports the view of Holm, that the speeches are derived from Ephoros.

60. ΕΙΔΩΣ bei Homer. W. Heymann. "It is not a difference in the meaning of εἶδως, but a difference in its object, which decides whether it shall govern the genitive or the accusative case."

61. Die errichtung der Phyle Ptolemais. J. Beloch. B. contends that the Athenian tribe, Ptolemais, was named in honor of Euergetes, and not, as commonly supposed, in honor of Philadelphos. It was established, B. thinks, in the neighborhood of 230 B. C.

62. Zu den Geoponika des Cassianus Bassus. G. Bilfinger. A suggestion for the correction of the text in the corrupt passage (Vol. I, p. 30 ff., Niclas's edition) in regard to the time of the rising of the moon on the different days of the month.

63. Zu Sophokles Antigone. F. Kern. Text-criticism, lines 576, 392, 124.

64. Ein verkanntes Fragment des Archilochos. F. Blass. B. thinks that two lines quoted by Aristides, the rhetorician, and usually ascribed to Euripides, are probably from Archilochos.

Fascicles 8 and 9.

65. Geographische Homerstudien in Pausanias. A. Enmann. A discussion of the sources of the Homeric geography of Pausanias, with special reference to Apollodoros and Strabo. E. would assign an important place to Apollodoros.

66. Zur textkritik Platons. K. J. Liebhold. Being remarks on the text in ten passages in the Dialogues.

1. (Continued from Fasc. 1.) Zur Homerischen Worterklärung des Aristarchos. E. Kammer. K. defends his interpretation of γυῖα, "hands and feet," against the criticisms of Hecht.

37. (Continued from Fascicles 4 and 5.) Zu Thukydidēs. C. Conradt. Critical remarks upon a number of passages.

67. Zu Theokritos. C. Ziegler. A brief statement of the order of paragraphs in the "Prolegomena Theocritea" in Vat. 1824-23.

68. Zu Platons Kratylus. M. Wohlrab. Critical remarks upon five passages.

69. Zu Aristoteles Politik. H. Flach. Very brief text-criticism upon two passages.

70. Der römische Kalender 218-215 und 63-45 vor Christ. G. F. Unger, Würzburg. This covers 65 pages, starting with the generally admitted fact that at the beginning of the second Punic war the Roman calendar was two months too fast, and then going on to establish what March 15th corresponded with in each of the years 536-533 (A. U. C.) and 691-710. The cyclic year is also established for each year in the two periods. Thus March 15, 536 = March 19, 218, cyclic year XVI, and so on up to the 24th cyclic year. The evidence seems to be gathered from all possible sources and to be used judiciously.

71. Zu Vergilius Aeneis. Th. Plüss, Basel. A question of punctuation and construction in I 109. Plüss would write the whole passage:

Tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet,  
—saxa; vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus aras,  
dorsum immane . . .

He renders the second line: "*felsen*, sag' ich; *genannt* werden sie von den Italern *altäre*"; the italicized words indicating the accent. With this repetition, for the sake of emphasis, we may compare Aeneid II 405 f.

72. In Senecae De Clementia librorum fragmenta. Aemilius Thomas. A textual criticism.

73. Zu den beiden ersten Büchern von Cicero De Oratore. H. Muther, Coburg. In twelve passages in the first two books of De Oratore, Muther aims to show that words have been dropped out through coincidence with the word or the end of the word immediately preceding, or with the beginning of the following word. In thirteen other passages quoted words have been omitted for no possible reason whatever.

74. Zu Ciceros zweiter Philippica. Otto Sieroka. In §108, it is proposed to read *scortorum* for *sculorum*.

75. Zur Kritik und Erklärung der Briefe Ciceros an M. Brutus. O. E. Schmidt, Dresden. This is a review of Gurlitt's Die Briefe Ciceros an M. Brutus in Bezug auf ihre Echtheit geprüft, and is quite a warm endorsement of the work. Gurlitt gives clearly the main difficulties of the 15th Letter, Book I; some of them, Schmidt himself tries to explain.

76. *Quod potui* und ähnliches. K. Rossberg. This expression most usually occurs without *solum*, but it always implies *cetera non potui*. Ovid uses it very frequently; but it is also found in Juvenal (6, 128); Dracontius, Orest. 780 (Peiper); Vergil, Ecl. III 70. Even modern German has its equivalent, and an example is found in Goethe's Faust.

Fascicles 10 and 11.

77. Chronologische Fragmente. A. Schmidt. This article is very long and comprehensive, and we can only summarize very briefly, in most cases giving merely the subjects of the chapters. 1. Some Attic inscriptions are doubly dated. In such cases the date *κατὰ θεόν* refers to the old sacred calendar of lunar months, while *κατ' ἀρχοντα* refers to the secular, solar year. 2. Such a double dating can also be found in Boeotian and Egyptian inscriptions. 3. The above explanation of the double dating is sustained by reference to Theodore Gaza (c. 9 ff.). 4. The solar year was introduced by reason of its greater convenience, through the influence of scientific men. 5. The solar calendar of Meton was published in 432 B. C., partially adopted in 342, and used officially in public documents in 322. 6. The increasing difference between the two calendars. 7. The Attic solar calendar was not reformed in accordance with the scheme of Kallippos. 8. The location of the intercalary days in the two calendars contrasted. 9. The position of the long and short lunar months. 10. The manner of dividing the Prytanies. 11. Examination of inscriptions in proof of his propositions. 12. Discussion of inscrip-

tions in reference to the tacit use of the date κατ' ἀρχαῖα exclusively, instead of κατὰ θεόν.

78. Adverbialer Gebrauch von ANA. F. Hulsch. The use of ἀνά in Hellenistic Greek as a distributive adverb is proved by examples from Plutarch, the Apocalypse, and other sources. This usage is overlooked by Kühner.

79. Der absolute Genitiv des Infinitivs. F. Hulsch. H. asserts, against Krebs, his claim to priority in calling attention to this usage in Polybios, IV 8, 11, and IX 36, 1.

80. Ciceros Rede für Sex. Roscius aus Ameria. Gustav Landgraf. Recension by A. du Mesnil. A very favorable review, though Landgraf would seem to lay too much stress on the "lexikalische Forschung," giving less importance to grammatical and explanatory notes, though he is in no way neglectful concerning them.

81. Die Gedichte des Catullus. Alex. Riese. Recension by Harnecker, Berlin. A useful work which embraces the results of investigations previously made and becomes a new foundation for further construction.

82. Zu Cicero De Officiis und De Legibus. H. Gilbert. Textual notes on four passages in De Officiis and one on De Legibus (II, §5) maintaining a reading proposed some years ago by himself: *et sui erant demi Attici*.

83. Zu Cicero De Re Publica. J. Schmeisser. Critical note on II 3, 5.

84. Eine Glosse bei Tacitus. K. Meiser, München. The passage is in II 28 of the Historiae: *victoriae sanitas sustentaculum columen*. The second and third words are interpolations, as Nipperdey maintained; and for the new reason that in Luctatius Placidus (page 19, I Deuerling) one may read: *columen vel sanitas vel sustentaculum, quia a columna fit*.

85. Zu Valerius Maximus. H. Wensky. A continuation of his work on the text of this author, begun in 1879, continued in 1882 and 1883 in the Jahrbücher, and latterly interrupted by sickness. The present contribution bears on 54 passages.

#### Fascicle 12.

86. Des Odysseus Sendung nach Chryse im ersten Buche der Ilias. H. Düntzer. An attack on the position of G. Hinrichs that this episode is largely "contaminated," especially from the Homeric hymn to Apollo. D. defends the episode, and shows that the borrowing was in the opposite direction. In opposition to Heimreich, also, D. declares that A 490-92 are only poorly constructed padding.

87. Zu Solons Fragmenten. J. Rost. Text-criticism and explanation of Fr. 13, Bgk. To this article is appended a brief textual note to τρίμετρα, Fr. 36, Bgk., by K. Lugebil.

88. Zur griechischen Syntax. A. Weiske. Remarks upon the different constructions possible after certain verbs, such as μένω and its compounds μαρτυρέω, ἀποκρίνομαι, ἰσχυρίζομαι, αἰτιόομαι, as well as ἀρχομαι, ἐνθυμέομαι and φθάνω. In the case of μαρτυρέω<sup>1</sup> a finite clause with ὅτι or ὡς expresses reality, while an

<sup>1</sup>In brief, μαρτυρέω belongs to the peculiar group of verbs of believing for which see my Justin Martyr, Apol. I, c. 8, 8, and A. J. P. I 49.—B. L. G.

infinitive carries the idea of uncertainty or, which rarely occurs, a participle. So the infinitive and participle with μένω.

89. Zum Prometheus des Aischylos. H. Flach. Textual criticism, lines 77, 83, 200, 313, 331, 406 ff., 717, 740, 848 f., 860, 895, 901, 904, 948, 965, 970, 1043 ff., 1056. In 77 read τοῦδ' ἔργου for τῶν ἔργων, from a remark of the scholiast. In 83 for τί σοι read τίves. L. 200 should follow 203.

90. Zu Cicero De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum. C. Nauck. A note on the interpretation of II 31: quod si notandus dies fuit, eumne potius quo natus an eum quo sapiens factus est? The accusative *eum* is accounted for by the influence of an *arbitramur*, unconsciously felt by Cicero.

91. Zu lateinischen Dichtern. Emil Baehrens. This is a continuation of the article in the Volume for 1881, pp. 401-16; it begins with a reproduction of the work of Domenico Comparetti on the Dvenos inscription. This is read in three instead of two lines, and is then translated. The rest of the article is devoted to the results of textual work on Livius Andronicus, Plautus (Amphitruo), Varro (De Lin. Lat.), Ennius, Cicero (in Orator, §163), Ovid (Ibis), Statius (Thebais), and Ausonius.

92. Über die Sprache des M. Brutus in den bei Cicero überlieferten Briefen: Karl Schirmer. Recension by L. Gurlitt. Schirmer is to be reckoned among the advanced critics in that, unlike Becher, the Horatius Cocles of the old school, who still hold to the genuineness of I 16 and 17, he declares for their not being genuine. Secondly, he maintains the genuineness of all the other letters, in that they contain nothing that is not like or does not correspond with contemporary authors, in the matter of language, and in that they bear a character different from the letters of Cicero, and correspond with the character and style of Asinius Pollio, who belonged to the same rhetorical school with Brutus.

93. Zur Schlacht bei Salamis. A. Breitung. B. believes that the apparent flight of the Greek ships at the beginning of the battle (Her. VIII 64, ἐπὶ πρίμνην ἀνέκρουόν τε καὶ ᾤκελλον τὰς νέας) was only a stratagem to draw the enemy into the narrows, which they had not previously entered, but were only guarding the outlets (Aisch. Pers. 367).

94. Zu Ovidius. Hans Gilbert. A textual note on Heroides 19.

E. B. CLAPP.

W. E. WATERS.

## BRIEF MENTION.

Vienna has followed the example of several of her sister universities, and has begun the publication of an academical series entitled *Dissertationes Philologae Vindobonenses* (Leipzig, G. Freytag; Prague, F. Tempsky). The initial volume, which happily inaugurates the work, contains three essays: the first a work of immense labor in the line of metrical statistics, *De Theocriti versu heroico*, by KARL KUNST; the second in the same general direction, *De syllabarum in trisemam longitudinem productarum usu Aeschyleo et Sophocleo*, by SIEGFRIED REITER; and the third, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis poetarum Latinorum studiis*, by JOSEPH KULIK. KUNST, pursuing the laborious path in which he has been preceded by his master, Hartel, by Drobisch, by Ludwich, has arrived at many interesting results, of which we can give only one or two specimens. The general advance in the rapidity of the heroic verse is, as is well known, one of the curious features brought to light by the study of the later Greek epic poets. This has been attributed by Ludwich to the increasing rapidity of the Greek language, but it is hard to see what that has to do with it, and the study of the Latin hexameter shows that "volubility" is rather a matter of artistic bent or artistic endeavor. The lightness of the Orvidian hexameter is due clearly, not to the increased volubility of the Roman tongue, but to the deftness of the poet, the only one of the Romans who approached the Greeks in this respect, and by his skillful sleight-of-hand, as his enemies would say, overcame the weight of the Latin language. His successors might have learned the secret from him if they had chosen, but, as Kunst points out, they did not, and the poets who succeeded Ovid employed the spondee as freely as those who preceded him. This matter of the structure of the verse is a far more trustworthy indication of personality than some are inclined to think, and twelve years ago, in my Introduction to Persius, I emphasized the fact that Persius, who imitated the language of Horace through thick and thin, did not imitate his rhythm. Kunst is right, therefore, in contending that there is something individual in Theocritus' treatment of the hexameter, and he shows good method in distinguishing the movement in the different classes of the idylls, just as we distinguish between the hexameters in the Odes and the hexameters in the Satires of Horace. So, in the bucolic idylls I, III-XI, the spondees are at their maximum; in the epic XIII, XVI, XVII, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, at their minimum; while the "edyllia mimica," as K. calls them, hold the mean. If we take the five-dactyl verse of Callimachus and compare Theocritus as a whole, we find 22.5 per cent., as against 17 per cent.; and in the epic idylls, where we have most, we have only 19.2 per cent.; while in the bucolic idylls the number sinks to 13.9 per cent.—a very palpable difference, seeing that Bion and Moschus are as voluble as Callimachus. But although Theocritus shows that he has an artistic way of his own to temper the current of his verse, he is a child of his time, and we must expect him to play with the *σπονδείωντες* as did his contemporaries, who made much of this contrast between the rapid gait of the verse in the outset and the heavy pace of the spondees at the end—a toying symbolism of which Homer knew nothing.—REITER gives an interesting account of the steps by which the doctrine of

prolongation won its way to a recognition that is wellnigh universal. He refuses to go as far as Heinrich Schmidt, to whose merits he does scant justice (though he makes use of his interpretation of details from time to time), and thinks that Christ has found the right balance between metric and rhythmic. The conclusion which the writer reaches is that there was no inexorable necessity that bound Aischylos and Sophokles to the use of the triseme arses, and that they employed them simply for fuller vocal utterance and for tragic emphasis—a very modest result.—The drift of KULIK's essay is to show Cicero's fondness for the old poets, his contempt for the new, and the soundness of his judgment in this attitude.

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In the year 1882 the Utrecht Provincial Association of Arts and Sciences offered a prize for the best answer to the question to what value Thukydides and Aristophanes are entitled as sources for the knowledge of their times, with especial reference to the views presented by H. Müller-Strübing in his book *Aristophanes und die historische Kritik* and his later writings. The later writings have gone on with bewildering voluminosity, and this is perhaps the reason why no answer has been as yet given to the question, at least so far as we have heard; and in this point, at all events, we are not behind Professor ADOLF BAUER of Graz, who, not having heard of any results from the prize question, has taken up the matter on his own account, and has attacked Müller-Strübing's whole method in a pamphlet entitled *Thukydides und H. Müller-Strübing* (Nördlingen, C. H. Beck, 1887). Müller-Strübing is doubtless an interesting and suggestive writer, but abominably prolix, unreasonably rhetorical, and, like many Germans who have lived long in England, extremely proud of the political insight acquired by his residence in a political atmosphere. A decocotion of Müller-Strübing would be eminently desirable for the student of Greek history and politics, and it is a pity that no one has had the patience to undertake it. Now, it seems that Müller-Strübing, in the course of his Thukydidean studies, has passed through different stages of insight, and these different stages appearing to the commonplace eyes of Professor Bauer as so many glaring inconsistencies, he has thought it his duty to expose the subjective method according to which Thukydides stands forth, now as a great historian whose conscience is warped to the extent of suppressing the truth, then as an artist who cares for nothing but rhetorical effect, and finally as a pedantic professor, who is bent on drawing moral lessons from everything, and who goes so far as to manufacture events for the sake of these moral lessons. It is sad to think that the more Müller-Strübing has studied Thukydides, the further the historian has sunk in the critic's esteem; but the growth of Müller-Strübing was hardly possible in any other way, although one hardly likes to think of the magnate of Skaptesyde as a *professeur manqué*. We look forward to Müller-Strübing's rejoinder to Bauer with dread, lest "der Londoner Gelehrte" may not have learned the best lessons from English polemics, as he thinks he has learned the best lessons from English politics.

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The fifth half-volume of IWAN SCHMIDT's indispensable *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* contains the conclusion of Vol. I, viz. the last

part of (F.) UNGER's *Chronology of the Greeks and Romans*, and (G.) NISSEN's *Greek and Roman Metrology*, together with the first fascicle of Vol. IV: A. *Greek Antiquities*—1. *Political and Legal Antiquities*, by GEORG BUSOLT, who has won renown for himself by his recently published *History of Greece*. Vols. I and II are now complete. The conclusion of Vol. IV is promised by February of this year. Vol. III has been delayed, first by the sickness and then by the death of the eminent Königsberg professor, JORDAN. Still that volume may be looked for in the course of the current year, Professor RICHTER, of Berlin, having taken the place that Professor JORDAN left vacant.

Since the above notice was written the seventh half-volume has appeared, containing the latter part of Vol. IV: B. *Die römischen Allertümer*—1. *Staats- und Rechtsallertümer*; 2. *Kriegsallertümer*, both by Professor HERMANN SCHILLER, and 3. *Privatallertümer und Kulturgeschichte*, by Professor MORITZ VOIGT. To complete Vol. IV are still lacking BAUER, *Die griechischen Allertümer*, and IWAN MÜLLER, *Die griechischen Privatallertümer*. And so this admirable undertaking moves forward to completion, though in a way to puzzle all nationalities except the German, to which such irregularity of issue is familiar. The bibliography alone makes these volumes invaluable to the special as well as to the general student.

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Mr. WELLDON's translation of *Aristotle's Rhetoric* (London and New York, Macmillan & Co.) is a careful piece of work. In the preface he naturally extols his author at the expense of that author's successors, and rather unfairly, we think. The notes are in good measure dependent on Cope, though Mr. Welldon does not abdicate his right to individual opinion. Oddly enough, he does not say a word about the peculiar character of the third book, which he seems to accept without reserve as Aristotelian. A marked contrast to the bibliographical mania of the day is the cool way in which we are referred to the British Museum Catalogue, *s. v.* Aristotle. Every one has not the British Museum Catalogue within easy reach.

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After a long period of waiting and watching, German publishers have begun to make their schoolbooks attractive by paper, type and illustrations. Rheinhard's Caesar (Stuttgart, Paul Neff) has had great success even in this country, and the same house has published an edition of *Cornelius Nepos*, by Professor KARL ERBE, which would have made an older generation open their eyes. In the special dictionaries published by Freytag and Tempisky, illustration has not been neglected. The cuts are clear, and the phototypes in the main excellent; but Erbe's *Cornelius Nepos* outdoes its rivals by the fulness and richness of its colored illustrations. Good originals seem to have been followed everywhere, and if in the 152 illustrations, which are made to cover large spheres of Greek and Roman life, some are too small to be of much service, still the book cannot fail to promote the study of *Nepos*, which, in the judgment of the writer of this notice, is a very desirable thing. *Nepos* has been unduly neglected in favor of Caesar's Gallic War, which few young people read understandingly, still fewer with any degree of enjoyment; whereas biography is almost sure to commend itself to both boys and girls. Erbe's notes expend



themselves on the historical and antiquarian sides of the author, leaving the grammatical drill in the hands of the teacher. In the copy sent to the Journal one of the plates (VII) has been omitted, and another (XVI) duplicated. Such infelicities ought to be guarded against. (New York, B. Westermann & Co.)

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ARTHUR KOPP's book, *Beiträge zur griechischen Excerpten-Litteratur* (Berlin, R. Gaertner's Verlagsbuchhandlung), attacks at great length, and in an acrimonious spirit, the honesty of the late E. Miller's *Mélanges*. "Als Deutscher," he says, "darf ich stolz darauf sein, in einem siegreichen Treffen deutscher Redlichkeit gegen französische Prahlerei mitgefochten zu haben." This is simply lamentable. Of course French scholars have taken up the quarrel, and the only issue of all this bitterness will be darkness, of all this darkness bitterness.

KOPP's bellicose words do not seem to have found a hearty response everywhere in Germany, and since the above lines were written—now some months ago—L. COHN has published in the *Jahrbücher* 1886, p. 825, an elaborate vindication of Miller, to which we refer those who are interested in the matter.

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We are glad to announce that WEIL's admirable book on *The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages* is to be published in an English dress by Messrs. Ginn & Co., of Boston. The translator is Professor Chas. W. Super, Professor of Greek in the Ohio University. Everything that Weil has written is instinct with the genius of good sense, and we are glad to have an opportunity of calling attention to this classic work, which is not so well known in this country as it ought to be.

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The first number of the *Classical Review* (London, D. Nutt & Co.), edited by J. B. MAYOR, assisted by A. H. CHURCH, A. M. COOK, and CECIL SMITH, with a long list of contributors, including all the first-class names of England, made its appearance in March. It is intended to be 'a critical record of the work of the year, so far as regards English publications, by noticing within three months of their appearance all that are not unmistakable cram-books or of a merely elementary character,' exceptions which will be found to lighten the work very much, perhaps unduly, as a sharp scourge is very much needed just now for the money-changers of the classical temple. There never was a time of more barefaced manufacture, which it may be impossible to stop, but against which scholarship ought to protest. There is to be correspondence from English and foreign universities, and the *Review* is further to serve as a receptacle for notes and queries and adversaria of any kind, and the hope is expressed that it may be used as an organ of intercommunication between scholars in all parts of the world. The subscription price will be 10s. for the 10 numbers of 32 pp. each, or 320 pp. in all. It is a shame that England should not have had such a Classical Review thirty years ago, and we hope that the modest beginning made in this March number may be the inauguration of a healthier and more active philological life in the mother-country.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Κελεύω WITH DATIVE AND INFINITIVE.

All teachers of Greek composition know that schoolboys will put the above construction whenever they can, or rather whenever they choose. The last Liddell and Scott gives various instances of it as a Homeric construction, and adds "and Att.; Thuc. 8, 38, etc." I cannot say for the "etc." But "Thuc. 8, 38" contains merely "*εἰς Μίλητον ἐπεμπον, κελείοντές σφισι τὸν Ἀστίοχον βοηθεῖν*"! It can hardly be supposed that L. and S. translate this "ordering them to help Astyochus." But if they do not mean that, what do they mean?

WILLIAM EVERETT.

[This mistake is pointed out with great emphasis by Hickie in his note on Andocides de Mysteriis, §40. A similar error is to be noted s. v. *μαστιγῶ*: "2. πλὴγὰς μ. τινι, *to inflict stripes on one*; Plat. Legg. 845 A."—where the context shows that the dat. depends on *ἰσαριθμον*.—B. L. G.]

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Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. VIII, 2.

WHOLE NO. 30.

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## I.—SPEECH MIXTURE IN FRENCH CANADA.

### A.—INDIAN AND FRENCH.

In Canada, at different periods of her history, we find all those causes existing that produce speech mixture in its various degrees, from the union of two wholly divergent idioms, as in the case of the French and Indian, down through forms of language that are more or less closely related according as they belong to the same general stock, or are contained, as special varieties, within the domain of a single common type. The conditions, furthermore, of antagonistic racial differences, of incompatible stages of civilization, of strong variations of traditional culture, of divergence of social customs, of well-marked and persistent dialect varieties, give to the problem here a many-sidedness and a kaleidoscopic coloring which are indicative, from the beginning, of its complex nature.

When the French first landed on the shores of the St. Lawrence, two great families of native speech occupied the region to the northeast of the American continent, namely, the Algonkin tribes, with their sundry dialects and sub-dialects, and the Iroquois (the Five Nations), whose generic language was in its turn divided into different species, of which the Huron was the chief representative. It was this Huron-Iroquois that prevailed in great measure throughout the district that afterwards became La Nouvelle France. In support of this statement I would appeal to the judgment of a celebrated missionary and writer, Jean André Cuq, who for twenty years labored among the Iroquois and Algonkin tribes of Quebec: "Quelques auteurs ont pensé que les sauvages que rencontra Jacq. Cartier à Stadaconé et à Hochelaga, étaient de

race *algonquine*. C'est là une erreur que démontre la seule inspection des mots sauvages dont le célèbre navigateur nous a conservé le vocabulaire. Ce vocabulaire peu considérable, il est vrai, mais pourtant bien précieux, comprend deux listes de mots, la liste qu'il dressa dans son 1<sup>er</sup> voyage aux environs de Stadaconé, et celle des mots que dans son 2<sup>e</sup> voyage il put recueillir en remontant le fleuve Saint-Laurent jusqu'à Hochelaga." After citing a number of examples from these lists and a careful comparison of them with the modern Iroquois, the learned abbé winds up with : " Nous concluons donc . . . qu'au temps de leur découverte, les sauvages habitant les rives du Saint-Laurent parlaient une seule et même langue. . . . Nous bornant à ces exemples, nous pourrions, ce nous semble, tirer déjà notre conclusion et regarder comme une vérité démontrée, que la langue parlée à Stadaconé, à Hochelaga et autres lieux voisins ou intermédiaires, était la langue *iroquoise*." <sup>1</sup> It is, consequently, with these two forms of Indian language, the Algonkin and the Iroquois, and especially with the latter, that I have chiefly to do here in noting the mingling, or rather lack of mingling, of the French with the native idioms of this part of the North American Continent. I say chiefly, because even among the few words of Indian origin that remain in Canadian French to-day, there are some which do not belong to the domain of native speech whence we might naturally suppose that they would have been taken, and, therefore, in seeking to account for their form or to explain the phonetic changes which these vocables have undergone, we must naturally have recourse to a system of phonetic production and to laws of morphological development that, in certain cases, do not obtain in the special linguistic group with which the French emigrants had immediately to do. The causes that led to the adoption of certain terms drawn from the language of tribes with which the French were not in constant and friendly relation, must be sought, on the one hand, in the unstable social character of the early settlements, where there existed a natural spirit of adventure and conquest which urged the more daring members beyond the confines of the usual tribal territory for the purpose of exploring new domains of wealth, of carrying on a temporary traffic or of establishing regular commercial intercourse, and these brought

<sup>1</sup> Quels étaient les sauvages que rencontra Jacq. Cartier sur les rives du Saint-Laurent ? pp. 1, 3, 4. Extrait du Cahier de Septembre 1869, des Annales de Philosophie chrétienne.



back with them, of course, the idioms and names used by the strange people whose customs they had often adopted in part or altogether, and with whom they had associated sometimes for many months without returning to the French settlements. And still another class, the missionaries, did not a little to bring back to the centres of population on the St. Lawrence the peculiar terms and characteristic expressions of distant and heterogeneous tribes to whom they had preached the Gospel and with whom they would labor often for years before seeking their co-workers at St. Marie (Montreal), Three Rivers and Quebec. But, on the other hand, outside of individual enterprise and religious enthusiasm, a still greater channel for the transmission of these allophylian elements was opened in the establishment, with governmental patronage, of powerful fur-trading companies that carried their commercial dealings far into the interior of the country and, through their agents, had necessarily to adopt some of the names used by those with whom their trading operations were practised. We shall see a little further on that the borrowed material, both here and in general, as taken from the native idioms, represents concrete ideas; in truth, usage seldom rises above simple names of things in these loan-words.

After a consideration of the external conditions—social, political and religious<sup>1</sup>—that have exercised an abrading, equalizing influence on the discordant, ill-assorted, multifarious elements of French society as represented in the early settlement of New France, we are prepared to move on to a treatment of those special linguistic phenomena that were the natural resultant of a fusion of the complex, varied and heterogeneous ingredients of speech which were brought together in this new civilization. From what has been said we may expect to find here a strong drift toward an amalgamation which, while it shows a certain general sameness in form and in sound product, still, when examined under the microscope of a careful dialect analysis, yields a many-colored material full of variety and puzzling aspects, replete with shadings of linguistic life so delicate that they dissolve from view in the attempt to seize and fix them. The superposition of so many different speech varieties, the crossing and recrossing of this language trait with that other of a wholly diverse nature, the sudden breaking of a line of tradition, the squeezing into a new dress and the refitting of the old material to match it, the warping of well-established laws of development,

<sup>1</sup> See this Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 135-150, and Vol. VII, pp. 141-160.

the requiring of certain grammar categories to perform new functions, the mingling of the old with the new and of the new with the old in language and dialect, sometimes the one predominating, sometimes the other—these are natural results and offer only a few points of view from which the investigator has to scan a material that is still so plastic, so fraught with the element of change, that before he is done handling it he is conscious of the possibility of conditions arising other than those in which he has just considered it.

In view of these difficulties I shall canvass the subject of speech mixture proper in French Canada in a strictly historical manner, beginning with the simplest form and proceeding to the more complex stages that developed with the political changes through which the country went by conquest and by a natural growth of power. This mode of procedure has this evident advantage that, in the beginning of the discussion, many of the perplexing questions are eliminated which naturally come up later when the conditions of the problem become more complicated through the increased number of elements that enter into it. Under this view the subject naturally falls into four parts: The mixture of the French (*a*) with the native Indian speech, (*b*) with imported idioms, such as the English, etc., (*c*) with itself, that is, in its own dialect varieties, (*d*) with different ages of the same. Let us take up (*a*) Mixture of French with the Indian.

The most typical family of North American Indians, "the Indian of Indians," as Parkman calls them, was the Huron-Iroquois stock to which passing reference was made above and whose earliest home was Upper and Lower Canada. They were thus the native historic race of the valley of the St. Lawrence, and at the same time the most aggressive tribe of the North American Continent. The oldest, if not the parent stock of the Huron-Iroquois breed was the Huron branch, and the separation from its consanguineous rival, the Iroquois proper, had already taken place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the French got their foothold in Canada and the Hurons entered with them into that friendly alliance which proved fatal to the savage.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parkman, in one of his inimitable antitheses, happily characterizes the treatment of the Indian by the three chief European nations that acquired possessions in the New World, in the following manner: "Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."

According to the opinion of one of the ablest scholars of to-day in Indian lore, "the evidence of language, so far as it has been examined, seems to show that the Huron clans were the older members of the group; and the clear and positive traditions of all the surviving tribes, Hurons, Iroquois, and Tuscaroras, point to the lower St. Lawrence as the earliest known abode of their stock. Here the first explorer, Cartier, found Indians of this stock at Hochelaga and Stadacone, now the sites of Montreal and Quebec."

As representatives of refugees from the massacre of 1648, perpetrated by their relentless foes, the Iroquois, the Hurons now constitute a small village, Lorette (near Quebec), the sole surviving remnant of that once powerful tribe which already in the middle of the seventeenth century had ceased to exist.

The language of these various Indian tribes with which the French came into contact, whether in a friendly way or not, was split into numerous and often widely differing dialects that bore, however, the common stamp of the North American vernacular, namely, a complex, polysynthetic character. In the special, holophrastic feature of these native idioms is to be sought one of the principal causes, I think, of the comparatively little mixing of French or of other European languages (for the same is true of the English and the Spanish) with the indigenous speech. We have abundant testimony, from the missionaries of the early settlements on the St. Lawrence, of the enormous difficulty that attached to acquiring even a moderate facility in the use of the native idioms. This must be attributed in part, at least, to the absolute lack of external helps such as grammars, vocabularies, etc., in the prosecution of these studies. The celebrated Père Lejeune, for example, after having studied Algonkin for two years, almost despaired of being able to master it and wrote: "Ils ont une richesse si importune, qu'elle me jette quasi dans la créance que je serai pauvre toute ma vie en leur langue."<sup>1</sup> Belcourt, another missionary of that time, says: "C'est l'immense quantité des désinences, rendues nécessaires par le grand nombre des modes dans les verbes, qui produit la richesse et la variété des expressions et qui rend le discours oratoire puissant, noble, cadencé. La mémoire doit faire de grands efforts pour saisir la multitude

<sup>1</sup> Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Books of Rites*, Introduction, pp. 10, 11. Cf. Dr. D. G. Brinton's *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, No. II.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, p. 96, and *Relation de 1636*, quoted by him.

désespérante de variations dans les verbes."<sup>1</sup> "The variety of compounds," wrote the accomplished missionary, Brebeuf, concerning the Huron tongue, "is very great; it is the key to the secret of their language. They have as many genders as ourselves, as many numbers as the Greeks." Recurring to the same comparison, he remarks of the Huron verb that it has as many tenses and numbers as the Greek, with certain discriminations which the latter did not possess.<sup>2</sup> And Horatio Hale, the subtle investigator in native American linguistics, already quoted, significantly observes with further reference to the difficulty of learning the Huron-Iroquois: "It is a fact somewhat surprising, as well as unfortunate, that no complete grammar of any of the Huron-Iroquois stock has ever been published. . . . Such is the extraordinary complexity of the language, such the multiplicity of its forms and the subtlety of its distinctions, that years of study are required to master it."<sup>3</sup> The eminent missionary, Cuq, of Montreal, a profound philologist versed in the grammatical principles of many and widely different languages, confirms these statements when he attempts to trace the outlines of the grammatical system of their respective languages: "Vouloir calquer une grammaire iroquoise ou algonquine sur le modèle d'une grammaire grecque ou hébraïque, russe ou allemande, basque même ou irlandaise, eût été un projet insensé et impossible à accomplir. Il n'y a que les hommes compétents en matière de grammaire et de linguistique qui pourront concevoir la longueur et la difficulté du travail qui va paraître sous leurs yeux; eux seuls pourront se faire une juste idée des perquisitions de tout genre et des diverses combinaisons que nous avons dû faire pour démêler la trame si merveilleuse de ces langues."<sup>4</sup> Again, in discussing Cartier's word-lists, noted above, this scholar observes: "Les légères différences qui peuvent se trouver entre les mots des deux listes ne doivent s'expliquer autrement que par l'extrême difficulté que l'on éprouve toujours, quand il faut saisir par le simple son de la voix, des mots appartenant à une langue complètement inconnue. Cette raison acquiert une force toute spéciale, quand il s'agit, comme dans le cas présent,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ferland, *ibidem*, note.

<sup>2</sup> Library of Aboriginal American Literature, edited by D. G. Brinton, M. D., Philadelphia, 1883, No. II, p. 99. Quoted from "Relation" of 1636, pp. 99, 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Études philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages de l'Amérique par N. O. (Jean André Cuq) Ancien Missionnaire. Montréal, 1866, p. 35.*

d'une langue sauvage; nous parlons ici par expérience et en appelons avec assurance au témoignage de ceux qui, comme nous, ont travaillé auprès des sauvages, et ont appris quelqu'une des langues de ces peuples."<sup>1</sup> A curious example of misconceived form, through a false appreciation of sound elements by the ear, has been perpetuated in European languages in the word *totem*, with reference to which this same writer remarks: "Je dois faire observer que *totem* est pour la langue algonquine ce que seraient pour le français des mots du genre de ceux-ci: *thomme, toiseau*; c'est à dire que trompé par la liaison du mot précédent, on a cru qu'il fallait écrire *ni totem, ki totem*, absolument comme quelqu'un qui se guidant iniquement d'après la prononciation, écrirait: *gran thomme, charman toiseau*. Il est à regretter que plusieurs écrivains de mérite aient pu commettre une pareille méprise. Ce n'est ni *totem* ni *dodem*, mais bien *Otem*." Further, a recent writer who had associated with various tribes of our American Indians tells us how many obstacles the stranger has to contend against in acquiring even a passable speaking acquaintance with any given Indian idiom: "The class of the noun determines the class of the verb, so that a speaker, grammatically skilled in the language, must know the appropriate class of each noun, as precisely as the masculine and feminine is required in the French. But there is an additional reason for accuracy in the American languages, for in the French the verb remains unchanged by its operation on the object. From this cause it is exceedingly rare to find the Indian spoken grammatically by any but natives or persons who have been accustomed to the idiom from childhood. We have never known a white man who had attained anything more, in the acquisition of the language, than an approximation to accuracy. The class of persons who visit the interior bands for the purposes of trade are commonly mere smatterers, and totally inadequate to communicate with the Indians on topics of governmental business, or the abstruse questions connected with their religion or history."<sup>2</sup>

If such, then, were the difficulties for educated minds and for men imbued with a boundless zeal to learn, in order to propagate their religious beliefs, as were these missionaries just referred to,

<sup>1</sup> Cuoq, *Quels étaient les sauvages que rencontra Jacques Cartier sur les rives du Saint-Laurent?* p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The North American Review, Vol. XLV (1837), p. 46. Language of the Algonquins, a review of Gallatin, "On the Languages of North American Indians."

how insuperable must have been the impediments to acquiring the native idioms for the ordinary French peasant and for the common fur-trader, whose intercourse with the natives was not prompted by an enthusiasm for ideal ends, but simply confined to the narrow channel of special business transactions, where a scanty supply of words was adequate to their limited necessities. In such circumstances it would be more natural, perhaps, that the savage should pick up words enough to enable him to barter with the white man, and it is probable, too, that we should find a greater infiltration, for practical purposes, of Gallic elements into Indian speech of this epoch than vice versa; in truth, hints of opposition to this procedure, on the part of the Indian, we have from writers on Canada of the sixteenth century, and, among others, I may cite again the same missionary, Belcourt, who expresses himself in the following terms with reference to the introduction into the native languages of modes of expression conflicting with established usage: "Ces langues sont moins sujettes aux changements que bien des langues écrites. Cela est dû au ridicule qui, parmi les sauvages, s'attache à ceux qui osent innover dans la langue. Les quelques changements introduits depuis trente ans, dans la langue algonquine de l'ouest, l'ont été par des métis qui ont voulu traduire littéralement des expressions françaises, employées d'une manière métaphorique."<sup>1</sup> This aversion to the use of strange constructions is easily conceivable, and particularly that the familiar and striking terms of metaphor should be set in a foreign mould; but for simple, concrete names, analogy with the language products of other savage and semi-civilized peoples would lead me to believe that the foreign elements of this sort were adopted with ease. That the effort of the Frenchman to speak the Indian dialect, to whatever sept it belonged, was necessarily much greater than that required of the savage to make himself understood in French, follows naturally from the testimony, cited above, of scholars who were wont to occupy themselves closely with the native idioms. However, the strong conservative tendencies, contrary to expectation, of some of these idioms that possess few written documents, are well established by the testimony of those most familiar with them: "A comparison of the Iroquois with the Huron grammar shows that after a separation which must have exceeded five hundred years, and has probably covered twice that term, the two languages differ less from one

<sup>1</sup> Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, p. 95, note.

another than the French of the twelfth century differed from the Italian, or than the Anglo-Saxon of King Alfred differed from the contemporary Low German speech."<sup>1</sup> The characteristics of the Huron language mentioned by the historian Ferland, as drawn from the early missionaries of New France, would serve, in the absence of more positive data, to give us only a very incomplete and incorrect idea as to the effect of the mingling of this idiom with the French: "La plupart des mots de la langue huronne sont composés presque entièrement de voyelles. Cela vient de ce que plusieurs consonnes leur manquent; ainsi ils n'ont pas une seule labiale. Un missionnaire remarquait qu'ils avaient toujours les lèvres séparées, et que, lorsqu'ils parlaient bas, il était impossible de les comprendre, si l'on n'était très-accoutumé à leur langue."<sup>2</sup>

This statement is too sweeping if applied exclusively, as the author would seem to intend it should be applied, to the Huron; for, as a matter of fact, the mother tongue of the Huron-Iroquois branch, the Old Huron,<sup>3</sup> does preserve in part the labials that have disappeared from all the special Iroquois dialects. "A comparison of any of the Iroquois dialects with the Huron as still spoken by the Wyandots of Ontario, shows the *m* to be in use by the latter."<sup>4</sup> And again, the same writer remarks, page 88: "The habit of invariably speaking with the lips open is the source of very curious modifications in the Iroquois vocabularies when compared with that of the Wyandots (the Indian name for Huron). The *m* gives place to *w*, *nw*, *nh*, or *nku*, also to *ku* and *nkw*, and so frequently changes the whole character of the word by the modifications it gives rise to." Example, English Mary = Wari, etc. "Il y avait des hommes qui nous demandoient d'apprendre le François avec eux, mais comme en toute leur langue il ne se trouve aucune lettre labiale, ny les une ny les autres n'en pouvoient prononcer une seule que tres difficilement. Pour dire P. ils disoient T. Pour F. S., & pour M. N., &c., & par ainsi il leur

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 113. Dr. Brinton's *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> The Huron speech became the Iroquois tongue in the form in which it is spoken by the Caniengas, or Mohawks (Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 13).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Daniel Wilson, *The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a typical Race of American Aborigines*. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1884*, Section II, p. 55 sq.

eut esté comme impossible de la pouvoir apprendre dans leur país (i'entends les personnes aagées) qu'avec une grand longueur de temps & des peines indicibles, & suis assureé qu'un jeune garçon Huron s'efforça deux ou trois cens fois pour pouvoir prononcer la lettre P. & ne pû iamais dire que T, car voulant dire Pere Gabriel il disoit T. Aueil."<sup>1</sup> It seems, therefore, a distinction must be made between the Iroquois, as such, and the Huron in the use of labials, but, in another part of their phonetics, they do agree as to a treatment that must have deeply affected the physiognomy of the French vocables added to their word-supply: "In none of the Huron-Iroquois dialects is any distinction made between *o* (guttural) and *u* (guttural); *k* (*g*) of other dialects is frequently softened to phonetic *j* in Huron: *canocha* (house) *janoñsha*, *canada* (town) *jandāta*, *cohenā* (island) *jawenda*, etc.; in none of the special Iroquois languages are *dt*, or *gk*, *ou* separated, and consequently the French missionaries represent these sounds by simple *t*, *k*, *o*."<sup>2</sup> It was not alone, however, the greater simplicity within certain well-defined groups of sounds, such as the guttural, the dental, etc., that marked these idioms and had a generalizing, levelling effect upon the differences of French phonetic production circumscribed by generic lines, but, according to Çuoq, who, besides valuable contributions to other Indian dialects, wrote a grammar of the Iroquois and a "Lexique de la langue Iroquoise," less than half the French alphabet is required to represent faithfully the phonic varieties which he found in this particular family of Indian speech; namely, *a*, *e*, *f*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *n*, *o*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*. In this author's *Études philologiques sur quelques Langues sauvages de l'Amérique*, especially the Second Part containing a treatment of the *Système grammatical des langues algonquine et iroquoise*, we find a clear presentation of this subject, which, though far from being exhaustive, gives reliable data touching these idioms and excels anything else of this sort that we possess. We may hope for more material and better opportunity to study the Iroquois when the works now in preparation shall have been finished.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Histoire du Canada et voyages que les freres mineurs Recollects y ont faicts pour le conuersion des infidelles diuisez en quatre liures fait et composé par le F. Gabriel Sagard Theodat, Mineur Recollect de la Province de Paris. à Paris 1636, Vol. II, pp. 330-31.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Wilson, *ibidem*, pp. 78, 102.

<sup>3</sup> For the work of Mrs. E. A. Smith, of Jersey City, in the preparation of a series of chrestomathies of the Iroquois language, see first annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1879-80, by J. W. Powell, Director, p. xxii.



According to the scheme proposed by Cuoq, the following sounds, *b, c, g, j, l, m, p, q, u, v, x, y, z*, are wanting in the Iroquois; that is, the labial group is reduced to the single voiceless fricative (labio-dental) *f*; the guttural vowels fall to two (*a, o*); liquids have one representative only instead of two; of the nasals, only dental *n* sticks; guttural consonants are reduced to one-third of their French signs and dental sibilants fall to one-third. The following comparative table will show the simplicity which is thus reached by the use of only twelve signs instead of the French twenty-five:

| VOWELS.  |                  | CONSONANTS.           |                                  |
|----------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
|          | <i>Iroquois.</i> | <i>French.</i>        |                                  |
| Guttural | <i>a, o</i>      | <i>a, o, u</i>        | <i>k</i>                         |
| Palatal  | <i>e, i</i>      | <i>e, i (y), ö, ü</i> | wanting <i>ñ</i>                 |
| Labial   |                  |                       | <i>f, w</i>                      |
| Dental   |                  |                       | <i>b, p, v, f, m</i>             |
|          |                  |                       | <i>s, t, r, n</i>                |
|          |                  |                       | <i>d, l, z, s, ž, š, r, l, n</i> |

and voiceless *h*.

With so simple a phonetic system as this it is evident at a glance what serious disturbance in form and sound the French language must have undergone in the mouth of the natives (the Iroquois) along the St. Lawrence. But with another member of the long-lived Iroquois league, the Mohawks, the French were brought into contact, and, according to Max Müller, their language has no labials of any kind: "It is a fact that the Mohawks never, either as infants or as grown-up people, articulate with their lips. They have no *p, b, m, f, v, w*."<sup>1</sup> In commenting upon this statement, President Wilson observes that Dr. Oronhyatekha, the native Mohawk who had given the Oxford professor this information, goes even further, rejecting not only the six letters already mentioned, but also *c, g, l, z*, and thus reduces the alphabet for this dialect to sixteen letters.\* Now, it will be a matter of great interest, when these native dialects shall be properly worked up, to observe whether any, or how much, trace of French influence is manifest in them respectively, and how deeply the Gallic speech has been affected by the loss of sound and flexion so necessary to suit it to practical use in these idioms. Our present knowledge of the native languages of the St. Lawrence Valley at the time of the arrival of the French is not sufficient to enable us to trace with accuracy the speech mixture on the Indian side. That there

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on the Science of Language, 2d series, p. 162.

\* Daniel Wilson, l. c., pp. 87-8.

has been no permanent borrowing is manifest in the language of the Huron colony of Lorette (New Quebec), where they have been in contact with Europeans since the establishment of the French colony at Quebec and yet their speech does not show strongly marked signs of deterioration. From a linguistic point of view there is more poetry than truth in Parkman's statement : " Here (Lorette) to this day the tourist finds the remnant of a lost people, harmless weavers of baskets and sewers of moccasins, the Huron blood fast bleaching out of them, as, with every generation, they mingle and fade away in the French population around."<sup>1</sup>

Let us now proceed to a consideration of the chief phonetic and morphological features that characterize the few examples which I have been able to collect of the process of amalgamation of Indian and French. It is evident that this mixture may take place in two directions: we have the products of the dialect in the mouth of the Frenchman, or those of the French language in the mouth of the savage, and, as hinted above, since we may expect *a priori* that the more complicated and perplexing grammatical relations of the savage idiom would render the employment of the foreign language, in the first case, more limited than the conditions imposed of passing in practical use from the more involved to the simple grammar machinery in the second case, I shall start with examining the traces of Indian transferred to the French, since the material preserved to us here is confined to only a few words, which, however, possess a strong interest for us, since they represent thoroughly popular usage. It is a curious fact, worthy of note in this connection, that though these Indian dialects possess an abundant vocabulary for the detailed and accurate expression of abstract ideas, and though their writings deal largely in metaphor and simile, yet not a single example of such usage, so far as I know, is to be found among the vocables that have lived in French. One would naturally expect, I think, that in their extended, constant and varied relations with the numerous missionaries scattered through the different tribes, and particularly since these pioneers of the Christian faith were unremittingly occupied with the presentation of spiritual truths and the discussion of the finer aspects of a new religion, there would be left in the language some impress of this life; but with the exception of a

<sup>1</sup> Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 432-3.

single term, to be noted below, all evidences of this extensive relation have vanished, if they ever existed, and we are restricted in forming our judgment of the borrowing by the European language, to a meagre list of commonplace terms representing a very limited range of thought. We shall find, on the contrary, that the Indian has accepted many terms and modes of expression from the missionary. This would naturally arise for the description of all such Church functions and relations as were not easily translatable into the native dialect; transliteration being very common with them to express those religious rites that were totally unknown to the savage mind, such as the confession, for example, and for which there existed either no equivalents at all, or so inadequate verbal representations of the ceremony that the words possible for this use were without special significance. In these cases, therefore, the foreign vocable was adopted bodily after having undergone the peculiar phonetic and morphological changes that characterized the speech of each given dialect.

We shall first take the individual words adopted by the French. A few of these are equally common both to English and to French usage; for example:

**TOMAHAWK** (Algonkin *tomehagen*, Mohegan *tumnahegan*, Delaware *tamoihecan*), "a kind of war hatchet used by the American Indians."<sup>1</sup> A writer in the *North American Review*, Vol. XLV, p. 55, assigns this word, without comment, to the Mohegan, but the nearer approach of the adopted form to the Algonkin type would naturally suggest this dialect as the more direct source of the word. The spelling with *w* would seem to indicate that the Canadians have taken it from the English. In the early missionary records, however, it is spelled with *ou*, so that the present mode of writing it might represent simply a later stage of graphic sign usage. I do not find it recorded in any of the small vocabularies that contain special Canadian words.

**MOCASSIN** (Algonkin *makisin*.) "Châteaubriand parle de Mocassines de peau de rat musqué, brodées avec du poil de porc-épic(?) Le mocassin est un soulier de peau de chevreuil, ou d'original, sans semelle, avec des demi-guêtres qu'on assujétit au dessus du pied avec des courrois."<sup>2</sup> The writer referred to above (*N. Am. Rev.*) attributes also this word to the Mohegan.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Webster's English Dictionary, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Glossaire Franco-Canadien* par Oscar Dunn, Quebec, 1880, s. v.

WIGWAM (Algonkin *mikišam*, "house").<sup>1</sup> This word has probably come into European languages subject to some Huron or Huron-Iroquois influence, since the initial labial *m* has been replaced by the voiced bilabial *w*; and the use of this graphic sign would further point to the English as the medium through which it had reached the French, unless, as in *tomahawk*, it represents simply a more recent spelling.

Outside of these words, common to both English and French usage, we may possibly find a couple of dozen that belong exclusively to the French. Of course, in this enumeration, proper names, especially geographical designations, are left out of account, since they form a class to themselves, and are very abundant in certain parts of the lower provinces of Canada. It would be an interesting, instructive study to collect these striking and often *bilderreiche* topographical names and to seek their sources in the pictorial imagination of the rude savage. Nowhere else, perhaps, in the whole range of language have the figures of prosopopoeia and antonomasia been more successfully and beautifully applied in the creation of special appellations. For the present, then, I shall omit any reference to these subtle formations, as I hope at some time in the future to treat them in a separate chapter on specific Indian-French onomatology.

Before proceeding to a consideration, individually, of the vocables here presented, I will give them in alphabetical order according to a list made up by me and supplemented by two Canadian French writers<sup>2</sup> whose critical and accurate knowledge of their language is not excelled by that of any of their colleagues to-day. This list, as is seen, covers but nineteen specimens, and these, with only one or two exceptions, are simple names of things, or, in other words, plain terms representing concrete ideas. The number is a little longer than it was thought possible to find when we

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cuoq, *Études philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages*, p. 42. The sign *S* = Eng. *m*. For a curious derivation of this word from a form *wikwaw-wag*, see Webster's Dictionary, s. v. *Wickwag-wag* is here supposed to be an Algonkin locative case, whereas Cuoq gives the true locative *wikwaw-wag* (cf. l. c.).

<sup>2</sup> I refer to the celebrated historian and poet, Mr. Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, whose numerous works have thrown great light on the early history of La Nouvelle France, and to the graceful poet, novelist, and writer on language, Mr. Napoleon Legendre, of Quebec, whose polished and chaste diction has won for him the enviable reputation of being one of the best stylists of his country.

began our quest of these strangers in the French language of Canada. Mr. Sulte wrote me at that time, after jotting down all of them that he could find: "Peut-être existe-t'il parmi nous d'autres expressions sauvages, je vais tâcher de m'en assurer. Si je puis former, en tout, une liste de quinze de ces mots ce sera le plus possible." As intimated above, the number may likely yet be increased by a very few words of infrequent use, but we certainly have by far the bulk of them: *babiche*, *Manitou*, *matachias*, *micouenne* (*micouane*), *micmac*, *mitasse*, *nugâne*, *ouaouaron* (*wawaron*), *oualamiche* (*walamiche*), *ouragan*, *pagaie* (?), *petun*, *pictou*, *picouille*, *piroque*, *saccacomis*, *sagamité*, *sacaqua* (*sassaqua*), *tobogan*. The origin of some of these, that is, the determination of their exact meaning and of the particular dialect to which any given etymon belongs, I have been able in certain cases to settle for myself, while in others I have received valuable assistance from Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of Philadelphia (Professor of American Linguistics and Archaeology in the University of Pennsylvania), whose numerous researches in native American lore and whose untiring investigations in Indian speech have revealed to us a spirit-life hitherto unsuspected among the aborigines of this continent, and constituted him an authority to whom the scholar turns with great pleasure when dealing in these matters.

If we now take up these words severally we have:

**BABICHE.**—(From the Algonkin verbal ending *-bij*, "to tie."—Dr. Brinton.) Mr. Legendre, in referring to this term, says: "There is the word *babiche*, which means a string cut from a raw hide and used by our *habitants* in making their shoes." Mr. Dunn, *Glossaire Franco-Canadien*, states the same in other words: "En canadien pop., Lanières de peau de mouton, de chevreuil, de caribou ou d'original, avec lesquelles on coud les souliers sans semelle faits à domicile." Mr. Legendre continues and gives an interesting case of misconception of this word on the part of English boys: "But what is curious about it is that our boys give it out as an insult to their English comrades; they cry out *Tu sens la babiche*, and the English boy will invariably take it for 'Tu es un son of a bitch,' inde irae."

**MANITOU.**—Algonkin, "Génie" (Spirit, God). This is the most common strictly proper name in our list, but its meaning has been so extended in Canadian speech as to signify *génie* in general. In his criticism of Henry R. Schoolcraft's work entitled "The Indian in his Wigwam," Mr. Cuoq, dealing with this word, shows that

none of the dialects write *Monedo*, or *Maneto*, or even the correct form *Manito*, which latter can have this transcription only when preceded by the adjective *kije* "great," with the double signification of "great" and "good"—*kije Manito*, "le grand et le bon génie." He adds, however, in a note: "Le mot 'Manito' s'emploie pourtant quelquefois sans être précédé de '*kije*,' mais seulement en poésie, et dans ce cas, il est employé par antonomase." The French have seized upon the simple word irrespective of its attributive qualifier *kije*, and made it their own by extending and generalizing the signification.

MATACHIAS.—"Rassades dont on orne les habits des sauvages" (Sulte).

MICOUENNE or MICOUANE.—*Cri*: From *Mikkiw*, to use a sharpened flat bone for scraping fat from a skin, etc. (Dr. Brinton). Cuillère de bois, plutôt grande que petite (Sulte). A kind of wooden spoon (Legendre). Dunn gives the following: Grande cuillère de bois, qu'on emploie généralement pour tirer le pot-au-feu du chaudron, et, dans le peuple, pour servir la soupe. C'est la *mouvette* des Normands.

MICMAC.—Here, again, we have a proper name, so extended in meaning as to have become a general term. The Micmacs were an eastern tribe living to the north of the Bay of Fundy, along the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Bay of Gaspé, etc.). "The dialects of those three eastern nations, the Micmacs, the Etchemins and the Abenakis, have great affinities with each other, but, though evidently belonging to the same stock, differ widely from the Algonkin language. They were all early converted by the Jesuits, remained firmly attached to the French, and, till the conquest of Canada, were in an almost perpetual state of hostility with the British colonists. In the year 1754, all the Abenakis, with the exception of the Penobscots, withdrew to Canada." It was from this fact that the Micmacs fought so bravely on the side of the French in their struggle against the English, which caused their name to be handed down as a perpetual souvenir of their bloody deeds, and to-day, *il y a du micmac là dedans* signifies in Canadian

of the Indian Tribes within the United States and in the British and Russian Possessions, published in "Archæologia Americana: Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II, p. 32. Map of the Indian Tribes of North America about 1750, appended to this extensive essay of 264 pp.

speech : There's fire and the sword, there's destruction in it (referring to any given undertaking or enterprise) ; *il fait du micmac* : he brings destruction into everything. Dunn adds the more recent and at present more common meaning, "embarras," "intrigue" : Il y a bien du micmac dans cette affaire. Cf. his Glossaire Franco-Canadien, sub voce.

MITASSE.—Cri, *'itas*, or *mitas*, a legging (Dr. Brinton). Sulte remarks : "Ce sont (*mitasses*) des bas à la sauvagerie. Autrement dit, une sorte de guêtre, très ornée. On les fait avec du cuir souple, ou du drap. C'est très élégant." And Dunn gives the same idea in the following terms : "Guêtre en peau de chevreuil ou en drap, ornée de dessins de rassades ou de poil d'original de différentes couleurs."

NUGANE (origin ?), a cradle (Legendre).

OUAOUARON, or WAWARON, Huron *ouïaron*, crapaux vers (Sagard). The missionary Sagard notes this word under the general heading "Bestes à quatre pieds" in his Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne (Paris, 1632), added to his extensive work on the history of Canada.<sup>1</sup> This word is evidently a purely onomatopoeic creation, and Dunn remarks, after defining it as "grosse grenouille verte," on dit qu'il *beugle*, et les Anglais l'appellent Bull-frog, grenouille-boeuf.

OUALAMICHE, or WALAMICHE (origin ?), A kind of salmon in Lake St. John (Legendre).

OURAGAN (origin ?), Cassot ou vase fait d'écorce d'arbre (Sulte).

PAGAIE (origin ?), A paddle (Legendre). Mr. Legendre places an interrogation mark after this word, showing that he is doubtful whether the popular judgment is correct in attributing its source to the savage speech.

PETUN (origin ?). The word *Petun*, which was the Indian name for tobacco, is still in use in some parts of the country ; I have even heard *pétuner* instead of *fumer* (Legendre).<sup>2</sup>

PICHOU (origin ?), Nom d'un être laid ou malin. "Laid comme un pichou" (Sulte).

PICOUILLE (origin ?), Animal maigre à l'excès (Sulte).

<sup>1</sup> Histoire du Canada, etc., cited under 17, constitutes Vol. IV.

<sup>2</sup> This name, The Tobacco Nation (*Nation du Petun*), was given by the French, and probably also by the Algonkins, to one of the Huron tribes, the Tionontates, noted for the excellent tobacco which they raised and sold. Cf. Horatio Hale, l. c., pp. 171, 172, appendix, note A.

PIROQUE (origin?). In answer to an inquiry as to whether the Canadian French use the word *canoe* as well as *wigwam* and *tomahawk*, common to the English, Mr. Legendre replied: "We never use *canoe*, but we always use *canot*. The difference between us and the Français de France is, that we have the word only with the signification of *piroque*, and they often make use of it with the same meaning as *chaloupe*. *Piroque* is an Indian word francisé." From this it is evident that the Indian term is strictly equivalent in meaning to the English *canoe*.

SACCACOMI, from *sakav*, to light by fire, *sakaipwagane*, to light a pipe (Dr. Brinton). Une plante des forêts du Canada, de la hauteur de celle que nous appelons 'petit tabac de Virginie.' Lorsque Cartier et plus tard Champlain arrivèrent en Canada, les sauvages fumaient cette plante. Encore aujourd'hui, bon nombre de nos habitans la fument et ils lui donnent toujours son nom sauvage pour la distinguer du tabac proprement dit (Sulte).

SAGAMITÉ is, I know, Algonkin, but I cannot put my hand on the original form (Dr. Brinton). Bouillie de blé d'Inde (Sulte). Mr. Legendre uses bouillie de maïs.

SACAQUA, or SACAQUÉ (origin?), Bruit, hurlement, tapage: Faire un sacaqua insupportable (Sulte). Dunn spells the word *sasaqua*: "Faire la sasaqua."

TOBOGAN, *Cri* Otobanask, traîneau (Dr. Brinton). Mr. Sulte spells it *tobagane* and gives as definition: traîneau sans patines, fait d'une planche mince et recourbée par un bout. Mr. Legendre writes *tobogan*. In the Supplement, Vol. III, of Webster's Dictionary, s. v., is made the usual general statement that characterizes the explanations in this work of all these Indian words: *toboggan*—corruption of American Indian *Odabogan*, sled.<sup>1</sup>

If we now turn to the other side of our subject, to a consideration of the linguistic products resulting from the use of French by the natives, we shall find that the material is much more abundant and varied than that incorporated into the French, and that the deviation from the original type is naturally in accordance with the simple phonetic system of each Indian dialect. A notable difference is further to be remarked between the foreign material taken

<sup>1</sup> In this list, all the words marked (origin?), with the exception of *piroque*, are thought by Dr. Brinton to belong to Algonkin roots, either *Cri* or "Old Algonkin," but as I have not access to Lacombe, *Lexique de la langue des Cris*, or to Cuq's *Lexique Algonquin*, I am unable, at present, to determine more specifically their particular dialect etymons.



up by the European idiom and that in the Indian dialect ; namely, not only words but phrases of Gallic origin are freely used, and in the former we shall find the same power of combination which characterizes Romance speech in the manipulation of Germanic stems, that is, foreign roots with Indian formative and grammatical elements appended. These are used with both the verb and the nomen series, and that they should be found here shows a power of adaptation and a tendency to speech mixture of which the French did not avail itself in like circumstances, but for linguistic causes of a totally different nature. Possessing a language with a grammatical machinery so much more simple than the savage, and this form of speech being fully established by a long tradition of abundant literary composition, these circumstances, together with the natural and inevitable influence of a stage of superior civilization, must have exercised a marked effect upon all the relations of the earlier settlers of Canada with their savage neighbors and, particularly on the side of language, have had a strong conservative tendency. It was the familiar and simple instrument, easily handled by its users, whether native or foreign, brought into competition with an exceedingly complicated and strange implement, whose most elementary workings were wholly foreign to anything that the common European had ever seen. Furthermore, it is but consistent with the monotony of his daily occupation, the limited range of his experience, the undeveloped state of what might be called his commercial intercourse, the lack of free social life, his naturally taciturn disposition, the innate jealousy as to his own interests and suspicion as to the intentions and actions of the white man, that the ordinary savage should have used as limited a vocabulary as possible with the French *habitant*, and that the latter should, in consequence, have preserved only a few bare traces of the strange languages, and that these should be restricted almost entirely to the names of such utensils or objects of savage use as were unknown to Europeans. This fact is significant, it seems to me, in an estimate of the degree of relation that prevailed between the two races here brought together, and goes far to prove that contact with the natives on the part of the French was generally of a superficial nature. I am aware that the mixture of French and Indian blood has produced the well-known class of *métis*, half-breeds, members of which are found here and there throughout Canada, but these are comparatively few in numbers, and play a very insignificant rôle when placed in contrast with the

great body of natives who came within the reach and power of European civilization. To these *métis*, however, I would attribute, for the most part, the special influence under which French vocabularies and modes of speech have been incorporated into the native idiom in a manner now to be noticed. To recall, first, what has been said above with reference to the phonetics of the Iroquois, we have the following practical examples: Antipathy to the use of labial nasal *m*, in *8ishe* (for Michel), for which the legitimate bilabial *w* has been substituted. But this is not exclusively the case, as is seen in *Tier* (for Pierre), where the dental mute has supplanted the labial mute. These two words in some other dialects, for instance in the Algonkin, hold nearer to the original in the preservation of the initial labial, but here again we find a special aversion to the dental liquid element as a final, e. g. *Micen* (Michel), *Pien* (Pierre), *Pon* (Paul). Other examples, showing like phonetic characteristics, we have in *Sesin* (Cécile), *Basin* (Basile), and for medial *r*, *l*, *Mani* (Marie), *Anjenik* (Angélique), *Annemmon* (Allemand).

Simple assibilation of the voiced dental fricative *j* (*ž*) we have in Iroquois *Soset* (Joseph), where it is doubtful whether the initial sibilant is voiced or voiceless. The missionary Cuq, from whose "Études philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages" this example is taken (p. 90), counts the sign *s* in his system of transcription as always voiceless, and expressly states this on page 9: "Ainsi *S* et *T* gardent toujours leur son propre, comme en Grec et en Hébreu, et jamais ne s'adouçissent comme en français," but, in this very word, there can be no doubt that the medial *s* sibilant is regularly represented in Cuq's system by *z*. Our doubts are further aroused as to the exactness of the notation when, a few lines below, we read: "Le *C* algonquin se prononce à l'italienne, c'est-à-dire comme *ch* français ou *sh* anglais" (sic!). This *s* is used as an equivalent of *ss* in cassé (carreau cassé = karo kase) in illustration of the Iroquois (p. 10), but in the Algonkin we have *Jozeph* (Joseph), where the quality of the medial sibilant is surely the same as in *Soset* (Joseph). The same sign, *s*, if the notation can be trusted for the initial, is thus used for both voiced and voiceless fricative (*ž*, *č*), since *Sarot* represents the French *Charlotte* (p. 90), and we have here, consequently, a reduction of two original sounds to a single equivalent of a different grade. Whether this generalization is universal for the Iroquois, I have no means of accurately determining. According

to further representations of these two species of sounds by other writers,<sup>1</sup> no distinction was made between them by the Algonquin tribes; but, instead of using, as their equivalent, the pure sibilant, they have the voiceless fricative *ʃ*, which, if pronounced in strict accordance with the English *ʃ* (*sh*), has of course changed quality: Auch die französ. *ch*, *j* sind wohl mit gesenkter Zungenspitze gebildet, die norddeutschen und englischen *ʃ* aber mit gehobener Zungenspitze.<sup>2</sup> No discrimination between English *sh* and French *ch* is evidently thought of, therefore, in the transcription of the two examples given below as drawn from the Algonquin: "While, as we have seen, the Mohegans have adopted words from the European nations with whom they, for upwards of three centuries, lived in close contact, the Algonquin tribes have evinced either similar wants, by adopting and incorporating into their language several words from the French, as the following:

*Bosho*, from Bon jour.

*Mushwa*, from Mouchoir."<sup>3</sup>

But it would seem that it is not alone the French *ʒ* (*j*) and *ʃ* (*ch*) which are given by the English sounds *sh*, according to this writer, but even, in certain cases, the simple *s* must be thus represented, as in the example quoted by him (l. c.), *Ishpio* for *Espagnol*. Here, probably, it is the following labial (*p*) that has influenced the pronunciation, just as in the characteristic Low German combination *sp* = *ʃp* in the High German pronunciation of South Germany to-day. As to the gutturals, the various graphic signs and combinations of signs in French find their legitimate transcription in a simple form; as, for example, in the representation of all voiceless gutturals, whether simple or complex, the *k* is sufficient, and we have in Algonquin, therefore, for French *Jacques* the rational *Jak*. So, too, in the example given above, *Anjenik*, the *ik* reproduces the French termination *-ique*. Again, in *zotik*, for French *zotique*, we have the same.

For the representation of the dental class by a single sign (here, mute for sonant), we have the name *Herotiat* in the example: *Kaiatase onistenha Herotiat kon8aiatsk8e* ("la mère de la fille s'appelait Hérodiade").

We have here some striking examples of speech mixture where not only Indian and French elements enter into combination, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. North American Review, Vol. XLV (1837), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Sievers, Grundzüge der Phonetik, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. North American Review, Vol. XLV (1837), p. 55.

even a third one, the English, is added, and all three are welded together in one compound so as to make it difficult sometimes to separate them; as a rule, however, the process of agglutination is so loosely carried out that the component parts of the new product may be easily recognized. More striking still is the combining of two foreign elements, not belonging to the same language and neither of which is Indian, into a single vocable which is afterward manipulated by the natives with all the ease and accuracy that characterize home-made forms. We have thus four distinct stages of amalgamation, namely: 1. The French or English word used entire. 2. French word or words + Indian flexion. 3. English word + Indian flexion. 4. French word + English word = Indian. The first class includes such simple forms as *enska shiron* (un shilling), *enskat ons* (une once), *enskat minut* (une minute), *enska kateron* (un quarteron), *enska karen* (un gallon). The form *kac* (cachele) is "une rencontre purement fortuite" according to Cuoque;<sup>1</sup> such forms as *sakut* "sugar," *pepun* "pepper," *waiskuk* "whiskey," *hummun* "hammer," and, if we follow popular tradition, the curious *Yangeese* (Yankees), imperfect Indian pronunciation of the word "English,"<sup>2</sup> from the English; and *aik* "vinegar," *saugh* "saw," *tubok* "tobacco," from the Dutch, show that words were adopted in the savage idioms promiscuously from whatever foreign languages they chanced to come into contact. It naturally happens that these alien forms, when taken up into one dialect, sometimes pass to others, and at each transfer undergo certain phonetic or morphological changes necessary to adapt them to easy use in the dialects, respectively, where they find a new home. As chief characteristics for these migrations of speech elements, "change of accent is the first innovation, in the words of kindred tribes and families separated from each other. The interchangeable consonants next feel the effects of the separation. The letters *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *l* and *n*, *v* and *f*, etc., change places. Vowels next feel the power of change; the long become short, the broad diphthongal, etc. Oral syllabication is miserably performed, where there are no alphabetical signs to fix the sounds."<sup>3</sup> This would account for the fact that the same word often has great variations

<sup>1</sup> Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les langues sauvages. Deuxième édition, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> North American Review, Vol. IX (1819), p. 167. (Review of Hackwelder's Indian History.)

<sup>3</sup> North American Review, XLV, p. 41.

in pronunciation and spelling with the natives themselves; as, *Kanieke*, *Kanyenke*, *Canyangeh*, *Canienga*, the name adopted by Mr. Hale for the Mohawks;<sup>1</sup> and, again, in such contractions as *kuligatisches*, according to ordinary pronunciation, for *kiwulitwich-gatisches*.<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft, too, whose extensive practical experience with the Indians entitles him to be heard in all matters of pronunciation, however awry he may be in his etymologies, specially remarks how "barbarous nations *mouth* sound and exercise a great range of enunciation, producing changes."<sup>3</sup>

We have examples under No. 2 in the Algonkin *kopese8*, *i* (se confesser), which has given a number of derivatives in the language, such as *kopese8i8in* (la confession), *kopesendamagan* (confessional), *kopesendamage8in* (l'action de confesser), *kopesendamago8in* (confession entendu), etc. Again, *anamens-ikan* (autel) from *anamensike* (il dit la messe) = a compound locution developed out of the formula *à la messe*.<sup>4</sup>

In the third class may be cited the following forms produced by hanging on to the foreign vocable the locative affix *-ing*: chamber, chamber-*ing* ("in the chamber"), bowl, bowl-*ing* ["in (the) bowl"], table, table-*ing* ["on (the) table"],<sup>5</sup> where, of course, there has been no attempt made at a phonetic writing of the root word. These are perfect counterparts of a large number of forms that we shall find incorporated into the French from the English, when we come to that French-English speech mixture. This process is common to all language amalgamation; the natural result of long and uninterrupted contact with a more civilized people, as in the case before us, would be a tendency on the part of the savage to adopt its language material without any essential change of form, and then, in accordance with the peculiar morphological laws that obtain for the Indian idiom, to apply its formative elements to the strange matter which is thus brought within the circle of familiar grammar categories. The coalescence of these alien speech forms with the characteristic inflexions of the savage idiom, often takes place after strong modifications in the original phonetic factors of the European word. These effects are

<sup>1</sup> Horatio Hale, l. c., p. 172, appendix, note A.

<sup>2</sup> Am. Quarterly Review, Vol. III (1828), p. 398. (Review of Zeisberger's Grammar of the Language of the Lanni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Notes on the Iroquois; or Contributions to American History, Antiquities and General Ethnology, p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cuoq, Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan, etc., p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. North American Review, Vol. XLV (1837), p. 57.

## II.—POETRY IN THE LIMBURGER CHRONIK.

### I.

Travelling through the romantic valley of the Lahn, we meet about half way between Wetzlar and the Rhein the beautiful ancient city of Limburg. Situated in one of the most fertile parts of Germany, commonly called "der goldne Grund," and chiefly inhabited by a Catholic population, the city with its surroundings, especially during festive days, still bears a mediaeval appearance. Its cathedral, with an abbey founded in the tenth century, belongs to the master-works of the thirteenth century, and is said to contain the tomb of the German emperor, Conrad I, who died in 918. Limburg, however, has become still more celebrated in the history of German literature by reason of the chronicle which was written there in the latter part of the fourteenth century.

Not only containing numerous accounts of events which are of great value for the local history of the city and the bordering principalities, but also giving highly interesting descriptions of the costumes, as well as the manners and customs of the fourteenth century, of music and painting, and, above all, preserving many songs of that period, our chronicle must very early have enjoyed a great popularity, as we may see from the number of manuscripts in which it is preserved to us. When later, during the time of the Reformation and under the influence of the humanists, an interest in the study of German antiquities was awakened, a rich patrician of Frankfort-a-M., Johann Friedrich Faust, for the first time published it in 1617. Two years later a second edition was necessary. This edition, brought out under the unsuitable name of "Fasti Limburgenses," has, in spite of its many defects, until recently been the main source of information concerning the chronicle. The succeeding generation, having lost through the Thirty Years War its national self-consciousness, did not know how to appreciate the value of the book. One editor, in 1747, even complains: "dass der Historicus sich hie und dort mit Kleinigkeiten aufhalte, zum Exempel mit der Kleider-Mode, mit der Witterung, mit einfältigen Liedern."

The two great reformers of German literature, Lessing and Herder, with their keen eye for the poetical element and their deep historical predilections, again called attention to this important document of the fourteenth century. Thus we find in Lessing's posthumous works,<sup>1</sup> under the chapter *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur von den Minnesängern bis auf Luthern 1777*, numerous extracts from the chronicle, which he characterizes with the following words: "Es ist die älteste deutsche Chronik, so viel ich weiss, äusserst merkwürdig, weil sie so viele besondere Kleinigkeiten mitnimmt, dass sie auch fleissig der Lieder gedenkt, die jedes Jahr am meisten gesungen wurden, und sie also noch oft von mir wird angeführt werden müssen."

Herder's opinion of the value of the Limburger Chronik was so high that he intended to give long extracts from it at the beginning of the third book of his celebrated *Volkslieder*.<sup>2</sup> Seeing, however, that it would take too much space, he quotes only a few sentences from it, finally giving its whole title, and expressing the wish that some one else would make proper use of it. His advice has not been followed. While some collectors of popular poetry like Uhland, Erk, Böhme and others, inserted one or two of the songs into their collections, the fame of our chronicle really rested on a few scanty and, for the most part, erroneous remarks in our histories of German literature. The principal reason for this lack of attention may, perhaps, be found in the want of a critical edition; for, strange to say, until 1883 we had nothing but a careless reprint of the imperfect edition of Faust. We owe it to the diligent research of Arthur Wyss that we now possess an excellent edition of the chronicle in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. In his little treatise "*Die Limburger Chronik untersucht von Arthur Wyss*," he, for the first time, inquires into the relation of the different MSS, at the same time settling the question as to the authorship of our document. The results of his investigations being reinforced by fortunate discoveries, were afterwards embodied in his large edition just named.

An inquiry into the nature of the poetry contained in the Limburger Chronik, its origin, and its relation to former and later lyrics, may be justified by various reasons. While the student will perhaps welcome a handy collection of the songs interspersed in the Chronik which he now can only find in the insufficient form of Faust's text, made by a dilettante musician in the *Jahrbuch für*

<sup>1</sup> Lessing, ed. Lachmann, XI 468.    <sup>2</sup> Herder, ed. Suphan, XXV 320, 459.

musikalische Wissenschaft,<sup>1</sup> he will probably also wish for a critical text. For Arthur Wyss, in his laudable effort to give, by the aid of certain documents, the original form of the chronicle, has frequently, for the sake of a "normalisirte Text," reconstructed the language, not always to the advantage of the poems. The principal aim of this paper, however, will be to inquire whether the poetry in our chronicle is "Volkspoesie," or whether it belongs to the declining "Minnepoesie" or the rising "Meistergesang." A very interesting and lively discussion as to the age of lyrical Volkspoesie, which, of course, would also affect other forms of poetry, has recently been carried on, growing out of certain views of Wilmanns.<sup>2</sup> Starting from the fact that documents from the time before 1160 are wanting, he has denied the existence of any such poetry previous to that year. Burdach<sup>3</sup> and Richard M. Meyer<sup>4</sup> have tried to controvert this opinion by the use of various arguments, without appealing, however, to the songs in the Limburger Chronik. Now, could it be proved that the poetry which has been handed down to us in our chronicle was in no way influenced by the development of artistic lyrical poetry in the thirteenth century, could we further show that a close relation exists between the contents, the metrical forms, the poetical expressions, etc., of our songs and the beginnings of the Minnepoesie as represented in "Minnesangs Frühling" as well as in the Volkslieder of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, then I believe we shall be justified in drawing a conclusion as to the age of German Volkspoesie in general.

To this end it does not suffice that we have the assurance of the author of our Chronik: "item zu diser zit da sang und pfeif man dit lit overalle," or "in allen Duschen landen."

It is necessary to fix the position and character of the Limburger Chronik among similar documents of the time, and to ascertain, above all, whether its author probably composed the songs himself while in his poetical vanity he gave them the attribute of popularity.

The Chronicle of Limburg belongs to that class of historical literature which had a rich development at the close of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century, owing to a deeper and more widespread interest in historical matters as it is found especially among the citizens of the great German cities.<sup>5</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> I 115.<sup>2</sup> Wilmanns, *Leben Walthers v. d. Vogelw.* 16.<sup>3</sup> *Zeitsch. f. d. A.* XXVII 343 ff.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* XXIX 121 ff.<sup>5</sup> Cf. O. Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*. Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen*.



are not men of broad views and profound learning, like the historians in the times of the Hohenstaufen, who now try to supply the demand of readers. Recruiting their ranks mostly from the lower nobility, from the citizens and the clergy, they make it their chief object to be popular. And corresponding with the course of German politics, with the decline of imperial power and the rise of territorial interests, we find that most of these historical documents are local histories, chronicles of cities. At that time we scarcely meet with an attempt to write a general history of the world or to penetrate by deeper reasoning the course of historical events. But while they betray a charming naïveté in the absence of thoughts, these chroniclers cannot be called free from certain *motifs*. Historical legends, which to a great extent form the charm of the earlier historians, are almost entirely wanting, and whenever they are introduced, it is done, not with the naïve credulity of earlier centuries, but with the consciousness of an intention to produce certain effects. Being thus the representatives of a very prosaic view of the world, they did well to choose the form of prose for their productions, for they are intolerable as soon as they try to become poetical. But as writers of German prose, which assured them great popularity, they deserve a high place in the history of German literature. The great development of almost all poetical forms during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries scarcely left space for the use of prose as it had been cultivated in the latter part of the tenth century in the monastery of St. Gall. It was relegated to the position of the sole medium of expression of theological literature, for the popular form of sermons, or the more scientific writings which contain the philosophical speculations of the mystics. A close relation between the language of bodies of laws like the "Sachsenspiegel" and "Schwabenspiegel" may also be observed.

The gradual turning toward a more prosaic view of the world, the favored use of popular German prose, and the awakening interest in historical studies are principally due, however, to the two great orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans. It was only natural that the Church should start a movement of reaction against the spirit of a time which resembles very much that of the classical times of Lessing, Kant, Goethe and Schiller. Poetry which, to the middle of the eleventh century, had been cultivated almost exclusively by the clergy, had become an ethical power in the hands of knights and burghers. Their ideals were independent

of those of the Church, they preached religious tolerance, and in Walther von der Vogelweide the Pope had one of his most dangerous enemies. As the great mass of the German clergy had no influence upon their own people, the Pope in his reactionary efforts very prudently made use of those orders, whose original purpose was the conversion of heretics not only in South France but also in Germany. For here, too, the belief of the Church had been dangerously shaken, and stories of saints and miracles found no believers, according to a contemporary, unless the preacher added carefully the exact place and time where such miraculous occurrences had taken place. It seems that clerical astuteness speedily took this practical hint, and we soon see them collecting accounts of all kinds of events, historical and miraculous, thus producing an endless literature of more or less value. The Franciscans, who gave Germany some of its greatest preachers, made these collections mostly for practical homiletic use; they were the arsenals from which the monks took arms for attacking the gay, worldly life in the castles, the cities and the country. The Dominicans, on the other hand, who, from the beginning, show more scientific tendencies, manifest the same spirit in their treatment of history. The order which produced scholastics like Albertus Magnus, the celebrated teacher of Thomas Aquinas, of whom jealous Franciscans said, "*Albertus ex asino factus est philosophus et ex philosopho asinus*"—the same order created a rich historical literature bearing the character of compilations like many of their theological works. Like the Franciscans they either wrote themselves chronicles of cities, or persuaded others to do so. A brief sketch of the literary life and the tendencies of these orders was necessary in order to characterize the author of our chronicle, who, as we shall find, also belonged to the clergy.

Various accounts of the authorship of the Chronicle of Limburg were given by the different publishers, until Arthur Wyss, in his excellent little treatise, proved beyond doubt that it was written by Tilemann Elhem von Wollhagen. From several documents recently reprinted in Wyss's large edition of our chronicle, it appears that Tilemann was town clerk of the city of Limburg from 1370-98. From the same source we learn that he belonged to the diocese of Treves. Wollhagen, therefore, a village not far from Cassel, is evidently his native place, and he was born there probably about the year 1347: for, in chapter 13 of the chronicle, he says, "You shall know, everything that happened between 1347 and 1402 has

happened in my days, and I have through God's help seen it with my eyes and heard from my childhood until now." Although an ecclesiastic brought up in one of the monastic schools of Maintz, he calls himself in the barbarous Latin of his time *clericus uxoratus*, the name of his wife being Grede. It is evident, therefore, that he was not an ordained priest, but had changed his original calling to that of an imperial notary and town clerk of Limburg.

Much more than these few scanty notes upon his life, however, may be gained from Tilemann's work, in order to draw a picture of the man. Frequent quotations from Aristotle, Cato, the Corpus Juris and the Bible show that he was a man well trained in the scholastic learning of his time. His mention of Johannes Buridan (1327-50), the pupil of Occam and inventor of the "ass between two bundles of hay," probably serves to show that Tilemann, for a time at least, had studied under the great philosopher in Paris. Remembering the picture of the theological world of his time, the motives and efforts of the Dominicans and Franciscans, we must, however, say that Tilemann represents a great exception. While he shares their interest in the writing of history, while he still feels himself an ecclesiastic and condemns certain heretical movements as directed against the Church and the Pope, he does not share their fanatic hatred of poetry and worldly education. Nowhere in the chronicle do we find even a trace that he was led by theological motives or followed the tendencies of the other chroniclers, and only from a few passages can we infer that he consulted other historical sources.

He relates, according to his own confession, what he has seen and heard; the contents of the chronicle are, therefore, taken from life, and to this it owes its lasting charm. We hear not only of lesser or greater political events, but he tells us also of the weather in different years, the harvest, the quality of the wine, and of abnormal births. From him we learn of one of the first historical strikes, of social and religious movements; and to him we owe most valuable accounts of important paintings, as well as of the costumes not only of men but also of women—for he was a married man. His principal interest, however, seems to have been concentrated upon the arts of music and poetry. And while we may safely conclude that a man of such wide interests, that such a keen and faithful observer, can never have gone through the school of one of the fanatical orders above mentioned, but rather belongs to the old conservative class of ecclesiastics who joined

the knights and citizens in their gay, poetic life, we must still ask how it is possible to meet with such a unique personality in this century? Comparing other chronicles with a view to the poetry which they contain, we frequently find songs scattered here and there, but they are always chosen to serve some purpose of the author; they are introduced mostly as stylistic embellishments. Tilemann's collection, on the other hand, appears to have been made entirely for its own sake, and, furthermore, betrays so much intimate knowledge of poetry and music as an art that we cannot help supposing that its author was either an exceptionally highly educated amateur or a poet himself, probably belonging to the newly arising school of mastersingers. We know that in Maintz there existed one of the first of these schools, which showed, according to a contemporary (cf. Germ. XV 200), a decidedly conservative spirit, in opposition to the newly invented measures and melodies of other schools. Is it not possible that Tilemann, besides receiving his theological training in Maintz, may also have acquired the poetical education of that mastersinger school? A close examination of his style and of those poetical passages which doubtless belong to him, will perhaps give us a satisfactory answer.

It cannot be denied that Tilemann's style, although keeping within the typical forms of such chronicles, is remarkably German in its character, and free from the influence of Latin style which has continued to corrupt German prose down to our own time. The tranquillity of epic objectiveness is spread over the chronicle in general, and several descriptions of persons might find a place in any great epic poem. Relating the contest which the city of Limburg had with the Knight Cune, *i. e.* Konrad von Falkenstein, the protector of Maintz and Treves, he describes him in the following manner: "Item nu saltu wissen phyzonomen unde gestalt hern Conen vurgenant, want ich in dicke gesehen unde geprufet han in sime wesen unde in mancher siner manirunge. He was ein herlich stark man von libe unde wol gepersoniret unde gross von allem gelune, unde hatte ein gross heupt mit eime struben widem brunen krulle, ein breit antlitze mit pussenden backen, ein sharp menlich gesichte, einen bescheiden mont mit glefsen etzlicher masse dicke; die nase was breit, mit gerumeden naselochern, die nase was ime mitten nider gedruket; mit eime grossen kinne unde mit einer hohen stirne, unde hatte auch ein gross brost unde rodelfare under sinen augen, unde stont uf sinen beinen als ein lewe, unde hatte gutliche geberde gen sinen frunden, unde wanne dass he zornig was, so

pusseden unde floderten ime sine backen unde stonden ime herlichen unde wislichen unde nit obel."

While Tilemann shows in passages like this that he had certain poetical gifts, he does not betray the same faculty in his verses. The latter are, with one exception, translations of quotations from the Bible and ancient writers, and appear to be made according to the prescription, "Reim' dich oder ich fress' Dich." Thus he translates a sentence of Aristotle: "*Amicus est consolativus amico visione et sermone: Ein frunt sal sime frunde trostlich sin unde dun dass mit rede und gesicht shin.*" Speaking of the locusts which appeared in Germany in 1362 and did great damage, he quotes the 46th verse of the LXXVII psalm, "*Et dedit erugini fructus eorum et laborum eorum locustis,*" and translates: "Di rupen sollent ire fruchte leben, arbeit der lute ist den Haunschrecken gegeben."

Indeed, such verses may pass for the poetical pastime of an amateur who is trying his skill in hours of leisure, but nobody will find in them the traces of a poetical genius. And even at a more important occasion, when Tilemann evidently is so deeply agitated that he asks his readers to pray to God for him, and his local patriotism takes the form of poetry, his verses do not rise above the level of rhymed prose. The independence of Limburg had been at stake after the death of the princes of Limburg, and the Archbishop of Treves, in whose diocese the city was situated, came with many knights and soldiers in order to take possession. Before doing this, however, he called the city council together and asked them what rights and privileges the Archbishop might, in their opinion, claim. But instead of being frightened, the head of the council, the burgomaster Boppe, gave such sharp and legal answers that the Archbishop was astonished, and refrained from touching the independence of Limburg. Full of joy and just pride, Tilemann then writes the following lines:

"Daran gedenket, it jungen unde ir alden  
dass ir mit wisheit moget behalden  
uwer lip, gut unde ere  
dass ist uwern kinden gute mere."

It would certainly be a charitable injustice towards Tilemann were we, after having examined the poetry which he claims as his own, to suspect him of having written any of the beautiful songs occurring in the latter part of the chronicle. There is every reason for believing that he is not the composer of any one of the songs

which he tells us were so popular, at various times, in Germany. Nor do passages in which he shows his knowledge of the technical language of the mastersingers prove, as we shall see later when we treat of the metrical peculiarities of these poems, that he must have practised the art of poetry to any further extent than that which has been indicated above.

Looking over the whole collection of poems contained in the Chronicle of Limburg, we may divide it into three different classes : (1) Poetry showing the influence of the declining Minnepoesie ; (2) Religious poetry ; (3) Popular songs.

There is only one poem in the chronicle which strictly belongs to the first class, and which bears the name of its author, Herr Reinhard von Westerburg.

This knight frequently appears in historical documents of that time, not only figuring in many of those fights in which the lesser knights constantly indulged, but also as a favored follower of Emperor Ludwig of Bavaria. He also must have enjoyed great fame as a poet, besides being a very jovial, witty and wild fellow. We possess a beautiful characterization of him by one of his contemporaries, contained in a poem of a MS of the fifteenth century, which was formerly in the possession of W. Grimm, and is now to be found in the Royal Library of Berlin (cf. *Zeitschrift f. d. A.* XIII 366 ff.). The author of this poem represents himself as walking in the woods, where he finds an elderly but still handsome lady. As she does not answer his greeting, he takes her by the hand, whereupon she tells him that thirty years ago she had founded a school for the purpose of teaching young knights the rules of honor and drawing them from the pool of disgrace. Tired of the great mass of knights, she had selected from their numbers twelve who had now developed into the bloom of knighthood and were ready to be dismissed, and she herself needed rest. Here the poet interrupts her, and proposes that she should continue her school. She asks him to name some knights whom she might take. This he does, but when mentioning Reinhard von Westerburg he cautiously adds, "He is a little wild and needs your training."

The story which Tilemann relates is entirely in accordance with this, and furnishes a delightful illustration of Reinhard's wildness. He says: "Item da man schreip dusent druhundert unde siben unde vierzig jar, da worden di von Cobelenze jemerlichen irslagen unde nider geworfen bi Grensauwe unde bliben ir doit hundert unde zwene unde sibenzig man unde worden ir auch darzu vil

gefangen unde dass det Reinhart, herre zu Westeburg. Unde der selbe Reinhart was gar ein kluger ritter von libe, von sinne unde von gestalt, unde reit keiser Ludewigen ser nach unde sang unde machte he dit lit :

‘ Ob ich durch si den hals zubreche,  
wer reche mir den schaiden dan ?  
so enhette ich nimans der mich reche ;  
ich bin ein ungefrunter man.

Darumb so muss ich selber warten,  
wi ez mir gelegen si.  
Ich enhan nit trostes von der zarten,  
si ist irs gemudes fri.  
Wel si min nit, di werde reine,  
so muss ich wol orlaup han.  
Uf ir genade achte ich kleine,  
sich, daz lasse ich si vurstan.’

Da der vurgenant keiser Ludewig daz lit gehorte, darumb so strafte he den herren von Westeburg unde saide, he wolde ez der frouwen gebessert haben. Da nam der herre von Westeburg eine kurze zit unde saide, he wolde den frauwen hesseren unde sang daz lit :

‘ In jammers noden ich gar vurdreven bin  
durch ein wif so minnecliche,’ etc.

Da sprach Keiser Ludewig : ‘ Westeburg, du hast uns nu wol gebessert.’ ”

It is evident that Reinhard's poem belongs to that healthy opposition which seems to have begun even in the time of Walther v. d. Vogelweide, and which is generally called the decline of Minnepoesie. The conditions upon which the latter was based were too unnatural, the circles in which it moved too narrow, to assure it a longer life. For that sickly romantic admiration until recently prevailing in Germany and elsewhere, which saw in those knights the true representatives of *die gute, alte Zeit*, and adored them as the incarnation of *Zucht und Ehrbarkeit*, has fortunately passed away. While we fully acknowledge the beauties of many of their productions, we cannot help seeing in their constant groaning, whining and lamenting something extremely unknightly, especially as it was meant for married women, and had but one aim in view, the immorality of which cannot be denied, even if we call it, in Walther's elegant language, “halsen triuten bigeleghen.” The opposition, however, was not caused by such ethical considerations. Very soon the more sensible minds began to see the comical

element in the relation between knight and lady; above all, they began to feel that the fundamental idea upon which the whole nature of Minnepoesie rested was as unnatural as it was wrong. The idea that man is the servant of woman had not grown upon German soil, and in spite of all apparent flatteries, contained a very low conception of the woman, if we remember the real aim of this servitude.

It is very interesting to follow the development of the opposition, a history of which we do not yet possess. Very significantly, it is inaugurated by that poet in whom the sensual element of Minnepoesie reached its climax, and who afterwards became for this reason the hero of a popular legend, by Tannhäuser. He ridicules Minnepoesie by enumerating impossible things which the lady in whose "service" he is, required of him. And as he already praises the simple peasant girl whose love is won more easily than that of a lady in the higher circles, Neidhard von Reuenthal makes the villages near Vienna the scene of his love adventures, and while preserving the air of a minnesinger, brings about highly ludicrous situations. Their followers, Steinmar, Gottfried von Neifen and others go still further by scorning the unnatural feeling itself. Steinmar even compares the throbbing of his love-sick heart to the jumping of a pig in a bag (*Als ein swîn in einem sacke vert mîn herze hin und dar*). But I have searched in vain in the minnesingers of that period to find a single example in which the poet addressed his ridicule to the lady herself as Reinhard von Westerburg does here. The ties of etiquette and tradition requiring the highest respect for the lady, were too strong, yet, even at this late period, and it was because Tilemann felt them to be broken that he mentioned Reinhard's poem. This offence against tradition, which really meant the dissolution of the whole fabric on Minnepoetry, was felt still more keenly by the representative of conservatism, whose glory was based upon the splendor of knighthood by the emperor. For this reason he reprimands Reinhard, asking him to turn from his former course; and for this reason Reinhard assumes the old, worn-out, love-sick attitude of a minnesinger, behind which we can after all not help seeing the wild rogue.

Of the same importance which Reinhard's poem has for the history of Minnepoetry are Tilemann's accounts of the development of religious poetry. The same clear, observing mind which, either by instinctive interest or from scientific motives, noted a



most valuable turn in secular poetic art, has preserved us also an interesting source of knowledge in the field of sacred hymnology. Through Hoffmann von Fallersleben's diligent researches we know that the German church hymn is not entirely a new creation of Luther's.<sup>1</sup> Long before him the German spirit had revolted against the stupid inactivity with which Roman priests and the Roman liturgy had oppressed it. We can trace how the people, beginning with a few senseless vowels added to the strange *Kyrie eleison*, which they were allowed to sing, gradually created a German church hymn, much to the dislike of the Roman clergy. We owe it to the hate and persecutions of the latter that most of these songs were lost. The few which we still possess of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially those addressed to the Virgin Mary, are filled with the deepest and most sublime religious feeling, and some songs which the people sang at Easter and Pentecost, such as "Christ ist erstanden" and "Komm, heilger Geist," are still jewels of our present hymnals. Religious sects especially, as e. g. the mystics, which developed a highly spiritual life, cultivated religious poetry, and thus we find that the specimens preserved by Tilemann also belong to one of the religious movements of the fourteenth century. For, excepting the century of the Reformation, no other period was so deeply agitated by religion as the fourteenth century; and in many respects it may be compared to our present time. Not only do we find there the first beginning of great socialistic movements in Germany, but we also meet with the mania of our own time as well, the 'Antisemitentum,' the 'Judenhetze,' and even with the premonition of our Salvation Army, the Flagellants, among whom originated the songs of which we are about to treat.

Owing to the few and, for the most part, very imperfect and prejudiced sources of information afforded by contemporary writers, our knowledge of the whole movement is extremely limited. Although it has been proved by Haeser ("Lehrbuch der Gesch. der Medicin") and Hecker ("Die grossen Volkskrankheiten des Mittelalters") that this movement was caused by the so-called Black Death, mainly a disease of the lungs, which had been imported from Asia, and which swept through Europe from the Black Sea to Spain, devouring millions of people, we do not know its exact connection with the persecution of the Jews and

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luthers Zeit.

the geographical route of the Flagellants. Recent investigation, however, has shown that the order of events which is usually accepted, viz., Black Death—Persecution of the Jews—Flagellants, has to be changed, for Germany at least, into Persecution of the Jews—Flagellants—Black Death.<sup>1</sup> The news of the approaching plague was a welcome pretext for getting rid of the Jews, who, as Roscher ("Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft") has proved, were hated as the possessors of money and as public extortioners. Malice, stupidity and religious fanaticism manufactured the story that they had poisoned the wells, and in less than one year all the Jews scattered from Cologne to Austria were killed. The words 'Judenmord,' 'Judenbrand,' 'Judenschlacht' are technical terms in the chronicles, which find it quite natural that in Strassburg 2000 Jews were burned at one time *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. One chronicler remarks (Diessenhofen) *crederem finem Hebreorum advenisse*, while another writer coolly concludes *requiescant in inferno* (Chronicum Lampetrinum). We have sufficient proof that the Flagellants, who appear simultaneously with these persecutions, frequently instigated them in the places at which they arrived with their processions.

Two great periods are to be distinguished in the history of this peculiar fanatical movement. Driven by an agonizing fear of the approaching death, which no human art or power could stay, superstitious people, seeing the wrath and judgment of God in the pest, organized in different parts of Germany a religious order composed of those who thought to be able to reconcile the wrath of God by punishing and torturing themselves. The impression which they created wherever they appeared was overpowering and heartrending, for a genuine religious enthusiasm seemed to break forth like a revelation from mysterious depths. As Tilemann reports, knights, citizens and peasants joined the new order. Closener, the chronicler of Strassburg, writes: "Whenever the Flagellants scourged themselves, then the greatest crowds assembled and the greatest weeping was to be witnessed, for they believed everything to be true." And another writer, Hervord, says: *Cor lapideum esset quod talia sine lacrimis posset accipere*. It was in this first time, when they were welcomed everywhere and still filled with the spirit of repentance, that our hymns were composed.

Soon, however, we notice a great change in public opinion as

<sup>1</sup> R. Hoeniger, Der schwarze Tod in Deutschland.

well as among the Flagellants themselves. Notwithstanding all the praying, singing and scourging, the plague appeared and swept away millions and millions of people. We must not be surprised that the belief of the public was shaken, that it began to look upon the whole spectacle as a pious fraud. The Flagellants themselves seem to have felt their failing, and in order to preserve themselves they directed their agitation against the clergy, for they were sure this would not fail to make them popular. For a time it seems as if they had successfully calculated upon the public hatred of the depraved clergy. The movement assumes immense proportions; it spreads over all Germany; even women and children become Flagellants. Again they are seen to change their policy. Having filled their ranks with the outcasts of society, they begin to show socialistic and anarchical tendencies. Long before they had ceased to be an element of great ethical strength and influence. While in the earlier period their members had not dared to speak to women, a chronicler now writes: *transiverunt etiam in similibus turmis mulieres et virgines que, sicut audiui, nonnuncquam plenis, salva reverencia, gremiis redierunt*, thus also foreshadowing the frequent elopements of our Salvation Army. They caused a second general persecution of the Jews; they entered and pillaged villages and cities, and finally threatened a complete overthrow of society. A final and radical change in public opinion now follows. Papal and imperial power unite for their destruction. In the same dry words with which the chronicler spoke of the burning of the Jews they now relate the general slaughter of the Flagellants.

It is another proof of the impartiality of Tilemann that, although he shared the popular condemnation of the Flagellants, he has nevertheless written an accurate account of their first appearance.

We fortunately possess another description of the movement, entirely independent from Tilemann's, which not only verifies the statements of the latter, but will also assist us in obtaining a clear picture of all the ceremonies and processions accompanied by the singing of hymns. It was written by Fritsche (Friedrich) Closener, a contemporary of Tilemann living in Strassburg, and likewise an ecclesiastic and chronicler of his native city.<sup>1</sup> The Flagellants generally marched in troops consisting of one to three hundred members, who had pledged themselves, before entering the brother-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lorenz, *Geschichtsquellen*, p. 33; K. Hegel, *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, Vol. 8, p. 3 (Einleitung).

hood, to observe strictly its regulations during the thirty to thirty-four days of the procession. As soon as they approached a city or a village they formed a line, following two by two the bearers of precious silk and velvet flags. They were clad in very plain clothes; upon their cloaks and hats red crosses were fastened. And while the church bells were rung to greet them, they marched to the church singing, according to Tilemann's version, the following song :

Ist dise bedefart so here  
Crist fur selber zu Jherusalem  
und furte ein cruze in siner hant.  
Nu helf uns der heilant !

As Tilemann relates, the hymn had been composed for this special purpose, and was used in later times during the processions, "wanne man di heiligen treit." It has been preserved by Closener<sup>1</sup> in a more perfect form, and it is interesting to observe in this song, as well as in the others recorded by Closener, the constant changes which every genuine folksong has to undergo.

Nû ist die bettevart sô hêr  
Crist reit selber gen Jherusalem ;  
er fûrt ein krûtze an sner hant.  
nû helf uns der heilant !

Nû ist die bettevart sô guot.  
hilf uns, herre, durch dîn heiliges bluot,  
daz du an dem krûtze vergossen hast,  
und uns in dem ellende gelossen hast.

Nû ist die strôsze alsô breit  
die uns zu unsere lieben frowen treit  
in unsere lieben frowen lant.  
nû helfe uns der heilant !

Wir sullent die busze an uns nemen,  
daz wir gote deste bas gezemen  
aldort in sines vatters rich.  
des bitten wir dich sûnder alle geltch.  
so bitten wir den vil heiligen Crist  
der alle der welte gewaltig ist.

As soon as they had entered the church they kneeled down and sang :

Jhesus wart gelabet mit gallen  
des sollen wir an sin cruze vallen. (Tilemann.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. Hegel, *Chroniken*, VIII 105 ; L. Uhland, *Volkslieder*, II 824 ; W. Wackernagel, *Lesebuch*, I 1246.

Then they threw themselves on the ground, stretching out their arms in the form of a cross. In this position they remained until their precentor sang :

Nû hebent ûf die ûwern hende  
daz got dis grosze sterben wende. (Closener.)

After the first part of their exercises was thus ended, the inhabitants of the city or village invited them home and "büttentz in wol" (fed them). The principal performance, the scourging, generally took place twice a day either in a churchyard or in some large open place. Thither they marched in the same order in which they had entered the church, formed a circle, took off their shoes and uncovered the upper part of their bodies. Hereupon they lay down on the ground, indicating by their positions the different sins which they had committed. The adulterer, e. g. placed himself on his face, the murderer on his back, the perjurer held up three fingers, etc. One of the leaders, having stepped over one of the brothers as he lay on the ground, touched him with his whip and said :<sup>1</sup>

Stant ûf durch der reinen martel êre,  
Und hüt dich vor der sünden mêre.

Thus he went through the whole circle, and whoever had been touched followed him in the same ceremony until all had risen. Now another circle was formed into which the precentors stepped, intoning the second long hymn, while the brothers two by two went around the circle scourging themselves until the blood flowed. In Tilemann's version the song begins thus :

Tredet herzu, wer bussen welle,  
so flihen wir di heissen helle.  
Lucifer ist bose geselle,  
wen he hat,  
mit beche er in labet.

This was evidently the most important hymn in these bloody exercises. In a more perfect, but still very corrupt form, we have it preserved not only by Closener, but also in a Low German version.<sup>2</sup> Almost the same thoughts and many similar expressions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Closener, p. 107 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ph. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, II 336.

occur in a song of the French Flagellants,<sup>1</sup> which points to the international character of the movement as well as to a common source of the various forms of this hymn. After it had been sung the Flagellants again kneeled down and sang :

Jhesus wart gelabet mit gallen,  
Des sollen wir an ein cruze fallen. (Tilemann.)

Again they threw themselves on the ground, remaining there for a while until the precentors began :

Nû heben tû die uern hende,  
das got dis grosze sterben wende.  
Nû heben tû die uern arme,  
das sich got uber uns erbarme.  
Jhêsus, durch diner namen drie,  
Du mach uns, herre, vor sünden frie!  
Jhêsus, durch dîne wunden rôten  
Behût uns vor dem gehen tôten. (Closener.)

<sup>1</sup> Or, avant, entre nous tuit frère  
Batons noz charvingues bien fort,  
En remembrant la grant misère  
De Dieu et sa piteuse mort,  
Qui fut pris de la gent amère  
Et vendus et trahi à tort :  
Et battu sa char vierge et clère ;  
Ou nom de ce, batons plus fort.

Loons Dieu et batons noz pis,  
Et en la douce remembrance  
De ce que tu feus abeuvrez  
Avec le crueux cop de la lance,  
D'aisil o fiel fut destrampez.  
Alons à genoux par penance ;  
Loons Dieu, vos bras estandez ;  
Et en l'amour de sa souffrance  
Cheons jus en croix à tous lez.

Batons noz pis, batons no face.  
Tendons noz bras, de grant vouloir  
Dieux qui nous a fait, nous préface  
Et nous doint de cieux le manoir.  
Et gart tous ceulx qu'en ceste place  
En pitié nous viennent veoir  
Jhêsus ainsi comme devant.

—(Leroux de Lincy, Recueil de Chants histor. franc. I 233.)

Then they stretched out their arms in the form of a cross, and beating their breasts, sang :

Nû slaget uch sêre  
durch Cristes êre.  
Dorch Got so lasset di hoffart faren,  
so wel sich Got ober uns irbarmen.

This last song, while not recorded by Closener, is given after Tilemann. It was doubtless used wherever the Flagellants appeared, since it is frequently mentioned by contemporary and later writers. Its Dutch version runs as follows :

Nu slaet u seer  
door Christus eer  
door God so laet die sonden meer.

An Austrian chronicle (1025-1282), which relates of the earliest Flagellants in 1260, mentions it in the following sentence : *Mulieres quoque in domibus simili modo faciendo, et illum cantum psallebant :*

Ir slaht iuch sêre  
in cristes êre.  
durch got sô lât die sünde mêre.

Hence it is highly probable that not only parts of songs, but whole hymns, and perhaps even many ceremonies, had been preserved by tradition for nearly a century. With the singing of the hymn just quoted the first part of these dramatic exercises closed. A second and third procession and scourging now followed, during which the continuation of "Tredet herzu, wer bussen welle" was sung.<sup>1</sup> The reading of a long letter which, as they pretended, had

<sup>1</sup> Maria stuont in grossen nöten  
Do siu ir liebes kint sach toeten,  
Ein swerte ir durch die sele sneit. (Cf. Stabat mater.)  
Daz lo dir, sunder, wesen leit.  
Des hilf uns lieber herre got,  
des biten wir dich durch dinen tot.  
Jhesus rief in hiemelriche  
sinen engeln allen geliche,  
er sprach zuo in vil senedeclichen :  
die cristenheit wil mir entwichen,  
des wil ich lan die welt zergan,  
des wissent sicher, one wan.  
dovor behüt uns, herre got,  
des bitten wir dich durch dinen tot.

been sent from heaven by Christ, usually closed the services.

Maria bat irn sun den süssen :  
 liebes kint, lo sü dir büssen  
 so wil ich schicken, daz sü müssen  
 beseren sich. des bit ich dich,  
 vil liebes kint, des gewer du mich.  
     des bitten wir sunder ouch alle gelich  
 Welich frowe oder man ire e nuo brechen  
 daz wil got selber an si rechen :  
 swebel, bech und ouch die gallen  
 güsset der tüfel in sie alle.  
 Furwar sie sint des duvels bot.  
     dovor behüt uns, herre got,  
     des bitten wir dich durch dinen tot.  
 Ir mordere, ir strosroubere,  
 uch ist die rede enteil zuo swere,  
 ir wellent uch uber nieman erbarn,  
 des müssent ir in die helle varn.  
     dovor behüt uns, herre got,  
     des bitten wir dich durch dinen tot.  
 O we, ir armen wuocherere,  
 dem lieben got sint ir unmere.  
 du lihest ein marg al umbe pfunt,  
 daz zühet dich in der helle grunt,  
 des bistu iemer me verlorn,  
 derzuo so bringet dich gottes zorn  
     dovor behüt uns, etc.  
 Die erde erbidemet, sich klüben die steine  
 ir herten hertzen, ir sullent weinen,  
 weinent tongen—mit den ougen.  
 schlahent uch sere—durch Cristes ere.  
 durch (in) vergiessen wir unser bluot,  
 daz si uns fur die sünde guot.  
     daz hilf uns lieber herre got, etc.  
 Der den fritag nüt envastet  
 und den sünitag nüt enrastet,  
 zwar der müsse in der helle pin  
 eweklich verloren sin.  
     dovor behüt uns, etc.  
 Die e, die ist ein reines leben,  
 die hat got selber uns gegeben.  
 ich rat frowen und ir mannen,  
 daz ir die hochfart lasset dannen.  
 durch got so laut die hochfart varn,  
 so wil sich got uber uns erbarn.  
     des hilf uns, etc.



Tilemann, finally, has preserved us the first strophes of two hymns which they intoned on leaving the cities and villages :

O herre vader Jh̄esu Christ,  
want du ein herre alleine bist,  
der uns die sunde mach vergeben,  
un gefriste uns, herre, ûf besser leben,  
das wir beweinen dinen dôt!  
Wir klagen dir, herre alle unse nôt, etc.

Or :

Ez ging sich unse frauwe, kyrieleison,  
des morgens in dem dauwe, alleluia.  
Gelobet st Maria!  
Da begente ir ein junge, kyrieleison,  
sîn bart war ime entsprungen, alleluia.  
Gelobet st Maria! etc.

It was necessary to give a full description of the ceremonies and songs of the Flagellants, in order to illustrate the manner in which Tilemann recorded poetry in his chronicle. Comparing his account with that of Closener and other sources, it will be observed that, although Closener has a more complete text, Tilemann has noted several songs of essential importance for the understanding of the Flagellant movement, which do not occur in Closener. The reason why Tilemann usually does not report more than one strophe of the various hymns is to be found in the fact that they are of interest to him only as newly arisen forms of metrical and musical production. Several times he takes occasion to emphasize that the hymns or "leisen" (kyrieleison), as he calls them, had been composed at this time (der leise ward da gemacht) or belonged exclusively to the Flagellants (ire leisen). Finally, he says: "item du salt wissen, daz dise vurgeschriben leisen alle worden gemacht unde gedicht in der geiselnfart, unde enwas der leisen keine vur gehort." Although Tilemann is mistaken here in regard to the verses "Nu slaget uch sere," which were known as early as 1260, his remark characterizes the manner in which he observed newly arising poetical phenomena. His treatment of these religious hymns will, of course, help to throw light on his account of the remaining popular poetry, as we shall find later. An investigation as to the common source of all the Flagellant poetry is not undertaken in this paper. It is highly probable, however, that it is to be found in Italy, where we meet with the earliest indications of the Flagellant movement in 1260; and that,

following the geographical route of the order, it became by translation and tradition the basis of the Flagellant poetry in the various countries.<sup>1</sup>

JULIUS GOEBEL.

<sup>1</sup>A proof for the latter supposition may be found in a passage from a chronicle quoted by Hoffmann, *Gesch. des d. Kirchenlieds*, p. 132 (*Chronicon Pulkavae*, *Monum. hist. Boem.* T. III, p. 232): *Eodem anno flagellatorum quaedam secta suboritur, qui velantes capita more claustralium ad cingulum denudati flagellis in extremitatibus nodos habentibus, fortissime se caedebant, quorum etiam quidam processiones, stationes, venias et genuflexiones fecerunt mirabiles, secundum distinctiones linguarum cantantes.*

### III.—THE AGON OF THE OLD COMEDY.

An ancient Greek tragedy may be compared to a discourse the object of which is to inculcate some moral or to explain and illustrate some divine law—such a discourse, for instance, as a sermon based upon a “text.” A comedy of the old period, on the other hand, is like a debate on a more or less definitely formulated question. This question may be a practical one of a moral or political nature, or it may be merely ideal or purely fanciful. In comedies of the former kind there is a contest, earnest and serious, sometimes bitter, between two opposing principles; in those of the latter class the contest is only an outward form, owing its existence to custom.<sup>1</sup> It is not possible to draw the line sharply between the two kinds of comedy; but the *Knights* and the *Clouds* are separated by a wide gulf from the *Birds* and *Ekklesiazousai*.

There is another basis of classification that will be useful in the present discussion, and that is, the result of the contest. Just as in the tragedy (to use the word in its ordinary loose sense) the characters with whom we sympathize may succumb, as in the *Antigone* of Sophokles, or may triumph, as in his *Elektra*, so in comedy the good principle or the true doctrine may triumph, as in the *Wasps*, or it may succumb, as in the *Clouds*. In the latter case the dénouement always shows us that it is the unjust cause that has prevailed. The closing scene of the *Clouds* and the various warnings of the Choros are comparable to the utter desolation of Kreon and the ominous voice of Teiresias, while, so far as the play is concerned, the *δίκαιος λόγος* is as hopelessly undone as *Antigone*.

In the old comedy not only is each play a general contest, but at a certain point the representatives of the two opposing principles are brought face to face and have a regular debate under fixed rules and in prescribed form. This special contest forms the central part of the play, around which all else is grouped. What

<sup>1</sup> With the further development, leading to the new comedy, which had amusement for its object, and consequently gave up even the form of a contest, and with the causes that brought about this revolution, we are not here concerned.

precedes it is introductory to it; what follows flows from it. If we compare the whole play to a war, the scene under discussion is the decisive pitched battle. Before the battle there is organizing, manoeuvring, skirmishing; after the battle pursuing, capturing, negotiating; but during the all-important crisis of conflict everything else awaits the issue in breathless suspense. Sometimes, however, a great battle does not decide a war. This too finds its analogy in comedies. The conflict in the *Frogs* is called a πόλεμος (v. 1099), but at the end of the special contest the battle is pronounced indecisive and the continuation of hostilities is proclaimed. In the *Knights* there is a second conflict between the same antagonists (303 ff., 756 ff.). These features of the plays mentioned will be found to affect the form of the contests proper.

This scene, so characteristic of the old comedy, of course could not escape notice. Westphal (*Metrik der Griechen*, II, pp. 401 ff., 494) gives a clear statement of the form and nature of at least the chief portion of the contest, calling it a Syntagma (with Antisyntagma); but he treats it merely as an important passage of the epeisodia, without according to it the importance of a distinct subdivision of the play, quite co-ordinate with the Parodos and the Parabasis, though in his *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus Tragödien* (p. 97) he speaks of the typical form of the Parabasis and the Antisyntagmatic parts of the old comedy. Neseemann, in his *De Episodiis Aristophaneis*, 1872 (p. 43), calls it *comoediae nobilissimam partem eiusque robur*, and (p. 51) *totius comoediae partis scenicae umbilicum*, considers it a special form of the epeisodion, and devotes no less than eighteen pages out of his sixty-two to the *certatio*; whereas Arnoldt gives no further development to the subject, but even totally ignores it in his *Chorpartien bei Aristophanes*, although he bases part of his work upon that of Neseemann. Some of the editors, such as Kock and Teuffel, deem it sufficient to refer to Westphal's *Metrik*. The ancient scholiasts, as will be seen, were not entirely ignorant of the peculiar form of the contest.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the state of the subject when the writer, being engaged in the revision of Kock's *Clouds*, felt the inadequacy of the

<sup>1</sup> Zacher, in an elaborate review of Zieliński (*Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1886, Coll. 1546-1553, 1610-1615), cites also Bräuning, *Ueber Aristophanes Frieden*, Halle, 1874, S. 23 foll., and maintains, in the usual generous German way, that Zieliński has done nothing more than to set up a nomenclature for the whole and the parts.—B. L. G.

existing treatment, so far as it had come to his knowledge, and commenced the preparation of an article. The plan contemplated a careful study of Aristophanes and the fragments of all the comic poets, with a view to ascertaining the origin and tracing the history of the Agon—for it was at once decided to substitute this name for the "Syntagma" of Westphal. Names for the different parts of the Agon were adopted after correspondence and conference with scholars, and all the material was collected and prepared, except on one branch of the subject. It was discovered, namely, that three plays of Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, *Peace*, and *Thesmophoriazousai*, are entirely or virtually without an Agon, though all the other plays seemed to show that an Agon was an essential part of a comedy. While the causes of this anomaly were being sought and investigated, and in two of the three cases an explanation was well-nigh despaired of,<sup>1</sup> a new work appeared, *Die Gliederung der Altattischen Komoedie*, von Dr. Th. Zieliński—one of the most important works, in my opinion, that the form of the Greek drama has ever called forth. It treats not only of the analysis of the old comedy, but also of the manner of the whole performance of plays, and the relation of comedy to tragedy in respect to form. A review of the entire work will appear hereafter; this article precedes it because a full discussion of the Agon is necessary to a full appreciation of his theory. His work opens with an elaborate discussion of this subject, and he too uses the name "Agon." The greater part of what I had prepared to say was found fully presented in this work, and that too from a more comprehensive point of view. In this article no attempt will be made to distinguish what is due to it. That is a matter of no interest to the reader, and I can only request him not to ascribe to Zieliński any errors that he may detect.

To obtain the clearest possible conception of the form and

<sup>1</sup> Neseemann had already attacked this subject. Of the *Peace* he says (p. 52): *Altercatio quidem iis inest nulla* (Trygaeus enim nil facit nisi stupide interrogare [*sic*]): attamen quae fatur ibi Mercurius ab iis sententiis, quas in dictis certationibus solemus invenire, non sunt aliena. Of the *Thesmophoriazousae* he says vaguely (p. 53): *Causa cur sententiarum generalium contentio omnino desit, ex singulari fabulae conformatione videtur repetenda*. Of the *Acharnians* (p. 53): *Etiam in Acharnensibus dicta certatio frustra quaeritur. Sed compensatur aliquatenus longa oratione* (496–556) *qua Dicaeopolis ad audientes versus omnes iis acerrime exprobrat perversitates, quibus rempublicam iam satis superque labefactatam in tot, tantasque calamitates detruserint*. —B. L. G.

nature of the Agon would require a survey of all the plays in which it occurs, with attention specially directed to that feature. In the present article, however, only one play will be examined beyond the limits of the Agon, and merely an analysis of the Agon itself of other plays will be given, details being discussed only when they are of special interest.

For the general survey the most suitable comedy is the *Wasps*. The question discussed in this play relates to the advantages and disadvantages of litigation. It is a satire upon the litigiousness of the Athenians; but there is so little hope of practical results that in some respects the play inclines to the farcical.

*Prologos*, 1-229. Philokleon and Bdelykleon, whose names sufficiently characterize them, are father and son. The opening scene takes place before day at the house of Philokleon, who has been imprisoned at home by his son because he is afflicted with a mania: he is an extreme *φιληλιαστής*. He makes several vain attempts to elude the slaves that have been placed to guard him.

*Parodos*, 230-525. Philokleon's *συνδικασταί* have been summoned by Kleon to be on hand at an early hour provided with a three days' supply of wrath, for the purpose of prosecuting Laches, who has been discovered to possess some money. On their way they arrive, twenty-four in number, in front of the house of Philokleon. Here the boys who carry the lamps take advantage of a mud-puddle and give some trouble. The Choros of dicasts, thus brought to a halt, sings a song, calling upon Philokleon to appear, and making various conjectures as to the cause of his unwonted remissness in failing to appear promptly. At last he is seen on top of the house, and attempts to let himself down with a rope. When in mid-air he is discovered, and a violent scene ensues. Bdelykleon and the two guards interrupt the proceeding. The dicasts dispatch the lamp-carriers to Kleon with news of the treason, and make a furious assault upon their opponents; that is, the Choreutai attempt to scale the Logeion. Other slaves are called to the rescue and the assailants are driven back, bemoaning the ills of declining years. All parties come to parley. Bdelykleon repels with ridicule the charge of treason and attempted tyranny, and claims that he is only trying to make his father lead an honorable life free from all *ἀφ' ἧς κροίται οὐκ οφειδοῖται ἀπὸ πύρων τροπῶν*, and proposes to show that the life that Philokleon has been leading is one of degradation and virtual slavery. At this the old man is indignant and maintains that he is virtually a supreme

ruler, and proposes to argue the case and leave it to the Choreutai. To this proposition, strange as it may seem, Bdelykleon readily agrees, and the way is prepared for the Agon. If the reader will examine the play itself he will see that the details of this scene and of the opening of the next are as formal and imply something as familiar as the preparations for a sacrifice or any other ceremony with which the people were familiar. This latter part of the Parodos is an introduction to the Agon. Such introductions sometimes form a separate scene, a *Proagon*, as Zieliński calls it. If we adhere to the simile of war, it may be called the ἀκροβολισμός.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to fix the nomenclature. That of Zieliński is radical, being conformed to his theory of the original "epirrhematic" composition of a comedy as compared with the "episodic" of a tragedy. While I accept nearly all of his conclusions, it must be confessed that some of the names, being transferred from the Parabasis (for which they were invented, probably by scholiasts), do not seem quite appropriate. In any case it would be premature to use his terminology before his justification of it can be presented. I therefore use one of the systems I had devised before his book appeared. Following an example set more than once by Aristophanes himself, I shall provisionally, and for the practical purposes of this article, adhere to the simile of a battle, without the slightest intention of giving a permanent name to any part of the Agon. The names I use, as will be seen, relate to the substance, and not the form, except in those places for which names are already current.

|                   |                  |                                     |                |              |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Ἄγων <sup>1</sup> | μᾶχη<br>(Syzygy) | ἐπιχείρησις<br>(="Syntagma")        | παρακέλεις     | ψῆδή         |
|                   |                  |                                     | προσβολή       | κέλευσμα     |
|                   | ἀνταλλαγή        | ἀντεπιχείρησις<br>(="Antisyntagma") | ἀντιπαρακέλεις | ἐπίθεσις     |
|                   |                  |                                     | ἀντιπροσβολή   | ἐπίστασις    |
|                   |                  |                                     |                | ἀντὼδή       |
|                   |                  |                                     |                | ἀντικέλευσμα |
|                   |                  |                                     |                | ἀντεπίθεσις  |
|                   |                  |                                     |                | ἀντεπίστασις |
|                   |                  | κρίσις                              |                |              |
|                   |                  | διάλυσις                            |                |              |

<sup>1</sup> The words are transcribed in what follows. Of course only those belonging to the ultimate group, *ode*, *keleusma*, *epithesis*, etc., are used often. In these and all other *theatrical* terms the Greek form is retained. For the use of the word ἄγων in reference to the formal contest, cf. Vesp. 533; Ran. 785, 867, 873, 884; Nub. 956. It is not used technically, however. The ψῆδή might be called the *παραινέσις*, to complete the analogy.

The *prosbole* and *antiprosbole* are always composed of a tetrametric *epithesis* and hypermetric *epistasis*, the rhythm being anapaestic in both *prosbole* and *antiprosbole*, or anapaestic in the former and iambic in the latter, or vice versa, or iambic in both. Finally, the Agons of the later plays had no *antepicheiresis* ("Antisyntaxma" of Westphal) at all. The classification of Agons will be based on these differences.

I. The *prosbole* and *antiprosbole* are both anapaestic.

i. The WASPS. *Agon*, 526-727.

(a) *Ode*, 526-545. The Choros (first Hemichorion), warning Bdelykleon of the serious nature of the contest (*ὁρᾶς γὰρ ὅς σε μέγας ἐστὶν ἀγὼν*), exhorts him to use new and original arguments. The *ode* is several times interrupted by mesodic iambic tetrameters: the metre of the Parodos, but used nowhere else in the *Agon*.

(b) *Keleusma*, 546-7. The Choros (i. e. Koryphaios as leader of first Hemichorion) bids Philokleon open the contest. Here, as always, the *keleusma* consists of two tetrameters, which regularly begin with *ἀλλά* (nearly always *ἀλλ'*) and prescribe the metre for the *epithesis*.

(c) *Epithesis*, 548-618. Philokleon begins. The opening words, *καὶ μὴν*, though not so universally employed as the *ἀλλά* of the *keleusma*, are still very common. The old philheliast sets forth the power and glory of a dicast. Bdelykleon does not interrupt him much, but merely takes notes.

(d) *Epistasis*, 619-630. Here, as always, the *epistasis* is a hypermetron in the rhythm of the *epithesis*. A pause in the conflict is reached, and the assailant dresses his lines and secures his position.

(aa) *Antode*, 631-648. With the exception of a long-since recognized lacuna of two iambs (647), this corresponds metrically with the *ode*. There are also corresponding mesodic tetrameters. Perfect symmetry in the distribution of these will be attained if we give 643 to Bdelykleon. The Choros (second Hemichorion) is ecstatic at the brilliant effort of their favorite. They feel as if they were sitting on a case in the Islands of the Blessed. Addressing themselves to Bdelykleon, they tell him he has a hard job on hand.

(bb) *Antikeleusma*, 649-650. This is regularly less formal than the *keleusma*. In the present instance its form is exceptionally



indirect; still it is a summons to begin, with a warning to be prepared for failure.

(cc) *Antepithesis*, 650-718. This contains 69 verses against 71 in the *epithesis*. There is no evidence of corruption. The metrical correspondence, therefore, is not exact; whether there is any at all will be discussed at another time. The opening is not formal. Bdelykleon assumes the offensive. He portrays the slavery that Philokleon is imposing upon himself. The latter at first interrupts him with occasional objections, but finally is overcome, and prostrated, mentally and physically, by the overwhelming arguments.

(dd) *Antepistasis*, 719-724. There is no metrical correspondence with the *epistasis*. Bdelykleon, in the full consciousness of victory, relents and reviews the situation.

(e) *Krisis*, 725-8. The decision is a mere form, for Philokleon has already succumbed; but it reveals the fact that the Choros also is converted. The *krisis*, uttered by or for the *entire* Choros, consists regularly, as here, of four verses in the metre of the *antepithesis*. In the present case its last verse is connected grammatically with the first sentence of the next scene.

(f) *Dialysis*. This Agon has no formal *dialysis*; but, for the sake of completing the analysis, it may be stated that this part ordinarily consists of two triads of iambic trimeters (one triad uttered by each antagonist) in which the new situation growing out of the Agon is defined. It is not necessarily a peace, or even a truce, but it ends present hostilities. In this play it is expanded into an independent scene; hence the close grammatical nexus mentioned above.

The remaining Agons will be presented in more concise and less formal analyses.

## 2. The BIRDS. *Agon*, 451-628.

This is one of the farcical comedies in which the Agon is a contest only in form. Two men, with cooking utensils and other equipments, migrate to Birdland, and after an interview with the Epops<sup>1</sup> or hoopoe (who has retained speech along with other reminiscences of his previous human state, and has taught the other birds the use of language), propose a plan for the amelioration

<sup>1</sup> Zieliński uniformly calls the *ἐπὸς* the "Kuckuck." This is probably due to Droysen's example, for the names *ἐπὸς* and *κόκκυξ*, *urupa* and *cuculus*, Huppup (Wiedehopf) and Kuckuck, hoopoe and cuckoo, appear to designate the same pair of different birds.

of the condition of the birds. The Epops fully endorses the proposed plan of founding a city in mid-air, and like a true Hellenic βασιλεύς, he calls an assembly of the birds to hear the proposed measure. Having obeyed the call, they for a time repudiate the authority of their master the Epops, and prepare to destroy the intruders. Matters have come to a crisis, when the Epops succeeds in restraining the infuriated Choros of birds and induces them to hear the men, "because one may learn prudence even from enemies" (v. 375). Actual hostility has exhausted itself in the ἀκροβολισμός; the Agon is quite peaceable. But there are antagonists, at least in form: the men, and the birds of the Choros. This antagonism is purposely indicated by the scene just enacted. But there can be only one antagonist on a side. Peithetairos accordingly represents the men. Who now is to represent the birds? Not the Koryphaios, for he, as a member of the Choros, has to sit in judgment on the contest; for the Choros *as such* has this function to discharge, no matter what is its relation otherwise to the action of the play. Moreover, the Koryphaios, in his capacity as leader of the first Hemichorion, must give the command to begin—the *keleusma*. Only the Epops remains. Though himself convinced, he becomes an advocate, as it were, of the other birds. In speaking of them he says "we" or "they" as happens to suit. Hence those verses in the *epitheses* that are sometimes ascribed to the Choros belong to the Epops. Other grounds of a technical nature are adduced by Zieliński for excluding the Choros from the *prosbolai*; but here they would be premature, and as they are themselves to be established by induction, we must avoid getting into a circle. But what becomes of Euelpides? He stands by and plays clown or jester. It will be found that this character—whom Zieliński calls the βωμολόχος—often takes part in the *prosbolai* (i. e. the *probole* and *antiprobole*).

After due preparation the Choros sings the *ode* (451-459) and gives the *keleusma* (ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅτ' ἔπειτα κτέ. v. 460) to Peithetairos, who begins the *epithesis* (καὶ μὴν ὀργῶ κτέ. v. 462). The obstacle to be overcome is the incredulity of the birds. If this is accomplished the more violent hostilities are averted. This result is brilliantly achieved. It is demonstrated beyond the possibility of cavil or doubt that the birds are the primeval and everlasting gods, and they are utterly without excuse if they do not regain the supreme power that has been lost through the degeneracy of recent times. In the *epistasis* (523 ff.) their present fallen estate is portrayed in

vivid colors. In the *antode* (539 ff.) the birds give expression to extreme mortification and grief and place themselves entirely at the disposal of Peithetairos. The *antikeleusma* (ἀλλ' οὔτι χρὴ κτεί. v. 548) bids him tell what is to be done. If there were a real contest on hand the *antepithesis* would have belonged to the other antagonist; but as it is, Peithetairos resumes and sets forth the plan with all its details (550 ff.). He is now fulfilling the original object of the assembly. In the *antepistasis* (611 ff.) he sums up the advantages that mortals will derive from the restoration of divine powers to the birds, especially as to the matter of temples and sacrifices. The *krisis* (627 ff.), pronounced by or for the full Choros, contains four anapaestic tetrameters, as in the Wasps; but they are separated by a chorikon which ought to introduce the scene that follows. Zieliński proposes to transpose the last pair, so that all four tetrameters will precede the chorikon.

### 3. LYSISTRATE. *Agon*, 476-613.

The women, led by Lysistrate, have seized the Acropolis. The main body of these form the Choros of women, but Lysistrate does not act as Koryphaios or leader of Hemichorion, for she is not one of the Choreutai. The men organize and, as Choros of old men, approach with hostile intent, but are worsted in the encounter that ensues. One of the probouloi appears on the scene and calls the police to his assistance; but the women again prove too strong. By an exchange of words between the two Choroi in some pro-odic tetrameters the way is prepared for the Agon, the antagonists being the Proboulos and Lysistrate.

The Choros of men sing the *ode* and give the *keleusma* (ἀλλ' ἀνερῶτα κτεί. v. 484) to the Proboulos, directing him not to yield, but to bring to bear every *ἐλεγχος*. In the *epithesis* (καὶ μὴν αὐτῶν κτεί. v. 486) he inquires into the object that induced the women to seize the Acropolis. Although he has the floor, of course Lysistrate does nearly all of the talking, whilst one of the women plays *βωμολόχος*. At the end of the *epithesis* Lysistrate commands her antagonist to keep silent, and he indignantly asks if he is to keep silent for any one with a hood on; whereupon she says if that is the obstacle she can help him, and proceeds to do so in the *epistasis* by veiling his head and furnishing other aids to silence. The Choros of women then sing the *antode*, and in the *antikeleusma* (ἀλλ' ὧ τηθῶν κτεί. v. 549) summons Lysistrate to begin the *antepithesis*. She proceeds to tell how they are going to benefit the state. The Proboulos raises occasional objections

only to have them promptly dissipated. In the *antepistasis*, as his objections begin to multiply, she cuts matters short by urging him to die and offering to aid in the preparations for his burial. The *antepistasis* contains two systems, but this is evidently due to a corruption.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, an actual decision of the contest is out of the question. An agreement between the two Choroï is impossible. Hence there is no *krisis*, but the *apallage* is represented by a *dialysis*, the first we have met. It has the normal form, the Proboulos uttering the first triad, 608-610, and Lysistrate the second, 611-613. Though it is no real truce it has the effect of a suspension of hostilities to bury the dead, the one who utters the first triad being the party requesting the suspension. There is a striking parallelism between the two tristichs.

II. The *probole* is anapaestic and the *antiprobole* iambic.

4. The KNIGHTS. *Agon*, 756-940.

In this play contentions abound. There are two formal Agons, the present one being the more serious and important, though it comes after the other one. The main Agon, like all parts of the play, presents some peculiarities which are of special interest, as this is one of the earliest plays of the poet. It would be rash to say whether these peculiarities result from the poet's inexperience, or the more methodical treatment in the later plays is the result of progress in the art, due to Aristophanes along with others. Possibly both influences enter as factors, and it may be that neither does. The peculiarities of the Agons, at any rate, seem to result from the fact that the Choros virtually plays the part of an *ἀγωνιστής* almost throughout the play, and the entire play is intended to be one continuous conflict. The Agons seem to be introduced merely because formal contests were customary, and with so much controversy it was not practicable to come through with only one;

<sup>1</sup> Γυνὴ β' makes a fourth actor present on the stage, introduced only here and that for the purpose of doing something that has just been done by another; for 604, καὶ τούτοις λαβὲ τὸν στίχον, repeats 602, λαβὲ ταῦτι καὶ στεφάνωσαι. Zieliński's opinion is that τὸν στίχον, added as a gloss to τούτοις, led to the corruption, the original reading having been λαβὲ τούτοις καὶ στεφάνωσαι. Thus γυνὴ β' vanishes with her superfluous kolon, and the *antepistasis* becomes perfectly symmetrical with the *epistasis*; though this latter is not necessary. A different explanation had occurred to me, but I believe now that his is more probable. At any rate, whatever be its cause, no one can at all doubt the existence of the corruption, or reasonably doubt that it caused the anomaly.

though it is not to be understood that two Agons in one play are anomalous, any more than two Parabases.

The sausage-dealer Agorakritos has just had a wrangle with Kleon, who, as a true demagogue, proposes that they appeal to the dear People, to Demos himself, and manages to have the contest take place in the Pnyx. The *parakeleusis*, as usual, contains two parts, the *ode* and the *keleusma*; but the former comes near being no ode at all in the technical sense of an ᾠδὴ χορική; but it was regularly sung, and the scholiasts properly treat it as a regular choric ode. Both it and the *keleusma* (ἀλλὰ φυλάττον κτεί. v. 761) are addressed to Agorakritos. But, nevertheless, Kleon begins the *epithesis* (τῇ μὲν, not καὶ μὴν). He opens with prayer. Agorakritos follows with a parody on his supplication. Kleon now proceeds to enumerate in a vague manner his services to Demos, whilst Agorakritos pleases the latter with little attentions, and shows that Kleon's seeming services to the state were due to selfish motives, and that some of his acts, such as the obstruction of peace, were positively hurtful. Demos speaks twice, once in praise of Agorakritos for a favor received, and once in condemnation of Kleon. It is difficult to distinguish which antagonist is the assailant. The one was summoned, but the other led off, and the whole *epithesis* is rather a *συμπλοκή*. Accordingly the *epistasis* (824 ff.), which properly belongs to the attacking party, is usurped by Agorakritos, and is rather a *σύστασις*, in which the sausage-dealer lays the blows violently upon Kleon, who makes one feeble effort. In the *antode* (836 ff.) Agorakritos is again addressed, and the *antikeleusma* encourages and exhorts him to a continuation of the conflict. But Kleon again seizes the initiative, and the *antepithesis* (843 ff.) is very much like the *epithesis*. Kleon goes slightly more into particulars, and Agorakritos makes freer use of little attentions to win the favor of Demos—such as presenting him a pair of slippers, a shirt, and the like. The judge is not at all insensible to favors, and repeatedly commends their bestower, whilst he disparages the demagogue. All of his utterances, however, are in the capacity of clown rather than of judge. The *antepistasis* (911 ff.) is divided between the antagonists (for surely 919 ff. are erroneously assigned to the Choros), Agorakritos uttering the closing sentence, in which he imprecates a curse upon Kleon; and the Choros, in lieu of a *krisis*, adds its amen in the name of three gods, using prose for the purpose. There is no *dialysis*, for the simple reason that the conflict continues without interruption.

5. The CLOUDS. *Agon*, 950-1104.

After a disorderly ἀκροβολισμός, (in the form of a very long anapaestic hypermetron,<sup>1</sup> begun by the δίκαιος λόγος and ended by the ἀδικος, the Choros in the *ode* announces the impending conflict, the ever-famous ἀγὼν μέγιστος (956). In the *keleusma* (ἀλλ' ὃ πολλοῖς κτέ. v. 959) the Dikaïos Logos is exhorted to begin, which he does in the *epithesis* (λέξω τοῖνυν, not καὶ μὴν), setting forth the excellence of the good old system of training the young, whilst the Adikos Logos makes occasional adverse comments. In the *epistasis* (1009 ff.) Dikaïos sums up the advantages that will result from doing as he bids, and the evils that will follow the opposite course. In the *antode*<sup>2</sup> (1024 ff.) the Choros commends him and his cause. In the closing lines of the *antode* and in the *antikeleusma* (1034 f.) the Adikos Logos is warned of the magnitude of his undertaking. He says in the *antepithesis* that he has been impatient for some time to confute his antagonist, and boasts of his ability to make wrong prevail over right. Here we have an explanation from the poet why the unjust cause is going to be successful. That such was to be the issue of the Agon the spectators would have known before this point was reached, if the play had been performed. How they would have known this will appear in the proper place.

- The Adikos Logos now, by a perfect masterpiece of the sophistic art, drives the Dikaïos Logos so completely to the wall that he agrees in the *antepistasis* (1085 ff.) to appeal to a numerical test. The count is made, and the εὐρύπρωκτοι among the spectators are found to be vastly in the majority; whereupon the Dikaïos Logos declares himself vanquished and joins the enemy. There is no *apallage*. A *krisis* could not have been more than a mere form, and a *dialysis* was out of the question. Hence the absence of this part of the Agon need not be ascribed to the incompleteness of the revision; but what we do miss is something like an acceptance of the situation on the part of Pheidippides, who, apart from the Choros, was the sole witness of the contest, and was to decide for himself which λόγος he would choose. Moreover, the play as it stands would require five actors at this point.

<sup>1</sup> Not the longest we have, however, if Mnesilochos, frag. 4 (Kock), is worth counting.

<sup>2</sup> Whether the metrical discrepancy between this and the *ode* results from corruption or from the incompleteness of the revision, is a question that does not concern us here. No one doubts that the poet either made them correspond or intended to. The former alternative is by all odds the more probable.

III. The *probole* is iambic and the *antiprosbole* anapaestic.

6. The FROGS. *Agon*, 895-1098.

Dionysos has gone to Hades to bring back the soul of Euripides, whom he finds, at the head of a mob of criminals, attempting by violence to wrest the tragic throne of the lower world from Aischylos. No better basis for an Agon could have been devised. The god of the theatre himself is to act as judge. He succeeds in quieting the disturbance, and exhorts the antagonists to an orderly and decent contest. He bids Aischylos *ἐλεγχ'* *ἐλέγχου* not in wrath but soberly, whilst Euripides declares himself ready *δάκνειν δάκνεσθαι*. So impressed is the god with the solemnity of the occasion that he institutes prayers for divine aid that he may be able to judge properly—*ἀγῶνα κρίναι τόνδε μουσικώτατα* (873)—and requires the antagonists also to pray in their own behalf. The reason assigned for the prayer is *νῦν γὰρ ἀγῶν σοφίας ὁ μέγας χωρεῖ πρὸς ἔργον ἤδη* (883 f.). After the prayers the Agon begins.

In the *ode* the Choros of Mystai expresses interest in the terrible conflict and predicts its awful character. The *keleusma* (*ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα κτέ.* v. 905) is addressed to both antagonists, but the metre prescribed—the iambic tetrameter—vibrates a harmonious chord in the breast of Euripides, who accordingly begins the *epithesis* (*καὶ μὴν*). He devotes the first portion to the *ἐλεγχος* of the Aeschylean drama, and the latter portion to the merits of his own works. Dionysos, though he is *κριτής*, acts also as *βωμολόχος*, in which capacity he discloses consummate ability. Aischylos makes no direct replies to the *ἐλεγχος*, but devotes his energies to the repression of his wrath. But when Euripides begins to enumerate the "improvements" that *he* has made in tragedy, Aischylos fully agrees with him—*φημὶ καγὼ*—and regrets only that he did not perish before he made them. In the *epistasis* (971 ff.) the assailant portrays the benefits accruing to society from his poesy (a characteristic feature of *epistases*), and Dionysos finishes the picture with some most grotesque touches. In the *antode* the Choros exhorts Aischylos to be calm, as the occasion demands his best effort; and in the *antikeleusma* (*ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος κτέ.*) bids him turn loose his torrent. In the *antepithesis* he turns it loose. For a time even Euripides is swept before it. Dionysos resumes his rôle of clown, but at one point (1024 f.), if the text is correct, grows rather serious for a clown, and for a judge takes a rather active part in the contest. In the *antepithesis* (1006 f.) Aischylos reverses the order adopted by his antagonist, and first presents his own

merits, then the faults of Euripides, who begins to reply to the latter portion. The *antepistasis*<sup>1</sup> sums up the faults and describes the evil fruits of the Euripidean poesy, and Dionysos adds another *βωμολόχευμα*. Here we should expect the *krisis*; but a new scene begins, in which the Choros declares the conflict indecisive and proclaims a continuation of the struggle. The contest continues through to the Exodos, as in the Knights, although the technical form has been exhausted. The final *κρίσις* of Dionysos is made after the actual contest is ended (1467 ff.).

#### IV. Both *prosbolē* and *antiprosbolē* are iambic.

The two Agons belonging to this class are secondary, each one occurring in a play that contains another more important Agon.

##### 7. The KNIGHTS. *Agon*, 303-460.

After a violent scene in the Parodos, Agorakritos and Kleon become involved in a logomachy which the Choros turns into a formal Agon. In the *ode* (303 ff.) the Choros heaps hearty abuse upon the head of Kleon, the latter and Agorakritos interrupting the *ode* with mesodic trochaic tetrameters. Then is uttered a rather ambiguous *keleusma* (ἀλλ' ὁ τραφεῖς κτέ. v. 333); the one clear thing about it is that it is addressed to a villain. Agorakritos begins the *epithesis* (καὶ μὲν); but Kleon evidently thinks that *he* was meant, and a strange strife ensues (which will be explained in its place), Agorakritos maintaining, as he had done before, and no doubt with truth, that he too is a villain. Both antagonists, in consequence, have the floor simultaneously. As in the chief Agon of this play, the *epithesis* (335 ff.) is converted into a *συμπλοκή* and the *epistasis* into a *σύστασις*. The entire *prosbolē* is billingsgate of the first quality. In the *antode* (382 ff.) both antagonists receive due attention. Some of the mesodic tetrameters of the *ode* have no antapodosis. This want of symmetry, as also the question of the proper assignment of 319-321, need not detain us here. The *antikeleusma* (407 f.) is the only one that does not directly or indirectly contain a summons to begin. Throughout the *antiparakeleusis*, in fact, the Choros itself seems not to know who was the assailant in the *prosbolē*, and accordingly, by giving the mere form of an *antikeleusma* without the substance, leaves both antagonists free to attack. Kleon then begins the *antepithesis* (409 ff.); but

<sup>1</sup> The catalectic dimeter 1088 breaks the hypermetron. Zieliński proposes ἐτι < τῶν > ἰννί. I had thought of ἔστιν ἰννί. There can be no reasonable doubt that the verse is corrupt.



immediately it becomes a melee ; and the latter part of the *antepistasis* (441 ff.) is taken from the antagonists altogether. Then follows the normal *krisis* of four iambic tetrameters ; but it is a *krisis* only in form. The substance of a *dialysis* is contained in the first few lines of the scene that follows.

8. The CLOUDS. *Agon*, 1345-1451.

The *ādikos λόγος* has triumphed in the great Agon. Pheidippides has completed his course of instruction with marked success, and Strepsiades leads him into the house to celebrate the occasion with a feast. Presently he rushes out, pursued and beaten by his son. The lad not only admits that he has beaten his father, but offers to demonstrate that he did it justly. Strepsiades, utterly astounded and desirous to hear what in the world the young sophist can say in favor of such a doctrine, undertakes to argue the case with him ; and the Agon begins.

In the *ode* the Choros warns Strepsiades of the critical nature of the contest, and in the *keleusma* (ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅτου κτέ. v. 1351) bids him tell how the trouble began. This he does in the *epithesis* (καὶ μὲν, v. 1353), saying that he had asked his son to sing at the feast and play the cithara, and the youth had expressed contempt (which he now repeats) for such grasshopper usages. He had then requested him at any rate to recite a piece from Simonides ; but the lad pronounced Simonides a bad poet, and even when Aischylos was timidly suggested he spoke contemptuously of him. Being then given free choice he recited a shocking *ῥῆσις* from Euripides—the story of Kanache. The old man's wrath boiled over ; word led to word and finally to blows from the young man. Here the narrative ends, and Strepsiades fears to renew the quarrel which threatens to break out afresh, and in the *epistasis* (1386 ff.) contrasts the kindness he had shown Pheidippides when a child with the treatment just received in return. The Choros in the *antode* (1391 ff.) expresses gloomy forebodings as to the value of old men's skins if the new doctrine becomes established. The *antikeleusma* (1397 ff.) in appropriate words bids Pheidippides begin. He opens the *antepithesis* and in fine sophistic style proceeds to demonstrate his proposition. The father's replies are no trifles. We almost feel that the Adikos Logos and the Dikaïos Logos are before us again ; but, as before, sophistry prevails and Strepsiades confesses himself vanquished. The son then offers him a consolation : he will beat his mother too ; and in the *epistasis* (1446 ff.) he proposes to prove that it would be right. The old man, almost stupefied

with amazement, can only suggest that the youth throw himself, *ἤττων λόγος*, Socrates and all, into the Barathron. There immediately follows an ordinary dialogue in iambic trimeters. Whether the poet, in completing the revision, would have added an *apallage* is not evident from the context. The transition seems to be natural and easy, and a *krisis* would be superfluous.

V. The Agon has a single *epicheiresis* instead of a *syzygy*. The *prosbolē* is anapaestic in the two extant examples. Thesmoph. 531-573 is indeed iambic, but can hardly be counted as an Agon. Still it is probable that Agons of this class were sometimes iambic.

9. EKKLESIAZOUSAI. *Agon*, 571-709.

The great woman's rights *coup d'état* has been carried through. Blepyros, whose wife Praxagora has been missing since long before day, has learned from a passing friend the details of the proceedings at the Pnyx, but does not suspect that the women were there. The Choros of women appear before his house, where he confronts his wife in their presence. Having satisfied himself as to the cause of her absence in his clothes, he tells her the wonderful news. At first she has difficulty in realizing it, but at last says it will redound to the glory of the state. Blepyros is not so sure of that, but she says she can convince him; and the Agon begins.

In the *ode* the Choros exhorts her to have her wits about her and devise something new and astounding. The *keleusma* (ἀλλ' οὐ μάλλιν κτέ. v. 581) bids her begin promptly. In the *epithesis* (καὶ μὴν, v. 583) she explains the policy that is to be pursued, which she does so knowingly that one might suspect that the matter was not wholly new to her. There is to be no private property, no lawsuits, no trouble of any kind, but feasting, happiness, and love—all as free as air. The slaves will do the work. Blepyros raises numerous objections, but they are met and all his doubting questions fully answered. In the *epistasis* she portrays the great advantages of the new constitution in regard to the sexual relations, and adds a clause to secure equal rights to the less favored. There is no *formal krisis* or *dialysis*. The resemblance to the Agon of the Birds will be apparent to all, but it is as that of Antigone to Elektra.

10. PLOUTOS. *Agon*, 487-626.

Chremylos and Blepsidemos are making arrangements to have sight restored to the blind god of riches whom they have in their

possession. The wan goddess Penia appears, and after denouncing their intended outrage, proposes to show that it would result in calamity to the human race, and that she alone is the cause of all blessings. They do not object to hearing her, and the Agon opens.

There is no *ode*; in fact there was no real Choros, as is evident from the manner in which the scant seeming chorika of the rest of the play are treated. In the *keleusma* (ἀλλ' ἦδη κτέ. v. 487) the Koryphaios, or whatever he should be called, gives the two men a summons to begin. Chremylos, then, in the *epithesis* sets forth at length the benefits that would flow from the restoration of sight to Ploutos: he would come only to the good and worthy, whereas now many good people starve, while many unjust prosper. Penia, in her replies, makes the false assumption that riches, according to the plan, are to be distributed to all alike. This error escapes Chremylos entirely.<sup>1</sup> After a long debate, in which Penia by no means gets the worst of it, Chremylos, more candid than most disputants, declares in the *epistasis* οὐ γὰρ πείσεις οὐδ' ἦν πείσης (600), and the two men get rid of their troublesome antagonist by simply driving her by main force from the stage. Naturally enough there is no *krisis*; but the Agon is very appropriately and, to the spectators, no doubt amusingly terminated with a *dialysis* both triads of which are uttered by Chremylos, his friend separating the two utterances for him by means of a distich.

II. Of the three plays that are virtually without an Agon, the THESMOPHORIAZOUSAI contains a passage which in form is a mutilated *Agon*, 531-573. The *ode* preceding 531 belongs to the foregoing syzygy, so that the Agon begins with the *keleusma* (ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ κτέ.), which has only the form of a summons. In

<sup>1</sup> There is no visible reason for the introduction of this inconsistency. Aristophanes must have been conscious of it, just as in the *Clouds* he knew the cock was not a quadruped. But there the error was for comic effect, while this instance affords no amusement. Some think it grew out of the revision. It is perhaps idle to discuss the question; but some who have written on it commit an error analogous to that of Penia. They say that only the good, and so only those willing to labor, were to become rich; and hence there is nothing in Penia's objection that no one will want to work because he will have money without working. But did Chremylos' notion of the *χρηστοί* require them to labor? Did he mean to labor himself? Far from it. When he says the slaves will do the work he uses *μοχθεῖν*, a very significant word. His idea of the blessings of wealth is that it will enable a man to live without *μόχθοι*. Still the inconsistency remains.

the *epithesis* Mnesilochos and a woman become involved in a violent *λοιδορία* which is stopped by the Choros. This passage is entirely inadequate to fulfill the requisites of an Agon if each play is entitled to one. We may ignore its existence.

The results of the study of the *Fragmenta Comicorum*, which could not be very fruitful, may be summed up in the statement that there is all the evidence that could be demanded that other writers of the old comedy made use of the Agon, and that Aristophanes used them in his lost plays.

The survey that has been given shows the Agon to have been so fixed in form and substance and so essential to the very nature of comedy, and also to have been so familiar to the Athenian public, that we may well be surprised to find that there are three plays of Aristophanes in which it does not occur. It would be in order, therefore, to look into the causes of this peculiarity of those plays; but this must be reserved for another article. Let it suffice for the present to give assurance that, while it can hardly be demonstrated for all three, still it is certain in the case of one, and highly probable in the case of the other two, that they originally contained each an Agon. And even if the proofs fail to convince some, so much is irrefragable: it would be erroneous to assume that we know of any play of the old comedy that *was certainly composed without an Agon*.

We are now prepared to take a comprehensive view of the whole field. It will be observed that in all the plays of the serious class two opposing principles rise side by side, and begin to clash more and more until it is not possible for the action to proceed further without disposing of one of them, unless indeed the whole play is to be continual strife. In the more farcical plays a principle or tendency that is sure to challenge opposition arises, and grows to the point where it must either be suppressed or allowed to have full sway, the point where it must either *πείθειν* or *πείθεσθαι*. When this place has been reached in a comedy, all action of any other sort must be suspended while the two opposing principles in the serious class settle the question of supremacy by a formal contest, and in the other class the one growing tendency or principle disarms opposition. That the action should in all cases cease during the Agon (a fact emphasized by Zieliński) seems to me to be merely a necessity growing out of the debate. A suspension of the action, in other words, is not a characteristic of the Agon; the Agon is a suspension of the action; or rather, in one sense it

is itself a part of the action. Its length, indeed, as Zieliński justly remarks, and the impossibility of other action until it is ended, are calculated to create in us admiration for the patience of an Attic audience, especially when we consider that, as a rule, soon after the Agon comes the equally long Parabasis, which has nothing to do with the action of the play. But in fact it was just these that the public went to the theatre to witness. Whether the later comedy, when Agon and Parabasis had disappeared, was not more entertaining than the old comedy, is a question that does not concern us. The old comedy had grown into what it was, and had to grow, or shrivel, into something else. No one could suddenly revolutionize it. The indications are that originally, when there were no *ἀγωνισταί*, the essential part of a comedy was a contest between the leaders of the Hemichoria, or, one might say, the two Choroï. This contest would be preceded by an introductory scene, which in the more fully developed comedy became the Parodos, including the Proagon (which is often a part of the Parodos). After the contest was over, the play proper being ended, the Choros unmasked and addressed the people. This usage of unmasking continued after the Parabasis ceased to form or to follow the close of the play. The Agon, then, as Zieliński remarks, corresponds to the *καταστροφή* of a tragedy, the *krisis* marking sharply the turning point—in the original comedy the virtual end—of the play. All that follows it is in a new field; we breathe a new air and have a clearer conception of our surroundings. The battle has been lost and won, or the question has been definitively settled, provided always the play is not intended to be one continual strife. When this is the case the Agon, as will presently be seen, is affected accordingly.

The participants in an Agon are the Choros (Hemichoria, Koryphaïos, and leader of second Hemichorion), the two antagonists, the judge, and the clown, the last two not being essential.

The relations of the Choros to the contest are not fixed. The Choros, for instance, may all be on one side and adhere to that side as in the *Knights*, or all on one side and be brought over to the other as in the *Wasps*, or equally divided and remain so as in *Lysistrata*, not to mention other situations. Particularly striking is the fact that, while there is sometimes a duly appointed judge, the Choros directs the contest and proclaims the result, even though the *Choreutai* were as far as possible from impartial when the contest began. What chance has Kleon of receiving justice in the

Knights? Just as much, *a priori*, as Bdelykleon had of being successful in the Wasps; and yet he succeeded brilliantly. The Choros was evidently on a higher plane than an American jury is supposed to be: it was thought possible for Choreutai to change their minds when they learned new facts and heard new arguments. Another interesting fact is reserved till we come to treat the form of the Agon.

The part taken by the Choros in the Agon was probably limited to the *odai* and *keleusmata*.<sup>1</sup> The *ode* was sung by the first Hemichorion, the *antode* by the second. The Koryphaios, as leader of the first Hemichorion, pronounced the *keleusma*, and the leader of the second gave the *antikeleusma*. The *krisis* was pronounced by or in the name of the whole Choros. It was also the duty of the Choros, that is the Hemichoria, alternately, to execute a dance while the *epithesis* and *antepithesis* were being recited. Cf. Lys. 541; Schol. Ran. 896, ἡ πρὸς τὰς ῥήσεις ὑπόχρησις.

The antagonists are naturally the most important participants. In plays of the trivial class they are hardly opponents at all; but still the negative disputant is either incredulous himself or else represents an incredulous body. The Agon then is only in form a contest. The poet makes use of it to instruct the spectators as to the nature of the new world into which they are introduced. The Birds would have been almost incomprehensible but for the instruction given by Peithetairos in the Agon. In plays of this kind, therefore, one disputant has the floor both in the *epithesis* and *antepithesis*; but the other asks questions and makes objections as much as he chooses. But in the serious moral or political plays the antagonism is earnest and often bitter. Sometimes the assailant has the *prosbolē* almost entirely to himself, the other antagonist having the *antiprosbolē*, as in the Wasps; but more commonly both parts are pretty evenly divided between the opponents. Yet even in this case one of them is distinctly the assailant

<sup>1</sup> Such is the view of Zieliński. Though it encounters some obstacles, the evidences in its favor are very strong. For these the reader is referred to Zieliński's work, especially pp. 117 f. and 203-312. It is to be regretted, however, that in the latter passage cited it is too strongly asserted that all iambic trimeters uttered by the Choros, i. e. Koryphaios, are "vom strengen, tragischen Bau." I am not sure what "Bau" covers here, but the expression seems too sweeping when applied to verses in which not the slightest regard is had to the well known Porsonic law bearing on caesura in the fifth foot. Otherwise, however, his observation is correct, and the conclusion he draws is not affected by this oversight.

and the other the defendant in the *prosbolē*, while in the *antiprosbolē* their attitudes are reversed. Now, when an army makes an attack (*ἐπιθεῖς*) upon another and, without carrying the position, comes to a halt (*ἐνστάσις*), a counter attack results in the rout of the assailant. So in the Agon: the speaker that is aggressive or has the floor in the *epithesis* is doomed already if there is an *antepicheiresis* or "*antisyntagma*." If there is no *antepicheiresis* the assailant is successful; the battle ends with the capture of the position of the defendant. In other words, the last argument is the telling one; and the usage probably grew out of the desire of the poets to have the issue of a contest accord with the impression made on the spectators. Whatever be its origin, this feature of the Agon must have been perfectly familiar to all the Athenians, and consequently it placed the poet under some embarrassment. It might be desirable to conceal the dénouement as long as possible. If the poet took the liberty of reversing the usual practice he would create confusion in the minds of the public and consequent dissatisfaction. It is interesting to observe how Aristophanes overcame this difficulty, and in one case even turned it into a source of amusement. The strange dispute at the opening of the secondary Agon of the Knights has been alluded to. Agorakritos, it will be remembered, had claimed superiority to Kleon even in villany, when the latter set up claims in that line. Now, when the Agon is ready to begin, the Choros sings an *ode*, addressing Kleon and introducing Agorakritos as σοῦ μαρώτερος; then comes the remarkable *keleusma*, 333 f.:

ἀλλ' ὃ τραφεῖς ὄθεν πέρ εἰσιν ἄνδρες οἵ περ εἰσί,  
νῦν δείξον ὥς οὐδὲν λέγει τὸ σωφρόνως τραφῆναι.<sup>1</sup>

Agorakritos tries to begin, but Kleon disputes the right:

ΑΛ. καὶ μὴν ἀκούσαθ' οἷός ἐστιν οὔτοσ' οὐ πολίτης.

ΚΛ. οὐκ αὖ μ' εἰσέσεις;

ΑΛ. μὰ Δί', ἐπεὶ κἀγὼ πονηρός εἰμι.

ΚΛ. οὐκ αὖ μ' εἰσέσεις;

ΑΛ. μὰ Δία.

ΚΛ. ναὶ μὰ Δία.

ΑΛ. μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ,

ἀλλ' αὐτὸ περὶ τοῦ πρότερος εἰπεῖν πρῶτα διαμαχοῦμαι.

<sup>1</sup> The way in which the subject is announced suggests the manner in which Herakles put the question to Triballos on the surrender of the sceptre (Av. 1628): ὁ Τριβαλλός, οἰμῶζειν δοκεῖ σοι;

I shall not stop to discuss any difficulties, real or supposed, in the interpretation. It is clear enough that each is contending for the right to speak first, that is, *for the privilege of being beaten in the contest*, as it would amusingly appear to the spectators. The result of this broil, as we have already seen, was that no one, not even the Choros, could tell which was the assailant, and hence the *συμπλοκή* also in the *antepithesis*. It was simply intended that this Agon should be indecisive. The *krisis* is merely a congratulation for bravery on the field; the battle is not yet won, or at least the war is not ended. The quasi *dialysis* shows Kleon to have been worsted, as he is first to speak. By a reference to the analysis of the chief Agon of this play the reader will see that it was analogous in many respects to the one just examined, and for the same reasons.

It has often been remarked by editors that in the contest between the *λόγοι* the metre in which each *λόγος* speaks seemed fitted to his character, the *δίκαιος* λ. leading off in vigorous anapaestic tetrameters, the *ἄδικος* λ. following up with ribald iambic tetrameters. In the *Frogs*, where the Agon is not to end in the triumph of wrong, Euripides, the doomed antagonist, opens with iambic tetrameters, while Aischylos follows with anapaests. A further examination of this subject, however, would be unfruitful.

The next participant in our list is the judge. When one is employed he is formally designated, and one might naturally expect more importance to be attached to his judicial function than is the case. In the *Frogs*, it will be remembered, the decision of Dionysos comes near the end of the play, the Choros having pronounced the Agon indecisive. In the *Clouds* Pheidippides has not a word to utter in connection with the Agon. The *δίκαιος λόγος* confesses himself defeated. The incompleteness of the revision at this point must not be left out of view, nor must it have too much shouldered upon it. In the *Knights* Demos commends Agorakritos whenever the latter bestows a bribe upon him; but that is almost the full extent of his part in the Agon. After the Choros has pronounced the quasi *krisis* he concurs; but this is in the opening of a new scene. His real decision, like that of Dionysos, comes later in the play, and settles the general contest that had pervaded the whole. Only the three plays enumerated have a judge at the Agon. In the two in which he speaks, the *Frogs* and the *Knights*, the part taken by the judge is rather in the capacity of clown.



The clown, or *βαμολόχος*, is not rarely introduced, though his presence is not essential. He is there, of course, for the purpose of rendering the debate amusing. Zieliński says his part was intended to keep before the minds of the spectators the fact that it was a comedy they were witnessing, and that his presence enabled the antagonists to be all the more serious. With this I do not fully agree. *Βαμολοχία* would have been a disturbing element in the *ἀγὼν μέγιστος* of the Clouds, just because of its serious nature. So in the *Ploutos Agon*, where the jester takes virtually no part, though the rest of the play is frivolous, the tone is recognized by Zieliński himself as being so serious that, when Chremylos undertook to jest, Penia at once reproved him (557 f.):

σκάπτειν πειρᾷ καὶ κωμωδεῖν τοῦ σπονδάζειν ἀμελήσας.

The jester, as in actual life, is self-appointed. The judge himself, as already seen, may assume this function, or it may be a third actor, as in the *Birds*.

We now come to the form of the Agon. The introduction to the formal contest may be contained in the *Parodos*, or there may be a distinct *Proagon* or *ἀκροβολισμός*, as before observed. In the latter case the interscene is ordinarily composed in iambic trimeters. The peculiar exception in the great Agon of the Clouds has already received attention.

Between the *ode* and the *antode* there is as strict metrical correspondence as between the corresponding parts of the *Parabasis*, or between strophe and antistrophe in tragedy. Exceptions are evidently due to corruption and are no more common than in other instances of metrical responsion. The pro-odic and strange mesodic verses which sometimes appear are never composed in the metre of the *epithesis* or *antepithesis*, but in that of the *Parodos*. Zieliński thinks this may be due to accident, as the examples are so few. I think, however, that it may safely be stated as a rule. We should expect these tetrameters to harmonize with some neighboring part of the play, and it should always be the same part. This could not be the *epithesis*, for sometimes the *antepithesis* is in a different rhythm, so that the antimesodic verses would either have to clash with the *antepithesis* or with the mesodic verses.

The *keleusma* always consists of two anapaestic or iambic tetrameters, and authoritatively prescribes the metre of the *epithesis*. This fact was observed by the scholiasts. Cf. Schol. Av. 451 ff.:

ἐν εἰσθέσει [read ἐκθέσει] δὲ στίχοι ἀναπαιστικοὶ τετράμετροι δύο ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξῆς εἰσθέσεως ξά. Id. 539 ff.: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐκθέσει τοὺς συνήθεις δύο στίχους ἀναπαιστικούς ὁμοίους τοῖς ἐξῆς ξά. Schol. Nub. 1345 ff.: ἐν ἐκθέσει δὲ στίχοι δύο λαμβικοὶ τετράμετροι ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἐξῆς. ἔθως γὰρ ἐστὶ προτιθέναί τῆς διπλῆς διστιχίαν μετὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς κορωνίδος ἢ τῆς ψδῆς. So Schol. Eq. 755 it is called τὸ ἔθιμον. Cf. also Schol. Eq. 322 ff., Nub. 1024 ff., Ran. 992 ff.<sup>1</sup>

The *keleusma* proper (not the *antikeusma*) invariably begins with ἀλλά. Westphal (Met. II, p. 402, note 3) erroneously represents the elided form ἀλλ' as being universal in anapaestic *keleusmata* (Vesp. 649 is *antikeusma*). In Eq. 761 we find ἀλλὰ φυλάττου. The usual elision was no doubt due to metrical considerations. In fact ἀλλά itself is the natural conjunction with which to make the transition from the *ode* to the *keleusma*, this transition being less abrupt at the end of the *antode*. Still its use may have become canonical from the very fact that it was *generally* necessary; and the same principle may apply to the elision.

The *keleusma* does not belong to the *ode*, for it is not sung by the Chorus. This is shown by the fact that the *antikeusma* may be in a different rhythm. There are technical reasons also for excluding it from the *epithesis*. As it is recited by the leader of the Hemichorion that sings the *ode*, and is in substance like the *ode*, I have, for convenience, called the two παρακλήσεις. If the system of nomenclature were devised with reference to the form instead of the substance, then what I have called the *probole* would include the *keleusma* alongside the other two parts (*epithesis* and *epistasis*).

The form of the *epithesis* has already been repeatedly mentioned. The question of symmetry as to the number of verses between the *epithesis* and *antepithesis* cannot be discussed here. Zieliński, in the latter part of his whole work, attempts to prove its existence,

<sup>1</sup> There are also general allusions to the Agon. The Schol. Ran. 900 (*ode* of Agon) says: προσδοκῶν οὖν: ἔθος τοῖς ποιηταῖς προλέγειν ἅ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς λέγειν μέλλουσι. This is nonsense except as limited to the *ode* of the Agon. The remark is of special interest as a testimony with regard to other comedians than Aristophanes: for he says τοῖς ποιηταῖς. Zieliński finds a reference to the judge and the antagonists in Luc. de Calumn. 6: τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ ἁγῶν· τριῶν δ' ὄντων τῶν προσώπων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις, τοῦ διαβάλλοντος τοῦ διαβαλλομένου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡ διαζολὴ γίγνεται, κτέ. If this refers actually to the Agon it would imply that the *κριτής* was more common than *ant* plays would indicate.

or rather to establish an analogous eurhythmmy in the two parts. This effort is the least satisfactory part of his work ; but it would be unjust to state its weak points without giving his whole investigation, which cannot now be done. He does not resort to emendation, as some have been inclined to do.

Each *epithesis* is composed in one continuous metre. The familiar exception, Nub. 1415, κλάουσι παῖδες, πατέρα δ' οὐ κλάειν δοκεῖς, is justified by the parody. Still, of course, it has been abundantly emended. In Nub. 1085 ff. there are four iambic trimeters, seeming to form a link between the *antepithesis* and the *antepistasis*. Zieliński simply breaks them up into six dimeters, reading ποτ' ἄν for ποτί (1086). The schol. had the trimeters in his text ; and I must confess that I should have preferred to find the change into dimeters accomplished without dividing words between kola, however common this may be elsewhere in iambic hypermetra. But in spite of all this it is difficult to believe that the poet inserted those trimeters between a tetrametric passage and its ἔκθεσις.

The *epithesis* may, without grammatical pause, pass into its *epistasis*. It is a case of στήναι τρέχοντα.

The *epistasis* is always a hypermetron in the same rhythm as the *epithesis*, to which it stands related as an ἔκθεσις. Consequently the paroemiac or catalectic kolon is allowed only at the end. The only two seeming exceptions, Lys. 602 and Ran. 1088, have been mentioned. In some instances the number of kola in the *epistasis* and *antepistasis* is the same, and in one or two cases a slight change will produce this equality ; but the evidence, as a whole, is decidedly against any law either of correspondence or of eurhythmmy.

The *epistasis* marks the end of the *epithesis* or attack. The assailant pauses as if to secure his position. We often find here a recapitulation, or at least a summing up of the merits of the principle advocated by the speaker, and sometimes the demerits of the opposed principle. The tone is usually more frivolous, and σκώμματα on the part of the antagonists are quite in order.

The *krisis* normally consists of four verses in the metre of the *antepithesis*. The number four has a far-reaching significance in tetrametric composition, as Zieliński has shown in his discussion of the other parts of the comedy.

The *krisis* and the *dialysis* I have combined under the common head *apallage*. This name, it need scarcely be said, relates

exclusively to the substance, not the form. It has already been seen that the *apallage* is rarely complete, and is sometimes wanting altogether. The circumstances controlling this feature were noted above; but there is a fact, connected with the total absence of a *krisis*, which deserves special attention, and which it seemed best not to touch upon until all the phenomena had been collected and examined. It is this: when the issue of an Agon is adverse to the principle which the poet approves, that is, when the comedy is of the Antigone type rather than the Elektra, there is no *krisis* at the end, but the Choros remains silent. The result is indicated clearly by the antagonists themselves, the vanquished either proclaiming his own defeat or else being driven from the stage. To determine whether this *is* a fact or not requires that we without prejudice decide which plays belong to the class mentioned. Fortunately this has been decided by a most competent judge, who is so far from being prejudiced that he says with regard to the chief Agon of the Clouds: "Wie stellt sich nun der Chor zu einem solchen Ausgange, der seinem Wunsche und der Forderung der Gerechtigkeit so wenig entspricht? Leider hat Aristophanes uns die Sphragis (= *krisis*), die wir mit Fug und Recht als Abschluss des Wortstreites erwarten dürfen, nicht hinzugedichtet." He ascribes the absence of a *krisis* at the end also of the secondary Agon of this play (which is of the same sort) to the incompleteness of the revision. In all this he seems to me to have gone slightly astray; but we can so much the more rely upon his opinion that in the Birds the poet is in sympathy with Peithetairos, and in Ploutos with Penia. The evidence in favor of my view can be felt in its full force only by those who will take the pains to recall or to examine all the Agons with special reference to this point. Even in Ekklesiazousai the Choros of women, fresh from the Pnyx, where they had put the great measure through, are not allowed to utter a word at the end of the Agon. When Praxagora has finished her *epistasis* she says to Blepyros and his friend (710), *φέρε νυν, φράσον μοι, ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει σφῶν*; They answer, *πάνν*. I look upon this trimeter as a part of the Agon, representing the *apallage*, that is, the *krisis* and *dialysis* combined.

The *dialysis*, as has been already stated, consists of a pair of triads composed in iambic trimeters and spoken each by one of the antagonists. In its full form it is still rarer than the *krisis*. Its occurrence is not frequent enough to justify any generalizations as to the conditions of its presence or absence. One fact may be

observed : the victor speaks the second triad ; hence, when there has been no decision of the general contest by the Agon, as in *Lysistrata*, the speaker of the first triad, so far as the spectators are concerned, confesses himself as worsted in the conflict. The second triad seems to be modelled after the first, being a sort of modified echo of it.

The position of the Agon has been alluded to as being between the Parodos and the Parabasis. The exception in the case of the *Clouds* need not trouble us, as we do not know where the Agons or Parabasis would finally have been placed. The *ode* and *keleusma* of the original Agon are to be found before the new Parabasis. Cf. 457-477. The only real exceptions, then, are the *Frogs* and the *Knights*. In both these the contest runs entirely through the play, and in the case of the *Knights* one Agon does precede the Parabasis, thus : Parodos, secondary Agon, Parabasis, chief Agon, secondary Parabasis.

After the decline, or rather the abolition of the Choros, when the Parabasis disappeared, the syzygy of the Agon was reduced to a single *epicheiresis*. In the two extant Agons of this period the *prosbolē* is anapaestic. It would not be safe to conclude from this that it was never iambic. The ὥραι of Aristophanes belonged to this period, and a long fragment (D. 476) of it, composed in iambic tetrameters, seems to belong to an *epithesis*. This modification of the Agon and omission of the Parabasis were accompanied by a change in the Parodos. The original elements were giving place to the new scenes : the old comedy was passing away.

In closing this article I wish to apologize for having said many things that must have been perfectly familiar to some of my readers. The reason for saying them, I hope, will be obvious. It was for the purpose of weaving them into a whole which is, or was, certainly not familiar to some who have written on Aristophanean subjects. It will not be out of place to give a few illustrations of this fact. They will show that it is not unreasonable to hope for some practical fruits from a recognition and study of the Agon. Westphal (*Metrik*, II, p. 421, note) remarks that a striking difference between the play of the *Clouds* and all the other comedies is, that it contains two Syntagmata (= Agons), while none of the rest contain more than one ; whereas we have seen that the *Knights* contains two full Agons. In the Firmin-Didot text and in Green's school edition, not to mention others, the *keleusma* of the *Frogs*

(905 f.) is actually assigned to Dionysos—not, indeed, without the authority of nearly all the MSS. Even J. H. H. Schmidt, in his *Compositionslehre*, includes in the *ode* and *antode* the *keleusma* and *antikeusma* in the secondary Agon of the Clouds and of the Knights. Teuffel, in his note on the chief Agon of the Clouds, remarks that possibly the final revision would have made the number of verses in the *epithesis* and *antepithesis* the same. No one will deny the possibility of this; but the remark shows that the author had not examined the corresponding phenomena of other plays. One of the most remarkable instances of disregard of the nature of an Agon is found in Arnoldt's *Chorpartien bei Aristophanes*. He attempts to establish "das Auftreten einzelner Choreuten," and distributes to the individual Choreutai their respective parts. In the Knights he begins with the Parodos and runs continuously on into the Agon in such a way that *the keleusma falls to the tenth Choreutes and the antikeusma to the sixteenth*. This distribution is, indeed, only tentative, but it is at the same time utterly inconceivable to one who has any conception of the Agon. Examples might be greatly multiplied, but these are sufficient for the purpose.

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#### IV.—ON THE GREEK TREATMENT OF ORIGINAL HARD ASPIRATES.

The hard aspirate series, now generally admitted to be original, presents some difficulties which have not recently received any adequate notice. They are expressed by Brugmann in his new *Grundriss*, §553, when he asks why we have *ἦσθα*, *οἶσθα*, but *ἔστην*, *παῖς*, answering to forms in Sanskrit with *th*. He cuts the knot by refusing originality to those aspirates which only show themselves in the Indo-Iranian, but he admits (p. 352) that the law which produced aspirates out of tenuis in that group is "freilich nicht ersichtlich." I venture to suggest a law which, by explaining the double treatment in Greek, leaves us free to accept the Sanskrit or Zend evidence as decisive for the I. E. I believe the differentiation of *k̂h*, *q̂h*, *th*, *ph* into *χ*, *θ*, *φ* or *κ*, *τ*, *π* was caused by a stress accent in the earliest period of Greek. The changes developed in the character of the Greek accent as the language grew older of course introduced confusion into the working of this principle, but among the forms stereotyped in the earlier stage there are sufficiently striking examples left to justify a rule backed by sound phonetic analogies. The rule may be stated thus: *Original hard aspirates lose their aspiration in Greek except where the accent immediately precedes*. This will be seen to have a close relationship with Verner's Law in Teutonic. In both cases an explosive with strong expiration has a tendency towards weakening, and this tendency is checked by the influence of a stress accent. Initial cases, which are the most frequent, had a double treatment, except when the accent lay on the first syllable. Two stressed syllables could not lie together, and so the accent *following* a hard aspirate, initial or medial, always caused de-aspiration. Accordingly, during the period while the law was an active force, root-accented words with an initial hard aspirate would in Greek begin with a tenuis, while forms otherwise accented would appear as sentence doublets, showing the tenuis after barytone words or a pause, the aspirate after oxytones. These principles will be seen best in some ideal urgr. examples of (a) tenuis, (b) aspirate, (c) doublets, produced by various accentuation in the verb of a dependent clause. I will

use the  $\sqrt{sghaid}$  for simplicity's sake, ignoring the alternative *sghait*.

- (a) *sghaĩdō* = σκαῖδω.  
*sghesghaĩda* = ἑσκαῖδα.
- (b) *ʼsghaĩdom* = ἑσχαῖδον.  
*ʼsghidom* = ἑσχιδον.  
*sghesghaĩt̃ha* = ἑσκαῖσθα.
- (c) *nē sghidiĩti* = ἀνὴρ σχιζει.  
*nērm sghidiĩti* = ἀνὴρ σκίζει.

Levelling apparently took place when the dialect period had set in. It was not completely carried out, since a number of doublets are preserved in which σκ-, σπ- appear side by side with σχ-, σφ-. In most cases the aspirate form eventually prevailed: the greater force of the initial expiration will fairly account for the survival of the stronger form. I will proceed to give some examples in proof of my proposed law.

-θα, Skt. and I. E. -*t̃ha*, suffix of 2d sing. perf. Here the accent always preceded, and accordingly we have the aspirate in *Φοῖσθα* and *ἦσθα*. Contrast with this the tenuis in *ἑστέ*, Skt. *sthd*, I. E. primary 2d plur. suffix -*the*. The -*te* which prevails in Greek may be simply the secondary suffix, though in *ἑστέ* the probability seems to lie in favor of supposing a primary -*the* treated according to our law. But it is at least worth noticing that \*-*θe* would only stand regularly in the comparatively small class of verbs with accented thematic vowel (viz. those in -*ĩd̃*, -*sk̃h̃d̃*, and aorist-presents).

-σκω verbal class suffix. Bartholemae (K. Z. 27, 366 sqq.) maintains that the Skt. *ch* represents an I. E. *kh*, not *sk̃*. Brugmann's ground for writing -*sk̃ō* is apparently nothing but the κ in Greek, which our law here at once explains: the weakened root and the Skt. accent phenomena prove the original type *g̃m̃sk̃h̃d̃*.

-τος superlative and ordinal suffix, I. E. -*t̃h̃s*, cf. Skt. *jyest̃hd̃*- (Meyer<sup>3</sup> 391); superl. -*isth̃s* regularly root-accented, but never on penult, requiring -*th̃s*. An original \*-*retap̃r̃s* is proved by Skt. *caturth̃d̃*-, cf. Goth. *ah̃tuda* -: an alternative accent appears in Skt. *sapt̃t̃ha*-, A. S. *seof̃opa*.

In the words *κόγχος*, *δυνξ* (apparently for \**δγχ*-s, with anaptyctic υ), *ἄχνη*, *μάχη*, *μόθος*, *πλίνθος*, *στόρθη*, Meyer (Gk. Gr.<sup>2</sup> §203) gives parallels proving an original hard aspirate. All these as they stand have accents preceding the aspirate in question: one or two



indeed may have had it only as an alternative sentence accent, belonging properly to forms with strong root.

In the following words there are fairly clear parallels in Skt. having hard aspirates. The Greek has the tenuis, but in each case there is evidence for an accent *following*.

πλατός, Skt. *prthú-*, a clear case surely (despite Lith. *platūs*), though ignored by Meyer, who compares *πλάθανον* nevertheless. The latter has a *θ* answering to the accent it bears; this (like that in the Skt. *υῤῥαν-*, Gk. *δάρσην*) may point to an alternative with stronger root.

δοτέον, Skt. *asthān-*; δούσανος, Skt. *sthāna-*; μετὰ, Skt. *mithās*, A. S. *med*; στέγω, στέγος, Skt. *sthīgati*; κῆδος, κήδω, Skt. *khādati*; κόλος, Skt. *kharud-*; στήλη, Aeol. *στάλλα*, Skt. *sthūṇā* = *\*sthūlnā*; σκόροdon, Skt. *chard*.

I think these examples are strong enough to prove my rule. I proceed to give some new ones and discuss apparent exceptions.

ὠφελίω is, I believe, a compound of the old preposition *ω* and the word found in the Skt. *phala-*, fruit; it would thus answer to an I. E. *\*phelesjō*, bring advantage to. The preposition bearing the accent makes the *φ* regular. The form presupposes a neuter noun *phēlos*, which appears in *ὄφελος* compounded with the same preposition. ὀφάλλω shows a different conjugation. The *ω*- was shortened when it had gone out of separate use because it was supposed to be the temporal augment (cf. Osthoff's similar explanation of *έθελω*). I think some further traces of this preposition may be added to those collected by Fierlinger in his article on *ὠκεανός* (K. Z. 27, 477). Πρόσσω = *προσιω*, *ἄνω*, *κάτω*, etc., are compounds like *ὑπέκ*, *διάπρο*.<sup>1</sup> Ὀδύσσομαι shows *ω* clearly in *ὠδυσίη* (Hes.). It cannot phonetically be compared with Skt. *duṣi*; the root seems rather to be *duṣes*, to which I should refer the Latin *bestia*. The non-disappearance of *s* in the noun quoted is perhaps due to analogy, while the verb-forms actually found do not require it. In the verbs *ὀδύρομαι*, *ὀκέλλω*, *ὀμόργνυμι*, compared with *δύρομαι*, *κέλλω*, *μόρξαντο*, we can trace compounds: how perfectly unreasonable is the supposed "prothesis"! We might add *ὀτρύνω* and others.

τρέχω, τροχός, I. E. *\*thregh* (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, p. 408), are regular, by the Greek rule for consecutive aspirates, as well as by that now under discussion. The future *θρέξομαι*, whose accent is original, seems directly adverse; but it only occurs in composition,

<sup>1</sup> Havet, I see, has anticipated this.

and the preposition, which like the augment in the aor. *ἔθρεξα* would bear the accent, makes the *θ* regular.

*ἴστην*, Skt. *dsthām* (ib. p. 407), is a case of levelling. The accent would produce a tenuis in *\*ιστήμι*, *\*ισταμέν*, *στήσω*, etc., and all monosyllabic forms, so that isolated types like *\*ἴσθην* had a very small chance of survival.

*σκίδνημι* should, I think, be separated from *σκεδάννυμι* because of the vocalism. Meyer's explanation seems to me less simple than putting *σκίδνημι* and *σχίζω* with the Skt. *chid*, I. E. *√sqhai̯t* (*sqhai̯d*). Both have weak roots, so there was no accent after the tenuis which would prevent the double treatment from surviving.

*σκεδάννυμι* then belongs to the root *sqhed*, Skt. *skhad*; for the treatment of the velar cf. Brugmann, Gr. §425. The *χ* doublet is seen in *σχεδία* and *\*σχαζώ*. For the latter I assume a parallel root *sqhend*, originally a nasal present-stem petrified in the I. E. The form *κεδαίομαι*, found in Apollonius, will explain the construction of the difficult *σκεδάννυμι*. It becomes a denominative from a lost neuter *\*σκεδας*, I. E. *sqhédas*, i. e. *(σ)κεδασιόμαι*, aor. *ἐ(σ)κέδα(σ)α* like *ἐτέλε(σ)α* from *τέλος*. The *κ* thus was preserved because of the accent on the root.

*ἐρείκω* seems against the rule. But Homer has only *ἤρικον*, I. E. *ē riqhom*, and the aor. *ἤριξα* and the Skt. *rikhđti* bear witness to an older aorist-present with regular *κ*.

The following verbs have descended, some certainly, some possibly, from roots with hard aspirates. They exhibit double treatment, all being accented on the formative suffix of the present-stem. (a) *φρίζω*, *σφάλλω*, *σχάζω* and *χάζομαι*, *σχάω*, *φθάνω*; (b) *κόπτω*, *σκάζω*, *σκαίρω*, *πύλλω* (?), *σκύλλω*, *σπαργάω* (contra *σφαραγέομαι*, Skt. *sphūrj-*, I. E. *sph̥ṛǵ-*), *σπαίρω* (?).

In most of the remaining examples there may, I think, be found additional evidence for an original sentence accent in nouns. It would seem that nouns had originally a double accent system, producing of course double forms of roots. The mass of results have naturally been obscured by levelling. When the sense emphasized the meaning of the word itself, the root received the accent; when its case relation became prominent, the stress was laid when possible on the case suffix. So in English we emphasize the noun itself in such sentences as "Homer praised the Greeks, not the Trojans"; while we lay stress on what answers to the case suffix when we say "Homer sang *of* the Greeks, *for* the Greeks, *among* the Greeks." The principle, if accepted, needs obviously the utmost caution in the application.

Thus κεφαλή, Skt. *kapāla* and A. S. *hafola* show three different accents. Verner's Law shows that the A. S. word was accented on the root syllable. If my rule is right, the Greek φ is a trace of the same condition. Skt. shows the formative suffix with hochstufe and accent to match; Greek the weak form belonging to the oblique cases and accent also suiting. The Skt., however, preserves an apparent trace of the weak form in its *p*, which could only have come from *ph* by contact with the *l*; cf. dialectic Greek κεβλή, which has not developed the anaptyctic vowel.

ἀσκηθής, Eng. *unscathed*. The Greek is an adj. from \*σκήθος, which answers exactly to the Gothic *skathis*; A. S. *sceapa* also shows accent on the root. The obsolete noun seems to have bequeathed its *θ* to the derivative.

μυχός must surely be the Skt. *mūkha-*, mouth? In that case the Greek accent and the tiefstufe of the root represent the oxytone form, while the Skt. accent and the χ preserved in Greek witness an alternative paroxytone, probably with hochstufe.

φέγγοις, quoted by Kluge, etc., seems dead against the proposed rule. But the Homeric declensions πένθος, βένθος, gen. \*παθεός, \*βαθεός, suggest that it may have been originally \*πέγγοις, gen. \*φαγεός or \*παγεός. The survival of the φ doublet would be assisted by the obvious analogy of the synonym φάος.

ἀθήρ, ἀθήρη has long been compared with the Skt. *athart*, Zend *ātar-*. The *t* of the Zend form (instead of the regular *p*) has been shown by v. Fierlinger (K. Z. 27, 334) to come from the weak cases *ātrā*, etc. The same form gives us the rationale of the Greek *θ*. The strong root points to a root-accented alternative, and hence the aspirate of ἀθήρ.

σφαῖρα originally could only have preserved the aspirate in the genitive and dative. The I. E. would be *sphr̥r̥t̥*, acc. *sphr̥r̥(̥)im̥(m)*, gen. *sphr̥r̥iās*. The two first forms would pass regularly to \*σπαῖρα, \*σπαῖραν, but the gen. would show alternatives φ and π, the former eventually surviving.

σκύζα, Skt. *khud* (Meyer) is an example of the reverse process, the κ surviving.

στῦλος, against Skt. *sthūla*, is a clear example; Greek has the root-accented alternative, which suits the τ.

σκύλον, Σκύλλα, cf. Skt. *khur* (unquotable), Lat. *scortum*, and σκύλλω, exhibit as they stand an accent necessitating the tenuis.

σκιά is the weak ablaut answering to Skt. *chāyā* and σκοιός, i. e. \*σκιω-τός. Probably the Skt. has the accent of the weak form, and a strong *śkhi-ā* may have fixed the κ in Greek.

*παθίνος* is a difficult word, but the Skt. *pr̥ithukā* (Curt., Meyer) must have some connexion with it. Bezenberger's root *bhrendh* would form *\*πραθίνος*. The Skt. word is differently constructed, but its accent suggests an alternative form with strong and accented root, the accent surviving in the *θ*. *Παθίνος* looks like a participial form; its connexion with the root *pr̥eth*, increase, is rendered uncertain by the *l* appearing in the other derivatives (*πλάσις*, etc.).

*πόντος* is usually supposed to correspond to *πάρος*, Skt. *p̥anthās*, gen. *pathds*. This would be an aggravated violation of my rule, as there seems to be some evidence that a preceding nasal could preserve an aspirate even against the accent. The analogy of *\*πατός* = *πηθός* would scarcely be strong enough to explain the irregularity. I think there are grounds for separating the words altogether. The differentia of *πόντος* is the "broad expanse of ocean." How can this have been attained through a word meaning "path," given at a time when "*dissociabilis Oceanus*" was far from being transformed into "*ὑγρὰ κέλευθα*"? We get the exact shade of meaning required by bringing in the root *pent*, spread, connected with *pet* (cf. Lat. *paleo*, *pando*) in the way suggested above in dealing with *σχάζω*. *Πάρος* may then be left with the Skt. words and the Gothic *finþan*, and the weak root shows the original oxytone which produced the *τ*; a short sonant nasal would not affect this.

*Προμηθεύς* apparently represents a stem *prom̥n̄theŷ-*, with which we may still compare the Skt. *pramantha-*, fire-stick. I cannot see why Meyer continues to deny this; so remarkable a coincidence of meaning would tempt one to explain away even serious phonological difficulties, and of such it is hard to detect any here. The *θ*, despite accent, may be attributed to the long nasal preceding.

*ὀμφαλός* has an I. E. *ph* betrayed by A. S. *nafela*, which Verner's Law shows to have been accented on the root. This word and its parallel *ὄνυξ* present great difficulties in their morphology. We find them in all the I. E. dialects under two distinct radical types: *nōbh*, *noŷh* and *ombh*, *onŷh*, with the additional peculiarity that there is clear evidence for both *bh*, *ŷh* and *ph*, *qh*. Except, of course, the last feature, the same state of things is revealed in the families of *ὄνομα* and (on one theory) *ἐννεία*. I believe the hard aspirate was developed out of the soft in the I. E. by the proximity of the nasal. The aspirate breath (if such it was) tended to assimilate its voiced companion whenever circumstances favored.

The nasal shut off the latter from the preceding vowel, which helped it to stand its ground by slightly detaching it from its breath and drawing it partially into its own syllable. The assistance of certain accentual conditions may then have completed the unvoicing process. In that case the three forms of the root would be as follows :

| <i>Tiefstufe (tonlos).</i> | <i>Hochstufen.</i> |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
|                            | 1.                 | 2.                             |
| <i>omph</i>                | <i>nobh</i>        | ( <i>nōbh</i> )                |
| <i>ongh</i>                | <i>nogh</i>        | ( <i>nōgh</i> ; cf. -ώνυχος ?) |
| <i>onmn</i>                | <i>nomn</i>        | <i>nōmn</i>                    |

I should explain the initial vowel of the tiefstufe as a *psychological* prothesis, put in to make the form recognizable, and consciously recalling the color of the hochstufen. In *δυσώνυμος* the *long* vowel is recalled.

I should like to give before closing two good Teutonic examples of hard aspirates, which might be added to Kluge's list (K. Z. 26, 88). They are in our words *hue* and *froth*. The former, Goth. *hiwi*, A. S. *hēo*, is exactly equal to the Skt. *chāvi*-, with same meaning. *Froth*, Icel. *froða*, Dan. *fraade*, answers to the Skt. root *pruth*, Vedic *próthati*, cf. *prá pruth*, to blow out the cheeks. The Teut. noun would thus be I. E. *próuthos*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I should like to express my very great obligation to Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, for his corrections and suggestions on the proof-sheets of this paper.



von palatalem *k* (indog. *ḱ*) mit nachfolgendem *s* erwachsen, wie z. B. in *τέκτων* = av. *taśā*, ved. *tákṣā*. Die Wurzel *kṣi-* "herrschen" ist im Griechischen bisher nicht nachgewiesen. Ihr Guttural gehört, wie wir sahen, der indogerm. *q*-Reihe an, derselben Reihe, wie das *k* in Wz. 3. *kṣi-* "vernichten, umkommen." Letztere nämlich erscheint im Avesta als *ḥši-* in *ḥšayō* Y. 31, 20, *ḥšayas-ca* Y. 71, 17 (vgl. Bartholomae, Ar. F. II 57) und im Griechischen regelrecht—denn als regelmässige Vertreter der *q*-Reihe dürfen wir im Griechischen die Labialen ansehen—als *φθι-* in *φθίω*, *φθίνω*, *φθινύθω* "hinschwinden, umkommen, zu Grunde richten," *ἀ-φθι-τος* "unvergänglich" (= ved. *ā-kṣi-ta-s* "unvergänglich") u. s. w. Die Lautgestalt ist im Indischen und Iranischen dieselbe, wie bei der Wz. 2. *kṣi-*; wir dürfen also vielleicht auch darauf rechnen, der Wz. 2. *kṣi-* im Griechischen in derselben Form, d. h. als *φθι-* zu begegnen. Ich glaube, wir treffen sie im Griechischen in dieser Form an in dem bekannten homerischen Beiworte *ἰ-φθίμος* "mächtig, gewaltig, edel."

*ἰφθίμος* hat eine befriedigende etymologische Deutung bisher nicht gefunden. Die meisten neueren Etymologen (z. B. Bopp, Pott, Curtius, Fick) lassen es ganz bei Seite, und diejenigen, welche sich daran versucht haben (wie Benfey, Wz.-Lex. I 294 f., Düntzer, KZ. 15, 69–71), sind nicht hinausgekommen über die alte Annahme einer Zusammensetzung des in *ἰφι* vorliegenden Stammes mit *τιμή* oder *θυμός*. Aber *ἰφθίμος* hat mit *ἰφι* ganz und garnichts zu tun, so nahe sich auch beide Wörter tatsächlich in ihrer Bedeutung und scheinbar in ihrer Lautform liegen. Der äussere Gleichklang ist trügerisch. Denn (1) in dem Worte *ἰ-φι* gehört das *φ* nicht dem Kerne des Wortes an, sondern die Silbe *-φι* ist suffixal; es ist dasselbe Casussuffix wie in *βίη-φι*, *κράτεσ-φι* und vielen anderen Wörtern. Mit dem *φ* von *ἰφθίμος* also, das allem Anscheine nach wurzelhaft ist, steht das *φ* von *ἰφι* in keinem Zusammenhang.

(2) *ἰφι* ist alter Instrumental zu dem Nominative *ἰς*, der sich bekanntlich nach Laut und Bedeutung mit lat. *vis* deckt. Dieses Wort lautete also ursprünglich mit *F* an, und deutliche Spuren des Digamma liegen bei Homer für den Nominativ *ἰς* und die ganze zugehörige Sippe vor. Man sehe Knös, De Digammo homer. p. 127 f. *ἰφθίμος* dagegen hat bei Homer nirgends Digamma, scheidet sich also darin deutlich von der zu *ἰς* gehörenden Wortfamilie. Knös a. a. O. 129 bemerkt: "*ἰφθίμος*. Nullus locus digamma requirit. Repugnant vero hi: A 3, Γ 336, Δ 534, E 625, Θ 144, Λ 373, Μ 410, 417, Ο 480, 547, Π 137, 620, 659, Ρ 749, Υ 356,

\* 260, δ 365, κ 106, μ 352, ο 364, π 89, 244, τ 110, χ 123, ω 26. Ceteros locos hic missos facio." Also an keiner Stelle verlangt das Metrum für *ἰφθιμος* ein anlautendes Digamma und an 25 Stellen verbietet es geradezu die Annahme eines solchen. Ich denke, ein gewichtigeres Zeugnis dafür, dass *ἰφθιμος* kein *F* verloren hat, sondern von Haus aus vocalisch anlautete, können wir kaum wünschen.

Das Feld der Etymologie also darf für das Wort *ἰφθιμος* noch als frei gelten und ich kann mich darauf beschränken, zu zeigen, dass mit der hier vorgeschlagenen Herleitung aus einer Wurzel *φθι-* = ved. *kṣi* und av. *h̥ši* "herrschen, mächtig sein" Lautgestalt und Bedeutung des Wortes in Einklang stehen. Das anlautende *i-* vor der Lautgruppe *-φθ-* ist als vorgeschlagener (anaptyktischer) Vocal zu fassen, entsprechend den *i-* und *ī-* vor den ähnlichen Lautverbindungen *-κτ-* und *-χθ-* in *ἰ-κτινο-ς* = ved. *cyend-s*; *ἰ-κτις* neben *κτιδαίος*; *ἰ-χθίς* = arm. *dzukn*, lit. *zuu-īs*, pr. *sū-cka-nš* (Acc. pl.); *ἰ-χθίς* neben *χθίς* = ved. *hyds*, lat. *hes-ternus*, *her-i* (aus *\*hes-ī*), nhd. *ges-tern*. Dieser vorgeschlagene Vocal kann ursprünglich nicht betont gewesen sein, so wenig wie die gleichartigen Vocale in dem eben genannten *ἰ-κτις* "Wiesel" (so betont Arcad. 35; nach anderen ist *κτις* zu betonen<sup>1</sup>) und in *ἰ-σθί* "sei," falls letzteres, wie man annimmt,<sup>2</sup> aus *\*i-σθί*, *\*σθί* = av. *zdi* hervorgegangen ist. Es liesse sich denken, dass die ältere Betonung *\*ἰφθιμος* gewesen ist, wie *ἰρημος* und *ἰτοιμος* nach der Angabe der griech. Grammatiker früher *ῖρημος* und *ῖτοιμος* betont waren. Aber für wahrscheinlicher halte ich, dass das Wort ursprünglich Oxytonon war, und zwar deshalb, weil die Betonung *\*ἰφθιμός* die Analogie anderer unmittelbar aus der Verbalwurzel durch Suffix *-μός* abgeleiteter Adjectiva (*θερμός* von Wz. *gher-*; ved. *bhi-md-s* "furchtbar" von Wz. *bhi-*, *ruk-md-s* "leuchtend, glänzend" von Wz. *ruk* = *ruc*) für sich hat. Dabei darf man übrigens auch wol die Frage aufwerfen, ob denn das Wort *ἰφθιμος* wirklich im Griechischen die Betonung hatte, welche wir ihm im Anschlusse an die alten Grammatiker geben. *ἰφθιμος* ist ein speciell homerisches Wort; es begegnet,

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Ach. 880 betonen die Herausgeber teils *κτιδαίος*, teils *κτιδαίος*.

<sup>2</sup> Osthoff, KZ. 23, 579 ff. Ganz sicher ist die Annahme nicht, denn ion. *ιστήν* = *istia*, *χθιζός* aus *\*χθισ-δζός*, *χθίλοι* aus *\*χθίλλοι* = *\*χθίλλοι* zeigen, dass *ε* vor der Lautgruppe *σ + Cons. + ι* (od. *j*) zu *ι* werden konnte. Darnach könnte *ισθί* aus *\*εσθί* entstanden sein. Jedoch scheint letzterer Lautwandel sich auf einzelne Dialekte zu beschränken und jüngeren Datums zu sein. Jedenfalls darf man als indogerm. Grundform der II sg. ipr. der Wz. *es* mit O. *sdh* ansehen.



von den späten Nachahmern des Homer abgesehen, nur in der, Ilias und der Odyssee. Woher wussten die alexandrinischen Grammatiker, denen wir die Aufzeichnung des griechischen Accentus verdanken, wie solche Worte zu betonen sind, die längst abgestorben waren und zu jener Zeit in der lebendigen Sprache nicht mehr existierten? Beruht der Accent in solchen Wörtern auf etwas anderem, als auf Conjectur? Haben sie z. B. das Wort ἰφθίμος auf der ersten Silbe betont nach dem Kanon, den ein neuerer Grammatiker (Chandler, Greek Accentuation<sup>1</sup>, Oxford, 1881, S. 122) in die Worte fasst: "Adjectives in *μος* throw back the accent"? Oder haben sie der Ansicht Rechnung getragen, dass das Wort eine Composition aus ἰφί mit *τιμή* oder *θυμός* sei, und es demgemäss, wie alle adjectivischen Composita jener Wörter (sie sind verzeichnet in Papes Etymolog. Wörterbuch d. gr. Spr., Berlin 1836, S. 144 u. 150) auf der drittletzten betont, so dass das vermeintliche ἰφ-θίμος mit Composita wie ἐρί-τιμος, καρτερό-θυμος in eine Linie tritt? Die letztere Annahme scheint mir in der Tat die natürlichste, um den überlieferten Accent des Wortes ἰφθίμος zu erklären, und ich glaube, wir treten mit ihr den griechischen Grammatikern in keiner Weise zu nahe. Wir dürfen von ihnen nicht mehr verlangen, als was sie zu ihrer Zeit und auf dem damaligen Standpunkte der Grammatik und Etymologie leisten konnten.—Auf jeden Fall also hindert der Umstand, dass das Wort ἰφθίμος herkömmlich auf der ersten Silbe betont wird, nicht, das anlautende *i-* als anaptyktischen Vocal zu fassen, einerlei ob diese Betonung der wirklichen Sprache angehörte, oder ob sie—was mir wahrscheinlicher ist—auf einer unrichtigen Etymologie der alten Grammatiker beruht.

So viel über die äussere Form des Wortes ἰφθίμος. Was die Bedeutung anlangt, so genügt es zu bemerken, dass die Bedeutung "mächtig," die wir als die Grundbedeutung des homerischen ἰφθίμος ansehen dürfen, in dem von *h<sup>3</sup>i-* abgeleiteten avestischen Adjectiv *h<sup>3</sup>aya-* wiederkehrt. Das Verbum *h<sup>3</sup>i-*, *h<sup>3</sup>ay<sup>3</sup>iti* hat im Avesta die Bedeutungen "herrschen, mächtig sein, vermögen"; das entsprechende *kṣi*, *kṣ<sup>3</sup>yati* im RV. heisst "herrschen, beherrschen, vermögen." Es steht nichts im Wege, die Bedeutungen "herrschen, beherrschen" einerseits und "vermögen" anderseits aus "mächtig sein" herzuleiten und somit der indogermanischen Wurzel, die in ved. *kṣi*, av. *h<sup>3</sup>i-* und griech. *-φθi-* vorliegt, die Bedeutung "mächtig sein" zuzuschreiben.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

## NOTES.

### META AND ΣΥΝ.

Every Greek scholar will welcome the new edition of Tycho Mommsen's noteworthy treatise on *σύν* and *μετά*, which brought a blush to the forehead of every ingenuous Hellenist when it first appeared in 1874, and made most of us feel that we were not yet fairly in possession of an elementary knowledge of Greek at all corresponding to what would be expected in Latin of a Latin scholar. And yet to this day Greek grammars are published without a hint of the canon that '*μετά* is the prosaic *σύν* and *σύν* the poetic *μετά*.' Such matters are beneath the notice of the comparative grammarians who prepare so many of our Greek schoolbooks for us, and in despondent moments the historical grammarian is tempted to echo the lament with which the venerable editor of Pindar closes the preface to the first number of his *Beiträge zu der Lehre von den griechischen Praepositionen* (Frankfurt-a.-M., Carl Jügel's Verlag; London, Trübner & Co., 1886): "Es ist jetzt keine günstige Zeit für die classische Philologie. Ihre Nebenschösslinge Archäologie, Linguistik, Germanistik, Neusprachenthum u. s. w. haben sich—nicht wie mir scheint, zum Heil der allgemeinen Bildung—so blätterreich vorgedrängt, dass der alte Baum, aus dessen Wurzeln sie entsprossen sind, dem Ersticken nahe ist." But, as the results of Mommsen's masterly essay have already found their way into such conservative quarters as Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, it is unnecessary to do more than call emphatic attention to the edition. And yet one is tempted to say a word about the difference between *μετά* and *σύν* where such a difference can be recognized, for, of course, Mommsen himself considers his canon as nothing more than a rough-and-ready guide, and warns his readers that there is an ultimate difference between the two prepositions. Krüger, as is well known, makes *σύν* connote 'coherence,' *μετά* 'coexistence.' This would make *σύν* the closer, *μετά* the wider notion, and the justification of this lies in the fact that in decompound verbs we have *συνμετα-*, never *μετασυν-*, except when *μετά* does not mean 'with'; just as *ἀμφί* is narrower than *περί*, and we have *ἀμφιπερι-*, never *περιἀμφι-*, except in *περιἀμφύννυμι*,

where ἀμφι- is almost dead.<sup>1</sup> According to Kühner, who follows Hartung, *σύν* denotes the mere combination of things, mere accompaniment, whereas *μετά* everywhere indicates a close connexion, an inner community, so that each is part and parcel of the other. Evidently there is no reconciling such extremes as these, and the application of Krüger's rule or of Kühner's cannot fail to be a puzzle to the innocent student who should pin his faith to either of these guides. And yet Krüger was a most excellent Grecian. Take a concrete example. Isaïos, 3, 68: *σὺν ταύταις* is followed by *μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων* in precisely the same relation. There is clearly no play for the formula of 'coherence' and 'coexistence,' of 'mere accompaniment' and 'inner community.' The only difference we can discern is that *σὺν ταύταις* is quoted from an old law (ὁ νόμος διαρρήδην λέγει)—cf. 10, 13—*μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων* is the language of Isaïos himself, which corresponds to the language of the inscriptions, in which, according to Meisterhans, p. 107, *σύν* is used chiefly in the sense of 'together with,' 'including.' Here we have, in good Attic time, an apparent indifference in the use which can only be accounted for historically. But all cases are not so simple as that. A synonym may lie dormant through thousands of pages and yet wake up to sting the reader at the last. So we are forced to ask ourselves what is the difference between *μετά* and *σύν*, not in Sophokles, who has, to Mommson's puzzlement (Ant. 115), πολλῶν μεθ' ὧν ξύν θ' ἵπποκόμοις κορύθουσιν; nor in Xenophon, who (An. 2, 6, 18) uses *μετά* and *σύν* (*μετὰ τῆς ἀδικίας . . . σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ*) in a way that is suggestive of climax but may be interpreted as indifference; not in Luke, who uses *μετά* and *σύν* as absolute equivalents in 22, 56 and 59, and also in 24, 29, where climax is impossible; not in Josephus—who, by the way, is not disinclined to *σύν*—for we find in his account of Uriah (A. I. 7, 7, 132. 133) ἀναπαύσασθαι σὺν αὐτῇ side by side with ἀναπαύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, where subtilty loses its rights, but in an Athenian of the second century after Christ, who emphasizes the distinction with as much certainty as δι' ὅν and δι' οὗ are distinguished in Hebrews 2, 10. In his Legatio

<sup>1</sup> Other compounds might seem to furnish good traps for *μετά* and *σύν*; *μετά*, for instance, showing itself in ὁ μέτοχος 'partner,' μετουσία 'participation,' while ὁ συνών 'companion,' and συνουσία, in all its range of signification, would provide for *σύν*. But how shifting such lines of demarcation are we can see from English 'company,' the members of which bifurcate into 'companions' and 'partners.'

or Supplicatio (31, 157) Athenagoras says *πεπείσμεθα . . . βίον ἕτερον βιώσασθαι . . . ὥς ἂν μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ σὺν θεῷ . . . μενούμεν*, and the worst of it is Athenagoras has a way of making such points (see my note on Justin Mart. Apol. I, 23, 11), and the points are all fairly justified by idiomatic usage. The context seems to demand that there should be a climax, that *μετὰ θεοῦ* should be nearly equivalent to *παρὰ θεῷ* 'in God's presence,' 'in Heaven,' while *σὺν θεῷ* means 'in the light of his countenance,' just as *σὺν θεῷ* would in ordinary parlance mean 'with the blessing of God,' 'by God's help' or 'grace,' a consecrated phrase, which survives even where *μετὰ* has pushed *σὺν* out of doors, as *dans* has pushed *en* out of doors (A. J. P. VII 405). Let us now take a long step backwards from Athenagoras to Homer. According to Mommsen's statistic *ξύν* or *σύν* (for we cannot undertake to discriminate here) occurs 181 times in Homer, 107 times in the Iliad, 74 times in the Odyssey, showing a decreasing ratio; but in the Iliad things form the majority, in the Odyssey persons. How shall we interpret this? Are things personified or persons reified, to coin a necessary word, or is *σύν* indifferent? There is much, in my judgment, in favor of considering *σύν* a personal preposition, the extension of which to things was due to the vividness of the early world of thought. We certainly cannot depress so ancient and sacred a phrase as *σύν θεῷ* to anything lower than a personal level, and when Mommsen says that the signification of 'belonging to' split itself into two sides, the one 'mit Zuthat von,' the other 'mit Hilfe von,' he introduces a bifurcation which was not in the minds of the early speakers. There was no difference in conception between *σύν τέλχεσι* and *σύν θεῷ*. The distinction is purely modern. What we regard as subordinate, as a mere appendage, was not such to the primitive man. The man's weapons, horses, chariot, were an extension of his individuality, and the feeling is by no means dead, as is attested by the proper names given to arms, to coaches, to vessels, and by the affectionate feminine pronoun so often employed in familiar English of utensils of all kinds. Körner begins his 'Schwertlied' by the invocation 'Du Schwert an meiner Linken,' and warms up to 'ich liebe dich herzlich, als wäirst du mir getraut, als eine liebe Braut.' The primitive warrior, whether in the East or in the West, needs no such warming up. Now, of course, as the language became colder, the use of *σύν* with things gave more color than it could have given in a world

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Luke 23, 43: *συνεσθης μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσθ' ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ*.

where everything was alive, and hence, as I said in the Introduction to Pindar, xcvi, 'σύν makes the tool an accomplice'; but that is true, of course, only for the period when the tool was not *ipse facto* an accomplice. That σύν survives in business phrases may be a mere matter of the persistence of formulae, and yet we who know that in a bargain 'including' and 'y compris' are potent factors may see a deeper meaning in the retention of σύν in such a passage as Isai. 6, 33: αἶγας ἀπέδοτο σύν τῷ αἰπόλῳ τριῶν καὶ δέκα μῶν (cf. 8, 35). A strong argument in favor of the personal character of σύν is the fact that σύν is the only preposition that has no discernible locative meaning; and what if its dative were not the locative dative, but the dative proper, and σύν really a pseudo-preposition? But this note must not be allowed to grow into an article, and I would only observe in conclusion that Mommsen has taken no notice of Bachmann's correction of the veteran's count of the σύν's and μετά's in Aristophanes. It seems that Mommsen has counted μέτα (for μέτεσσι) in Eccl. 173 as a preposition, whereas we must read with Bachmann (Coniecturae Aristophaneae, p. 106), μετά 84 (not 85) and σύν 22.<sup>1</sup>

B. L. G.

#### ON A PASSAGE IN THE CIRIS.

In reading over Mr. Ellis's very suggestive article upon the Ciris, which appeared in the last number of the Journal, I find myself unable to accept as final the reading proposed by Unger for v. 94 :

Pierides, quarum castos alvearia postes  
Munere saepe meo inficiunt.

<sup>1</sup> We are not disposed to question Mommsen's figures, though work of this sort breeds distrust and recounting would do no harm. Small margins may be covered by textual differences. Mommsen's 49 σύν's in Acts have been verified in a poor text, but if we follow Tischendorf<sup>8</sup> or Westcott and Hort we must add two (7, 35: σύν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου, and 16, 32). Two independent searchers have made out 36 of Mommsen's 40 μετά's in the Acts, but this number is further diminished by 20, 24 and 24, 7 of the better texts, a curious reinforcement of the abnormal tendency. Luke has, it seems, some 24 (23) σύν's and 50 (49) μετά's, thus shifting the weight as compared with Acts. Little importance, however, is to be attached to this in view of the desultoriness of the usage, there being no instance of σύν in Luke between 9, 32 and 19, 23. Common to both books is the disinclination to use σύν with things. In Acts σύν is not used with things at all except in 7, 35, and that hardly counts because a person is meant; and Luke uses it as an Attic might not have blushed to use it, once in the business phrase σύν τόκῳ (19, 23)—cf. Isai. l. c.—and once σύν τῷ κλινιδίῳ (5, 19) 'bed and all.'

The MSS all read *altaria*, which cannot be kept. Heyne proposed *violaria* or *lopiaria*, with no approximation to the MS reading. Sillig proposed *libamina*, taking *altaria* to be a gloss for *postes* which had crept into the text. Haupt's *calparia* and Bergk's *alabastria* have been sufficiently discussed by Mr. Ellis. Unger, while he shows that honey was offered to the Muses, adduces no passage to prove that it was customary to anoint *postes* with it. What was used in the anointing of *postes*? Plainly *adepts* of various kinds, as will be seen from the following passages: Pliny, N. H. 28, 135, Proxuma in communibus *adipi* laus est, sed maxume suillo; apud antiquos etiam religiosus erat; certe novae nuptae intrantes etiamnum sollemne habent *postis* eo attingere (Sillig's text). One may infer from Pliny's words that the early religious use of *adepts* was not confined to the bridal ceremony. In §142 of the same book he says: "Masurius palmam lupino *adipi* dedisse antiquos tradidit, ideo novas nuptas illo perunguere *postis* solitas ne quid mali medicamenti inferretur." Servius, Comm. Aen. IV 458, refers to the same custom, varying the expression: "moris enim fuerat, ut nubentes puellae, simul venissent ad limen mariti, postes antequam ingrederentur, propter auspiciū castitatis, ornarent laneis vittis . . . et oleo ungerent"; and in the additions of Daniel, *solere postes unguine lupino oblini*, compare Isidorus, IX 7, 12, and Martianus Capella, II 149, but especially Arnobius, III 25, where, referring to the goddess Unxia, he says: "nisi postes virorum *adipali* unguine oblinerentur a sponsis . . . Dii nomina non haberent." *Adepts* is commonly regarded, although not without dissent, as a word borrowed from the Greek *ἄλειφα*, *ἄλειφαρ* (so both Weise and Saalfeld), and although the Romans seem early to have changed the *l* to *d*, still in the popular pronunciation the *l* was retained, for in the Appendix Probi, p. 199, 2 Keil, we are directed to write 'adipes non alipes.' The Greek *ἄλειφαρ* was used not only for fat, but for any unguent or anointing oil. I conjecture, therefore, that the poet, perhaps under Greek influence, wrote *aliparia* = *adipale ungen* of Arnobius, which a scribe, not understanding, changed to *altaria*. There are a goodly number of borrowed Greek words in the Ciris, among them *sophia*, *peplum*, *tropaeum*, *storax*, *psalterium*, *chorda*, *haliaaetos*, *crocota*, *spilaeum*, *cumba*, and, if the ingenious emendation of Mr. Ellis to v. 161 be accepted, *coritus*.

It may be worth while to inquire in this connection whether the editors have not been too hasty in reading *adipatae* for *adipale*

in Cic. Orator 8, relying solely upon the testimony of Nonius (p. 69). The MSS read *asciverunt aptum suis auribus opimum quoddam et tamquam adipale dictionis genus*. We should naturally expect the adjective following *et* to agree with *genus* as *opimum* does, and it may be noticed that Lambinus read here *adipatum*. Compare Cic. pro Arch. 3, *novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi*; Piso 48, *nova quaedam et inaudita luxuries*; Phil. IX 10, *nec vero silebitur admirabilis quaedam et incredibilis ac paene divina eius in legibus interpretandis, aequitate explicanda scientia*. If Cicero used the adjective *adipalis* = *aliparis*, the author of the Ciris may well have used *aliparia*.

MINTON WARREN.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

De Contractionis et Synizeseos usu Homericō scripsit Ios. MENRAD. Monachii, 1886. Pp. 216.

No more striking example of the tendency of recent Homeric criticism can be adduced than the effort to expel from the text of Homer vowel-contractions and synizeses. As early as the days of Bentley *ἡμῖν μὲν θεοί*, A 18 (cf. ξ 251), grated on an ear not unaccustomed to this synizesis in the Attic poets; and the conjecture of the "modern Aristarchus"—*ἡμῖν θεοὶ μὲν*—has now found a place in the edition of Christ.

The violent resolutions of contract forms in the edition of Payne Knight excite more curiosity than respect, though his text contains not a few acceptable emendations (e. g. κ 240, *ἐν νόος*; Ξ 140, *γῆθῆει ἐν*). With Bekker the tendency to avoid contractions did not assume the pronounced character of later times. Bekker was on the scent for instances of violated *Ϝ*, and did not shrink from *καὶ αὖν φωνήσασα φέρεα*, as he did not from *δίδεον ὡς, χρύσεον, ἄφρον*. As the desire to disturb the serenity of traditional possession grew apace, there arose scholars like Nauck, who substituted the uncontracted for the contracted forms whenever etymology and the rhythm of the verse permitted—that is, when the contracted syllable was in the thesis. By the adoption of this canon Nauck was the first to attempt the enforcement of a "blood-and-iron" rule which, if carried into uniform practice, would have deprived the poet of any liberty of choice. But it was not till the advent of Fick's *Odyssey* that Homeric scholarship began to recognize the ultimate consequences that might be drawn from the rigorous enforcement of the doctrine of avoidance of contractions; especially when cases of contraction which refused all emendation were proclaimed to be the work of a particular individual, Kynaethus, an Ionian of the sixth century.

Contemporaneous with this hunt after uniformity on the basis of a separation of our text into an Aeolic and an Ionic Homer, is the mediating effort of Christ, whose scholar, Menrad, has now given to the world the most thoroughgoing, as it is in many respects the most satisfactory, treatise on this subject that has yet appeared.

Any investigation which deals with vowel-contraction in Homer must have a twofold aim: it must strive to attain a more exact knowledge of the laws of the hexameter, while it respects the laws already known, and it must indirectly hope to prove a powerful factor in the effort to determine the age of particular portions of the *epos*.

The difficulties in the path of the investigator are numerous. In the first place, contractions which appear to be criteria of the younger portions of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* uncharitably reappear in portions which have been fixed upon by the consentient verdict of scholars as of earlier date. Again, the language of the earliest bards may have permitted metrical licenses to an



extent indeterminable by us; or the rhapsodes may have preserved open syllables as archaisms when their contraction was an accomplished fact for their own day. These and many other difficulties beset Dr. Menrad in the course of his study; nor is he unaware of their variety or momentousness.

The lines on which he attacks the problem may thus be summarized: Contractions and synizeses are, as a rule, absent from the older portions of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Their presence is to be regarded as a proof of more recent origin, except (1) when metrical reasons necessitate a contraction of too great a concurrence of short vowels in a word that would otherwise have been banished from epic use; or (2) when the contracted syllable occurs at the end of the hexameter (but Menrad refuses to make use of this exception to explain *Ἀχίλλει*, Ψ 792; cf. p. 17); or (3) when the contraction occurs in the chief caesura of the verse. Vowels originally separated by *yod* contract with greatest readiness, less frequently those between which *σ* has been expelled; but the loss of *ϕ* is followed by contraction in comparatively few instances. Vowels of cognate nature contract easily (*πληθὺι, τεθνᾶσι*), as do those of different weight (*παστέων*), but those of different coloring or of equal weight contract with less freedom (*ἐνίκασον, ἐπέρθεον*).

In his reply to the strictures of Mühlenhof on his *Sprachschatz*, Grein delimited with admirable precision the functions of a critic who differs on principle from the views which he has been called upon to submit to examination. Here, if ever, the critic must not use as a weapon against the details or elaboration of a theory any objection to the theory as a whole that may be with him a matter of philological conscience. Scholars of the beliefs of Ludwig will thus condemn as a whole a volume which aims at carrying the principles of Christ to their ultimate results, and which regards Nauck's position as but slightly removed from that occupied by the Munich professor. But others, whose consciences are seared by the resolve to break away from the trammels of tradition, will be more sympathetically inclined to an investigator who seeks to formulate laws on the basis of so reasonable a position as the mediating one of Christ. The latter class accept the attempt as a possible one, and will find reason to object to errors of judgment only in the working out of the theory or to mere errors of detail.

Among the latter the reviewer begs leave to count himself; and with the greater satisfaction, as in a treatise written now some four years ago (*Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen*) he had occasion to deal in part with the same problems discussed so ably by Dr. Menrad. In the course of an investigation of the diaeresis in Homer the reviewer proposed (p. 42), on the basis of a complete collection of material, the following law, which has been accepted in some quarters in Germany: *ei* from *eoi* (not from *efi*) is contracted to *ēi* in Homer only when a short syllable precedes and follows this *ei*. All passages (and they are very few) that are not in harmony with this statement have (1) either already been condemned or are to be condemned as of later origin, or (2) are to be corrected if their genuineness is not, on other grounds, elevated beyond the possibility of a reasonable doubt. It is a matter of satisfaction to the reviewer that this conclusion is in part the same as that reached by Dr. Menrad, who had not seen the above-mentioned pamphlet. The conjectures which he suggests in order to introduce *ei* into the dat. loc. sing. of the *-es*-stems are the same as those previously made by the reviewer, with the exception of γ 91, where for

εἰ τε καὶ ἐν πελάγει μετὰ κύμασιν Ἀμφιτρίτης, εἰ τε καὶ ἄμ πέλαγος was suggested; cf. ε 330, ὡς τὴν ἄμ πέλαγος ἄνεμοι φέρον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα. Menrad, however, suggests ἐν πελάγεσσι. In one point, however, Menrad's opinion differs. Accepting the resolution in ἀεικέλη, ἀφνειός, ἡθίος, he excuses forms like ἡργιγνεῖα, τέλειος on the ground that they occur at the end of the verse. ἡθίος K 37; ἀφνειός I 483, he explains as evidences of the later origin of K and I; and adopts the same excuse for ἀφνειότεροι, α 165; ἀφνειότατος, Υ 220; τελειότατον, Θ 247, Ω 315. But for ἀφνειός, E 9 (Δάρης ἀφνειός ἀμύμων), he can give no explanation. Here, I hold, it will be necessary to read κρατερὸς καὶ ἀμύμων (cf. γ 111, Σ 55) since, whenever ἀφνειός occurs in conjunction with ἀμύμων, καὶ is interposed (cf. α 232). I agree with Menrad as regards α 165, Υ 220, I 483 (Düntzer rejected 481-484 on other grounds), but in the case of τέλειος, Α 66, Ω 34; τελειότατον, Θ 247, Ω 315, and in the case of Τριτογένεια, which is omitted by Menrad, I still prefer to see the operation of the above-mentioned law. If my position be correct, Menrad has not utilized his material to the best possible advantage. But this is a point of comparatively slight importance. I prefer to follow him in regarding καταπρηνέι, Π 792, ν 164, as a poetical license, than to accept Fick's καταπρανέ' ἐλάσας in ν 164 (Aeolic καταπρανέ' ἐλάσας). Fick rejects Π 648-804; προαλεῖ Φ 262 belongs to the μαχὴ παραποτάμους and Ἐυπείθει occurs in ω 465.

The exhaustive collection of material is arranged under the following heads: Declension of nouns and pronouns; verbs in -αω, -εω; future and subjunctive; -αι, -εο, -αο; verbs in -οω; verbs in -μι; εἰμί; isolated examples of more remarkable contractions and synizeses. An introduction discusses the labors of his predecessors, an epimetrum contains an impatient attack upon Ludwich, of whose set he exclaims, perhaps unjustly: *Sed frustra ad rationes revocēs homines, qui rationes ut eludant, doctrina et acumine utuntur*. Finally, the weaknesses of Fick's practical application of his Aeolic theory are emphasized by several, to my thinking, well-timed objections.

Menrad submits to an examination each case of contraction in Iliad and Odyssey, and to those passages which, in his judgment, need curative treatment, offers both his own emendations and those of other scholars. To many of the several hundred suggestions which are the result of his fertility of resource in conjectural emendation we must award our assent (so, for example, εὐέργων, Π 743, for εὐεργέος; φ 178, ἐκ δὲ στήθεος οἶσε υἱὸν τρώχον), and to most at least the verdict of subtlety. But it soon becomes apparent how easy it is to rewrite Homer in the light of any one theory enforced by the "Reign of Thororough," especially if we lessen our burden by assuming the irresponsible position that it is not necessary to account in each case for the source of the traditional reading.

It was no new fact that vowels are far more frequently contracted in the later than in the earlier portions of the epos. It is only when the antiquity of a passage is in dispute that the utmost delicacy of touch is pre-eminently necessary. Herein the editor as the investigator, whose functions are often widely divergent, should agree; and herein Menrad has failed to display that *finesse* of criticism without which investigations of purely grammatical scope must ever be barren of lasting results. Conjectures in a text which is a mosaic of the lost lays of different epochs should be made only under the following

conditions: (1) when the forms are non-Hellenic and caused by the ignorance of transcribers or of redactors who were devoid of any finer sense of Homeric form; (2) when the laws of the hexameter suffer a patent violation;<sup>1</sup> (3) when the sense imperatively demands another reading. With all due reverence for the Königsberg school, there is room and verge enough for the adoption of many ancient forms from those MSS which do not contain mere conjectures of the scribes.

And again: if we break away from MS tradition we may introduce archaic forms, not because they are archaic, but because an examination of all the parallel cases in the light of the most exact study of the age of the different portions of the epos warrants their adoption. It is in violation of this latter principle that Menrad has committed his great, and let us add his only, fault of any ulterior consequence. With all his desire to gather results for the age of different passages of the poems (cf. pp. 62, 89, 134, 137), the thralldom of a single guiding principle has vitiated a vision otherwise keen and well trained. But for the proofs! Ξ 792 Menrad reads *πόσος' ἐριθαίνεσθαι ἄλλοις* *εἰ μὴ* 'Αχιλλῆϊ in a passage indisputably of later date (the personal construction of *ἀργαλέος* is here impossible). 'Hoῦς is to be excused, according to Menrad, from its place in the Telemachy (δ 188), but *αἰδοῖς* must be corrected (v 171), as if v was older than δ. ο is indirectly asserted to be of greater antiquity than η, since in ο 533, *ἡμετέρων δ' οὐκ ἔστι γένευσ βασιλεύτερον ἄλλο*, for *γένευσ* we must read *γένος*; *θέρεις* occurs in η 118 (description of the gardens of Alkinoos). We had cherished the belief that the appearance of Helen in ο savored somewhat of a later age, but even the isolated *νεισθαι* (ο 88)—there are 55 cases of *νεισθαι*—must be corrected; and that when the whole environment is redolent of a later age (e. g. either v. 65 or v. 80 must be spurious). *οὐκ ἔθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσσαι πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκῶν* in the oration of Phoenix, well known as occurring in a later insertion, I v. 605, is to be emended to *τίμιος οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς ἔσσαι, πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκῶν*. In the *Shield of Achilles*, Σ 475, *καὶ χρυσὸν τιμήντα καὶ ἀργυρον* becomes *τιμήντά τ' ἔχρυσόν ἰδ' ἀργυρον*. The later origin of Iliad IX is ignored and Menrad's aim to separate the older from the later lays vitiated by his conjectures I 315 ('*Ἀτρεΐδην πείσειν Ἀγαμέμνον' οἶω*), I 337 (*τί δέφει*), Ω 290 (*ἀλλὰ σὺν' εὐχ' ἔπειτα*), despite Ω 287 *εὐχεο*. The fact of the existence of *εὐχεο* and *εὐχευ* in such close proximity proves, that for the period in which Ω was composed, both forms were a portion of the apparatus of the poet. In the Elpenor scene, λ 61 is emended from *ἄστ' με δαίμονος αἶσα* to *ἄσπερ με Διὸς αἶσα*, because *δαίμονος αἶσα* occurs nowhere else (*haud scio an religione ductus is sit qui culpani a Iove in semideum quendam infernum transferendum esse censeret!*)

It is, perhaps, no difficult matter to catch a conjectural critic at variance with himself. But the following is so glaring a case of inconsistency that it well deserves the words of Cauer: *Ich behaupte nicht dass so entgegengesetzte Wirkungen an sich unmöglich seien; aber sie müssten in jedem einzelnen Falle erst bewiesen werden, nicht sie selbst können als Beweismittel für eine weitere Annahme verwertet werden*. Menrad emends B 328, *ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσσαῦτ' ἔτα* to *ὥς ἡμεῖς τόσα μὲν ἔτρεα*, the rare *το(σ)σοῦτος* (I 485, Ξ 476, and here) having expelled the more common *τόσος*. For *ὅρρ' εἰδῆς*, Θ 420, etc., long an irritant to F hunters, *ὥς*

<sup>1</sup> A distinct weakness of Menrad's conjectures is that he does not shrink from the trochaic caesura of the fourth foot, which occurs only fifteen times in A-O.

*Fidēs* is substituted, as if a partially final particle as *ὥς* (Il. 31, Od. 32 times) could have been displaced by the more frequent *ὅπα* (Il. 117, Od. 120 times), even though we take into consideration the fact that *ὥς κε*, *ὥς ἄν* are more frequent than *ὅπα κε*, *ὅπα' ἄν* (A. J. P. IV 423 ff.).

Pursued without greater discriminative insight, treatises similar to Menrad's must ever recall the admirable words of Moriz Haupt (quoted by Kammer, *Neue Phil. Rundschau* 1887, No. 8)—*Absolut ist in der Kritik alles zu verwerfen was nicht nothwendig ist; mit Möglichkeiten hat die Wissenschaft nichts zu thun, darum muss man sich vollkommen unempfindlich verhalten gegen den Reiz sogenannter geistreicher Kombinationen, sonst artet die Wissenschaft, die ein Suchen der strengen Wahrheit sein soll, in ein Spiel der Phantasie aus.*

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

The Sequence of Tenses in Latin. By WILLIAM GARDNER HALE. (Reprinted from the American Journal of Philology.) 1887.

In the last number of this Journal Professor Hale completed his essay on the Sequence of Tenses in Latin, in which he advocated the thesis that the 'tenses of the Latin subjunctive, alike in dependent and in independent sentences, tell their own temporal story, that no such thing as is meant by the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses exists.' The thesis is not new, the principle on which the thesis rests is not new. What is new is the amplitude, the fervor of the presentation. I leave to other hands the discussion of the individual examples by which Professor Hale has undertaken to fortify his position, and content myself with a few remarks on the general principles involved.

Doubtless the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses is often badly stated. The grammarian often sacrifices exactness to brevity. He says 'case' when he means 'case-form.' He says 'tense' when he means 'time.' He says 'governs' when he means 'is construed with.' He says 'follows' when he means 'is associated with.' All that the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses means is that when you have to do with present or future time you use the so-called principal tenses of the subj.; when you have to do with past time you use the so-called historical tenses of the subjunctive; and that as the subjunctive is chiefly used in dependent sentences, the point of view is regularly given by the principal clause—with due regard to the attraction of parenthetic clauses, with due regard to the shifting of the conception. Granted that the principal clause has no direct effect on the subordinate, this coincidence is every way worth noting, and in the absence of a more satisfactory theory of the temporal relation of the subjunctive than prevails just now, it has a practical use that is not to be despised, apart from considerations to be afterwards adduced. Even as a rule of thumb it has a far wider sweep than one would suppose from the exceptions that Professor Hale has brought forward—many of them dear old friends that we have long valued for the vividness with which they protest against the tendency of language to run into grooves, against that ovine tendency so marked in the human race, and not less marked in the grammatical tribe than in the other sorts and conditions of men. A patient German, Heynacher by name,<sup>1</sup> has been at the pains of counting the sequences

<sup>1</sup> I quote from Fügner (Fleck. Jahrbücher, 1887, Paedag. Abth. S. 115). The second ed. of Heynacher's book is not accessible to me.

in Caesar's Gallic War, and finds, leaving out the consecutive sentence, that 840 instances are regular, 36 are exceptional, and of the consecutive sentences—the worst 'sports' in the language—128 are regular and only 11 are irregular. But such examples will not avail with those who wish to get back into the transcendental region of parataxis, and who maintain that hypotaxis has no rights that a grammarian should respect. Now, the explanation of hypotactical constructions by reversion to the original parataxis is far from being a new method. It has been applied times without number to the elucidation of obscure phenomena, and it is especially potent wherever the logical sequence is unhinged, wherever the passions intervene. Without admitting the survival of parataxis there is no explaining, for instance, the constructions of the verbs of fear. But there is danger of carrying the thing too far.<sup>1</sup> Why, an attempt has actually been made to show that *πρὶν* with the inf. is a paratactic construction, as if anything could be more hypotactic than the inf.<sup>2</sup> And yet, absurd as this is, it is not a whit absurder than claiming direct paratactic origin for such a use of the subj. as we find in the dependent interrogative wherever that subj. represents the indicative, in which case the subj. follows, if I may use the expression, the same rule with the infinitive. In *oratio obliqua* after a principal tense *erat*, *fuit* are alike represented by *fuisse*. What the language might have done is shown by the construction of *memini* with the pres. inf., is shown by the Greek use of the pres. inf. after a principal verb, after which it sometimes represents—varying with various authors—the imperf. indic.<sup>3</sup> Now just as *erat* and *fuit* are represented by *fuisse*, *erat* as well as *fuit* is represented by *fuertit*, and to maintain that every *fuertit* if turned into the independent form would become *fuit* would give a proportion of aorist and perfects entirely unparalleled in the language. There are hundreds of passages in which any sound feeling would restore the imperfect ind. in the direct discourse. Cato may be considered an unsuspected witness, and Cato says in the opening of his *de Agri cultura*: *Quanto peiorem civem existimarint foeneratorem quam furem, hinc licet existimari*. That this *existimarint* would be replaced by the imperf. indic. in *oratio recta* is clearly shown by: *Et virum bonum cum laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Amplissime laudari existimabatur, qui ita laudabatur*. However, there can be hardly any dispute on this point. The phenomenon has simply been disregarded.

That this subjunctive representing the indicative is different in its effect from the paratactic subj. seems to be self-evident. It stands distinctly parallel with the indicative. 'BA. Quid ab hac metuis? PI. Quid metuam, rogitas?' (Pl. Bac. 65). Such a *Quid metuam* is no parallel to the true subj. *Quid metuum?* and the famous example *Quaero a te, cur C. Cornelium non defenderem* (Cic. Vat. 2, 3) has no application here. That is an original subj., and hypotaxis, if there be a real hypotaxis in the passage quoted, has no effect on it. If Cicero had said *cur non defenderim* then there would have been dependence, and the difference between *cur non defendi?* and *cur non defendebam?* would have been effaced, in favor of the clearer form. Every one knows how this subj., representing the indicative, spreads as we go

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. IV 419, Brugmann, Gr. Gr. p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. II 473.

<sup>3</sup> A pretty, perhaps a significant, shift occurs in Lys. 12, 26, 27, in which (§ 26) ἀντιλέγειν (ἀντιλέγειν φῆς) represents ἀντιλέγει and is followed (§ 27) by φάσκων ἀντιπεῖν.

down in Latin. If we can judge by Greek the construction is due to false analogy; but it had taken much deeper root in Latin at the beginning of our record than the corresponding construction (opt.) had taken in Greek during the early period: but, whatever its origin, once set fairly afloat it got itself a tense-scheme that is not identical with the use in the paratactic sentence. In the paratactic sentence the durative is not swallowed up by the perf., by the aor. We do not sacrifice the beautiful differences which are flattened into a unity by the weight of hypotaxis, so flattened that the few exceptions cannot count in any reasonable scheme of grammar.

We must not be frightened by hard words, by the German cry of 'mechanical dependence' which Professor Hale echoes. Call it 'mechanism,' call it 'instinct,' call it 'habit,' call it 'tendency,' call it 'drift'—there is a non-reasoning, imitative element, hardly to be dignified by the name of 'analogy,' that we have to recognize in everything human; and if our rules are mechanical, they are no more mechanical than the people who used the language, and by destroying the mechanical rule we lose, as I have hinted, the delight in the non-mechanical. But if we can get rid of the mechanical altogether by a satisfactory theory of the temporal relations of the subjunctive, so much the better, as life is always better than mechanism, provided, however, we can live at all without mechanism in some form or other. Still, the trouble is that at some very important points this paratactic restoration, which gives the inner life, breaks down hopelessly. I leave on one side the dependent interrogative subj., already referred to, I leave on one side the Greek opt. representing the ind., which clearly grew out of false analogy, and I ask 'Who can explain paratactically the obstinate sequence of pres. and imperf. subj. in the final sentence?' The final clause is a hypotactic imperative subj. Now the paratactic imperative subjunctive has the four tenses, present and perfect, too common to need proof, imperfect and pluperfect (so-called jussive), for which the grammars may be consulted (e. g. Dräger, I<sup>9</sup> 309); the hypotactic imperative or final subj. has only the two sequences, present and imperf. Why should the language stick in this wooden way to the eternal *ut* and *ne* with the present and imperf. subj. when there was no end of paratactic *ne* with perf. subj. all around, to say nothing of an occasional pluperf.? Exceptions occur under the influence of passion, perhaps under the influence of Greek, in which language the final delights in aoristic turns, but the drift has set in and we have to acknowledge a closer relation between leading clause and dependent clause than the character of the thought would seem to warrant. To this extent there is mechanism.

Professor Hale attacks the consecutive sentence with a light heart. That I do not find it so easy I have elsewhere confessed,<sup>1</sup> and I must acknowledge that I suspect Greek influence in *ut* with aor. (perf.) subj., which matches too well the exceedingly common *ὥστε* with aor. inf., though I cannot exclude the possibility of the deadening of the potential by the example of a merely formal subjunctive like that subjunctive which represents the indicative in the dependent interrogative.

As to the importance of the paratactic method there is no difference between Professor Hale and myself. But as hypotactic mood is not always identical with paratactic mood, as hypotactic tense is not always identical with paratactic

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. VII 164.

tense, I think he goes much further than the facts of the language warrant. The consecutive subj. may be a potential—that is the explanation of it given in my grammar (§543, 4)—but the subj. which represents the ind. in an interrogative clause has no such coloring. From my point of view it is better to resign, with Professor Goodwin, any attempt to define the opt. than to undertake to identify the *oratio obliqua* opt.—i. e. the optative that represents the indicative—with the potential optative. From my point of view the German subj. in *oratio obliqua* has an entirely different function from the subjunctive of direct discourse, though it may have been suggested by it. All the potentiality that it has lies in the foreign personality to which the responsibility is shifted. And as for English, my English consciousness tells me nothing about ‘may’ and ‘might’ except that I use the one habitually after a present tense, the other after a past tense. If I reverse the rule, I am conscious. I go back to the original parataxis, according to which both ‘may’ and ‘might’ belong to the present, for ‘might’ outside of the hypotactic sentence has almost ceased to belong to the past, and needs the reinforcement of ‘have’ in order to get back to its old kingdom. But this ‘repraesentatio’ is far from natural in English, and though it is suggested over and over by Greek, it is very harsh except in the case of the solitary subjunctive ‘be,’ in which the old construction has survived, probably on account of the ambiguity of ‘were.’ But these matters I have already touched in my articles on the final sentence. I have there maintained that it was a mistake to give up the old rule of sequence in Greek,<sup>1</sup> and I have also maintained that we are not to confound the impoverishment of linguistic means with the conscious simplicity of art—the ‘repraesentatio’ of Herodotos with the banishment of the opt. from the final sentence in the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> Our fine old translators, using in their mechanical way ‘may’ and ‘might,’ render 2 Cor. VIII 9: *δι’ ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε πλούσιος ὢν, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε* by ‘Though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor that ye through his poverty might be rich.’ An Atticist might insist on ‘may become rich,’ but we are very much afraid that the point would have been lost on St. Paul.

B. L. G.

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Die Kunst des Uebersetzens fremdsprachlicher Dichtungen ins Deutsche, von  
TYCHO MOMMSEN. Frankfurt, 1886.

This is the second edition of a work which appeared thirty years ago. The author emphasizes the universal character of literature, the perils of national isolation, and the need of constant intercourse with foreign thought and form. It follows, then, that the study of language ought to go hand in hand with poetry. Moreover, to make a still broader basis for native work, foreign masterpieces ought to be translated. There are three kinds of foreign influence: (1) “*Stillose Uebersetzung*,” where no effort is made to preserve the form of the original; such failures as Schiller’s stanzaic translation of the *Aeneid* may be instanced, though it is quite unfair for Mommsen to call Coleridge’s *Wallenstein* “die Rache für den Schillerschen Macbeth.” (2) Original work is done in a foreign form and style (Klopstock, Platen). (3) “*Stilhafte Uebersetzung*,” where matter, form and style are all adequately translated. The author, we are glad to note, declares himself strongly for this last method,

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. VI 68.<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. VI 64.

though he acknowledges its difficult side. He confines the possibilities of translation, so far as German is concerned, to the Indo-Germanic group. He then treats the separate problems of translation—displaying a pre-Sylvestrian acquaintance with phonetic syzygy—and the special difficulties of each language. He praises his mother-tongue in an eloquent passage, and rightly calls it the one universal language which takes all the rest to its heart. But translations are not to be final; and the author insists on general study of the modern languages—a matter of more concern in 1858 than now. Lastly, he gives a number of clever translations from several languages. It is a little distressing to see the honest German lyric muse, always a trifle grandmotherly and *hausbacken*, making such effort to be young and giddy and reckless as in our author's rendering of "Green grow the Rashers, O!" But why should not a patriotic German avenge his Goethe and his Heine? An appendix gives some paragraphs on Shakspeare and Marlowe, taken from a larger work soon to be published; and also a number of passages translated from the latter playwright.

F. B. G.

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Chapters on English Metre, by JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M. A. London, C. J. Clay & Sons, 1886.

Believing in a scientific treatment of metres, Professor Mayor has written this book for the needs of students of English verse. At least, one infers this from the opening sentences of the preface. At the same time the author denies all intention of putting forth a regular treatise; and he leaves untouched many of the subjects usually discussed in a book of this kind. Among these, unfortunately, is the historical consideration of our metres. Admirable as we must call much of our author's work, ingenious in analysis, patient in sifting of material, copious in illustration, this absence of an historical sense for English verse renders his conclusions more or less uncertain. It is no safe theory that Professor Mayor lays down when he says (p. 3) that he will treat his subject "from the purely scientific side" without any "reference to historical . . . considerations." Surely no treatment of English metres can be scientific unless it is at least based on these "historical considerations." Hence, there is much more satisfaction in reading the purely analytical chapters—like that on the verse of Browning and Tennyson—than those in which the author gives us his theories of verse. In the early chapters Mayor rightly rejects Guest's "antiquarian apriorism"—though it is protesting too much when one spends twenty-one pages on an exploded theory, makes some just criticisms on Abbott's "logical apriorism," confutes Symonds' "aesthetic intuitivism," and finds Ellis and his new verse-tests somewhat too radical. Mayor's own position is a sort of enlightened conservatism: with the old school, he "scans" his verses, and is all for "feet"; but he has profited by recent investigations (in English) and knows the importance of pauses and balances. As a result, his scanning is far more satisfactory than that of his predecessors, and his minute analysis of a great variety of verses deserves thankful recognition. In the chapter on Surrey and Marlowe, however, the analysis is without its necessary background of historic study; and, indeed, throughout the book one is constantly feeling and regretting this defect in a work based on such industry and guided by such taste.

F. B. G.



## REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Dritter Jahrgang.

Heft 3 u. 4.

Pp. 309-28. Die Sprache Priscillians. Georg Schepss. Priscillian was beheaded in 385. Eleven treatises by him have recently been found in a Würzburg uncial codex of saec. V-VI. He may be considered a Spanish writer. The Biblical passages quoted by him differ in their text both from the Itala and Vulgata. The orthography is quite fully treated. We can give here only a few features. *b* and *v* are often confused, *sabolus* = *diabolus*, *Zeu* = *Iehu*, *Zesu* = *Iesu*. Insertion of consonants, *thensaurus*, *occansio*, *Istrahel*; leaving out of consonants, as in *mesura*, *susum*, *eclesia*. *m* and *h* are sometimes added in the wrong place, and sometimes omitted; prosthesis is seen in *aesternutatio* and *expectaculum*, *e* and *i* are frequently interchanged; *obaudiendum* occurs for *obediendum*. In many cases the prepositions *ad*, *con*, *in*, etc., are not assimilated.

Declension and Conjugation. *Animabus*; *pascha*, which is often *n.*, makes *paschae* gen., and *pascharum*, *argutia*, *tenebra*, *inlecebra* occur as sing. forms; *fluctuus*, *pastuus* as nom. and acc. pl.; *mortalis* is used as substantive = *homo*; *nullae* and *solae* in dat.; *nefarius* is used as comparative; *hii*, *hiis* = *hi*, *his*; *quisque* = *quisquis*; *interpretari*, *loqui*, *metiri*, *obrectari* are employed as passives. There are several verbs in *izo*, and numerous inchoatives, including *pigrisco* and *putresco*; *ex abundanti* = *abunde*; *per occulta* = *clam*.

Syntax and Style. Most of the prepositions are used regularly, but sometimes there is a confusion of cases, *absque* with acc.; *propter* is more frequent than *ob*; *similis* always has the dat., as in archaic Lat., and *dignus* occurs with dat. In the government of cases by verbs there are many peculiarities: *credere* is found with dat., with acc., and *in* with acc. as well as abl. The moods also are much confused, the subj. being used without apparent reason, and *cum* taking the indic. where we should expect the subj. In most indirect questions, however, we find the subj. Some cases are cited of *ut* with the infinitive. *Etsi* is very common, taking alike indic. and subj.; *quamvis* takes the place of *quamquam*; *quoniam* and *quia* are used in object clauses after *scire*, *intelligere*. Priscillian makes large use of participles, especially of the present active, which is used in the nom. absolute and in the abl. absolute, often to introduce a citation, as *dicente profeta*. A list of peculiar words is taken up, some 21 of which are not given by Georges.

P. 328. *Capsella*. B. Kübler. In Porphyrius ad Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 123 read *Siliquas aut specialiter dicit eas quae in arboribus nascuntur, aut generaliter pro omni legumine, quod siliquis hoc est capsellis (for asellis) continetur*.

Pp. 329-36. The construction of *utor*, *fruor*, *fungor*, *potior* in early Latin. P. Langen. Some errors, long current, are corrected, and more exact statistics

given. Plautus regularly uses *utor* with abl. There are but three or four doubtful cases in MSS where the acc. may have stood: with a neuter pronoun, as Merc. 145; with a gerundive, as *oculos rogo utendos*, Mil. 347; cf. Asin. 444, Rud. 602, Aul. 96, 311, 400; Curc. 603, Men. 657, 658 f., etc. *Usus est* has also abl. in all except one passage. Cato's usage rather favors the abl., with a few examples of acc. *Abutor*, however, has acc. in Plautus, Cato and Terence. After Terence the acc. seems to have come again into favor with *utor*. *Fungor* in early Latin always takes acc. (17 examples given); the abl. in Ter. Ad. 603 is doubtful. *Fruor* also has acc., but was used earlier than *fungor* with abl.; cf. Asin. 918, *hac frui*. Terence more commonly has abl., but acc. Haut. 401. *Potio* as active takes acc. + gen., in the passive the gen. As a deponent in Naevius, Plautus and Terence the acc., but the abl. is also found in Plautus, Terence and Afranius. *Compotire* takes abl. twice in Rud. 205 and 911. A few examples are given from inscriptions.

P. 336. *Inormis* is considered by L. Havet a case of popular etymology for *enormis*, and not for *innormis*.

Pp. 336-54. The Subjunctive of the Future. Felix Hartmann. The inadequate and inaccurate treatment of most grammars is noticed. The periphrastic form is not so infrequent as is commonly represented, and occurs in Cicero most frequently in indirect questions, then in relative clauses (77 ex.); causal and concessive sentences (*cum* 39, *quod* 8) altogether 52 ex.; clauses with *quin* (39); conditional sentences with *si*, *nisi*, *etiamsi* (35); consecutive with *ut* (25), after *quasi*, *tamquam*, *ac si*, *quam*, *secus*, *atque* (9), after *ne* (6), after temporal *cum* (2). Long lists of examples are given and their bearing discussed. The periphrastic form is found after verbs of fearing and striving, but not after verbs of *demanding*, *happening*, nor in *final* and *temporal* clauses, with rare exceptions. As a rule the periphrastic form is sharply differentiated in meaning from the present and imperf. subj.

P. 354. K. E. Georges points out that *pityon* (πινύων), pine-forest, must be received into Latin (and Greek) Lexica from Martial, 12, 50, 1.

Pp. 355-87. Historical and Geographical Proverbs. A. Otto. A mere list of the historical and geographical names which are here treated as forming the subject of proverbial sayings would be very tedious, whereas the article itself is most interesting, and, as the writer remarks, a comparison of the genuine Roman proverbs and of those which have been borrowed from the Greeks often reveals striking differences in the national characters. The *levitas Græcorum* is often contrasted with the Roman *constantia* and *gravitas*. *More Romano loqui* is to speak frankly, without evasion, as opposed to *fides Punica*. It is a little remarkable that so few places in Italy itself have become associated with proverbs.

Pp. 384-87 contain some addenda and corrigenda to the article on mythological proverbs by the same writer.

P. 387. Wilhelm Schmitz contends that *crumelum*, already discussed in Archiv III, p. 286, while = *grumellum*, must be retained as an example of archaic orthography, as in the Notae Tiron. tab. 62, 29 *crumilum* occurs, and the abbreviation *C(v)Rum* = *crumellum*.

Pp. 388-97. Further contributions "Zu den Tiersprichwörtern," by A. Otto. A great many new proverbs and passages are added.

P. 397. C. Wagener would exclude *refirmare* from the Lexica, and read after the best MSS *reformatus* in the *breviarium* of Festus, but we do not understand his remark "*Reformare* wird freilich bis jetzt in den Lexicis nicht erwähnt."

Pp. 398-442. On verbs in *issare* and *isare*. A. Funck. These verbs are for the most part essentially borrowed words which have been Latinized. A few belong to the earliest period, some were introduced by reason of their convenience by medical writers, but by far the greater number are to be credited to Christian authors who, rather than give to Latin words a new technical meaning, preferred to adopt words which were in common use in Greek, thus *evangelisare* and *baptisare*. For the early period and down to the time of Augustus the testimony of grammarians establishes the form in *ss*. For new words afterwards introduced the form in *izare* seems to have prevailed, with trifling exceptions. Often in Greek there is no corresponding verb in *-ίζω*; sometimes a verb deponent in Greek assumes the active form in Latin, as in *ἀγωνίζομαι*, *agonizare*, *rheumatizare*, etc. Many verbs in *-izo* have as parallels verbs in *-έω*. For *prophetizo* a shorter form *prophetare* is used by Irenaeus, Tertullian, Commodianus and Ambrosius. *Comissari* is an inexact rendering of *κομίζω*, influenced, perhaps, in form by *comitari*. Other analogical forms are discussed. Even Latin prepositions were sometimes prefixed, perhaps first by Irenaeus, *praecatechizo*, *praeevangelizo*, and Cyprian *rebaptizo*, which afterwards became very common. In Ambrosius *coagonizo* and *superagonizo* occur. Peculiar are the verbs which have a purely Latin origin, as *vibrisso*, *certisso* (?), *exopinisso*, *pulverizo*, *latinizo*, *carcerizo*, *singularizo*, *auctorizo*, *ligonizo*, *hilarisso*, etc. Very curious are *delibergmatizant* = *dogmatizant*, and *magarizandum* after *μακαρίζω*. The verbs are then classified under the following heads: *A*. Verbs of the heathen literature; (*a*) archaic period, (*b*) medical terms, (*c*) technical expressions of profane writers. *B*. Verbs in Christian writers. The article concludes with an alphabetical list of 143 verbs.

P. 442. Fr. Vogel gives several examples from the *Epistulae Pontificum* of *corrigere* used in reflexive sense, as in Italian *correggere* = *corregersi*. In Ennodius, p. 303, 22, *corrigit* ought to be read for *corrigitur*.

Pp. 443-57. Alliteration and Rhyme. Further contributions by Wölflin to the article in the first volume of *Archiv*. Although much attention has been paid to alliteration in the last decade, the limits of its use are not well understood. More attention ought to be given to the part which it plays in composition, as in *velivolus*, *foedifragus*, etc., and to cases like *permutat ac miscet*. A remarkable instance of alliteration is seen in Venantius Fortunatus, in the conclusion of his *Vita Sancta Marcelli*: *qua pietate parcite, dilectione dulcedine, humilitate honestate, fide fervore vixerit*, etc. The popular tendency to such alliteration is seen in the Fr. *frais, fier, fort*, and in the Germ. *frisch, froh, frei*. A long list of such alliterative combinations, arranged alphabetically, is given. In the matter of rhyme as an element of style much caution is necessary, as it may occur where not especially intended. It cannot be doubted that Augustine, for emphasis and effect, made more frequent use of rhyme and

paronomasia than his predecessors, as e. g. *bellum vestrum latet, amicitia patet*. An alphabetical list of some thirty rhymes from different authors follows.

P. 457. Samuel Brandt points out two more future infinitives in *niri* in Lactantius, Inst. I 6, 13, *nominatuiri*; IV 17, 3, *datuiri*.

Pp. 458-70. *Medietas, Mitte, Hälfte*. Wölfflin. *Medietas* is first found about the end of the second century A. D. and in the sense of *middle*, out of which afterwards developed the sense of *half*, as Fr. *moitié*, Ital. *meta*. Cicero, Timaeus 7, says *non enim audeo dicere medietates*, which is evidence enough to show that it was not a classical word. Cicero uses *mediocritas* or *medium* as substantive. Apuleius uses *medietas*, as he is the first to use *nimietas*, but the jurists Ulpian, Paulus and Papirian do not adopt it. It is used by Tertullian, Arnobius and Porphyrio, and accordingly seems to have arisen in African Latin. In the fourth century the confusion of *medietas* with *dimidietas* began, although Chalcidius, the translator of the Timaeus, uses it correctly some fifty times. Palladius, Ammianus and Vegetius all use it in the sense of *half*. Even Diomedes thus uses it, and Macrobius and Martianus Capella, although in some passages it still retains its earlier meaning. In inscriptions of the Empire, *half* seems to be regularly rendered by *dimidia pars* or *dimidium*. Among medical writers Scribonius Longus and Celsus follow the classical usage, while the later writers have also the second meaning. Among the jurists this does not appear until the Codex Theodosianus, where *medius* is also used for *dimidius*. Boethius, in his mathematical works, uses frequently *medietas* = *half*. In the Romance languages only this meaning has been perpetuated, and for some of the late Latin writers of France and Italy *medietas* = *middle* seems to have become obsolete.

P. 470. *Toti* = *omnes*. Wölfflin asks: "How far was the Romance substitution of *toti* for *omnes* anticipated in Latin?" In Caesar and Hirtius there are three examples of *totae copiae*. Gaius uses *totorum bonorum* where Cicero uses *omnium*. *Totis visceribus* is cited from Venantius Fortunatus.

Pp. 471-94. *Abdere, Abditus, Abdite, Abditivus*. A very complete lexical treatment by Thielmann.

P. 494. *Conpetere* = *conpotere*. The Sallustian and Tacitean usage *non animo—auribus—lingua conpetere* is compared with such expressions as *conpotem mentis, mente, animi, animo*, and the suggestion made that perhaps there was an earlier *conpotere* = *conpotire* and this was afterwards confused with and merged in *conpetere*.

Pp. 495-506. Addenda lexicis latinis. 150 words beginning with *p*, 8 with *q*, 53 with *r*, 106 with *s*.

P. 506. Consonant-assimilation. Wölfflin. Forms like *ammirari* in late MSS are very common, but it is hard to determine in many cases whether the writers themselves so pronounced and practised assimilation in writing. Pliny frequently uses *adalligare*, so that he could hardly have written or heard pronounced *adligare*. That *dissimilis* entirely took the place of *absimilis* in later Latin seems to show that both *absimilis* and *adsimilis* were pronounced *assimilis*.

Pp. 507-31. Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter. G. Gröber.

Beginning with *Lacusta*, this list is carried down to *mille*, over ninety words being embraced, some of which are very interesting, both for the forms adduced and for the light thrown upon hidden quantities.

Pp. 532-4. Nachträge, by Ph. Thielmann,<sup>1</sup> to his articles in the second volume of *Archiv*, on *habere* used with inf. and perf. part. pass. *Calvaster* (Wölfflin), until now only found in glossaries, must have been used in the first century A. D., as we find, Dio Cass. 67, 11, νεανίσκος 'Ιούλιος Καλονάστρος.

Pp. 535-62. Miscellen. Some 23 short articles, of which we can give here only the headings: Sprachliches zu Sallust, Edmund Hauler. *Menetris, meneris. Fundibalum, fundibularius. Netsura, nectura. Mascarpio. Contrire (irari)*, by Ph. Thielmann. *Externare, externare*, Joh. Meltzer. *Simila, similago. Volutina*, Ed. Lubbert. Zu den Hisperica famina, R. Thurneysen. *Factum = fatum*, J. Huemer. Zu den Differentiae Sermonum, J. W. Beck. On the forms *duos* and *duo* in Plautus, Studemund. *Cogitare*, K. Hofmann. *Calamiso, poetiso* u. a., A. Funck. *Quid est?* and *Quid id est?* in Terence, F. Schlee. *Istuc ago*, and the dual in *-ere*, Havet. *Adventare, circare* and *igitur*, Wölfflin. *Viscere* and *Lupus in Fabula*.

Pp. 563-91. Reviews of the literature of 1885-6.

Pp. 591-4. Appreciative notice of the late Carl Schaper.

The volume concludes with the "Jahresbericht der Redaktion," from which we learn with great regret that there is every prospect that the fourth volume of the *Archiv* will be the last, the organization being insufficiently provided with funds for the further satisfactory prosecution of the work. The editor has been most untiring in his efforts, and has borne much of the expense himself, while the labor involved in correspondence and in the organization of so large a body of co-workers must have been immense. The results secured have been most valuable, but give us only a foretaste of what might be accomplished if the plan of the thesaurus could be carried out to its completion. We trust that the offers of further assistance, pecuniary and otherwise, will be so numerous as to encourage the editor to persist in the undertaking for a few years longer at the least.

MINTON WARREN.

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ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Herausgegeben von RICHARD PAUL WÜLKER. IX Band, 1 Heft. Halle, 1886.

This number opens with the text of Lydgate's version of the fables of *Æsop* according to the Harleian MS. No. 2251, edited by P. Sauerstein:<sup>1</sup>

Vnto my purpos this poyet laureat,  
Callyd Isopos, did hym so occupy,  
Whylom in Rome, to please the senat,  
Founde out fabules, that men myght hem apply  
To sundry matiers, that echman in his party,  
After theyr lust to conclude in substaunce,  
Dyuers moralités set out to theyr plesaunce.

<sup>1</sup> Sauerstein's dissertation, "Ueber Lydgate's *Æsop*übersetzung," Halle, 1885, must be consulted for the literary history of this version of fables which, having never been published, has hitherto been little known.

Abt Ælfric's Angelsächsische Bearbeitung des Buches Esther, by B. Assmann, follows. This article is an *editio princeps* of an Anglo-Saxon version of the Book of Esther, with the corresponding text of the original in Latin. Assmann, in the preceding year, published a dissertation on the subject of this Esther, presenting a minute study of the age and authorship of the piece, and promising an early publication of a critical text of the same. We have here a fulfillment of that promise, with, however, an element of incompleteness that unfortunately defers the closing section of the work to an indefinite future: "Die hierzu gehörigen anmerkungen werden später folgen." Some facts drawn from Assmann's dissertation will best serve to quicken an interest in the text now printed. In the Bodleian Library there is a manuscript, Laud. E 381 (formerly Laud. 33), that belongs to the first half of the seventeenth century. It consists of a collection of various Anglo-Saxon tracts, transcribed, and, as if ultimately intended for publication, accompanied by translations into the English of that day. All this is the work of William L'Isle's own hand. The third of these tracts, "Be Hester," is the only known copy of the Esther, L'Isle's original being even yet undiscovered. Dietrich, while collecting material for his famous investigation of the Ælfric question, made a personal examination of this manuscript, and without hesitation attributed the Esther to Ælfric. Assmann has at this point taken the matter up and made of it a special problem. He has investigated the character of the Anglo-Saxon version in its relation to the Biblical original; its style, its rhythmic structure, its language. In every particular he finds conclusive evidence of the correctness of Dietrich's judgment, that L'Isle's transcript gives us a copy of the work of which Ælfric makes mention in his treatise on the Old Testament in the following words: *Hester seð cwæn, þe hire kynn ðhredde, hæfð ðac dne bōc on þisumzetele, for þan þe zodes lof ys zeloꝝod þær on; ꝥð ic onwende on Enzlice on ðre wolsan sceortlice.*

Assmann contributes in the next article, Abt Ælfric's Angelsächs. Bearbeitung des Buches Hiob, a collation with the manuscript of Grein's edition of Ælfric's version of the Book of Job (Bibliothek der Angelsächs. Prosa, I 265-72). This is also one of the tracts preserved to us only in the transcript of L'Isle, Bodl. Laud. E 381. Grein based his text entirely on the edition of Thwaites (1698); this collation, therefore, leading us back again to the manuscript, has considerable value.

The fourth article, by A. Zetsche, occupies many pages (43-194), and is also an edition of a text: Chronik des Robert von Brunne. 5383 lines of the Chronicle are given, which extend from the beginning of

Alle the story of Inglande,  
Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand.

to the birth of Christ,

For natyng

The

with variant readings.

and supplementary passages from the only other known manuscript, that of the Inner Temple.

Sarrazin (pp. 195-204) contributes two notes on the *Béowulf*: "Die Beowulf-sage in Dänemark," and "Beowa und Bōðvar." The writer aims to bring forward additional testimony in proof of the correctness of his views respecting the source and the relations of the saga, and the location of the scene in the first part of the epic as announced in a previous article: "Der Schauplatz des ersten Beowulfliedes und die Heimat des Dichters" (P. u. B. Beitr. XI 159-83). In refutation of the linguistic side of Sarrazin's argument the reader must consider Sievers, *Die Heimat des Beowulfdichters*, ib. XI 354-62; to which Sarrazin replies, ib. XI 528-41; and again Sievers, ib. XII 168-200). Sarrazin now finds in the *Hleiðargarðr* (= Lejregård) of Rolf Krake's saga a surprising confirmation of his previous argument in favor of Lejre, Seeland, the adventures of Bōðvar Biarki resembling those of *Béowulf*. A translation of the remarkable adventure of Bōðvar and of the timid Hött (afterwards named Hialti) is given to show a resemblance in events that is worthy of attention. We are next reminded that Saxo Grammaticus has also something to tell of Biarco (= Bōðvar Biarki) and Hialto, in which, as is urged, further agreements with the incidents of the poem cannot be denied; so, for example, the death of King Atislus at the hands of Biarco is but *Béowulf's* slaying of Eadgils (l. 2396 f.). Saxo's account of King Frotho and the witch is also referred rather to the Grendel episode than, as according to Müllenhoff, to the fight with the dragon. From these proofs for the ultimate identity of *Béowulf*, or *Béowa* and the Norse Bōðvar, Sarrazin advances a step further and argues for a like identity of name. This correspondence is not indeed according to the regular laws of the relationship of the idioms involved, but Sarrazin allows a wide margin for popular disturbance in phonetic changes, and brings himself to believe that while Bauðvar would yield A. S. *Béawar*, *Béowar*, whence, by the omission of final *r*, conceived to be a foreign ending of the nominative case, *Béowa*; so also, on the other hand, the final syllable *-var* came to be regarded as equivalent to *-vargr*, and was therefore translated *-wulf*. However the name *Béowulf* may have arisen, it is certain that Sarrazin's theory will not hold. Sarrazin's closing note is, however, chiefly devoted to the enforcement of the thought that the Bōðvar and *Béowulf* saga must be studied anew in its relations to the Ortnit myth and legend, retracing all lines of tradition in the common cycle to the basal myth and cult of Frey and Balder.

We next come to *Bemerkungen über Spenser's Shepheards Calendar und die frühere Bukolik*, contributed by O. Reissert. It is a brief comparative study of the pastoral poem with special reference to Spenser's *Calendar*. In the introductory paragraphs the doctrine is announced that this variety of poetical composition is essentially conventional and traditional. The poet does not deal with a life that he has himself lived, or even observed; his scenes and incidents are stereotyped artificial material; his art is largely constrained and imitative. Allegory comes to the rescue of this severe art-form and makes possible the introduction of other sentiments and ideas. The bucolic may thus, as at the hands of Vergil, become a court and political poem; the personality of the poet is veiled in a Tityrus, a Menalcas, a Sylvius or a Colin Clout. Having attained to the admission of public and of private events, the

way is paved to satire and to panegyric. True to tradition, when notions of religion are introduced Olympus supplants the Christian heaven. In Boccaccio satyrs, not angels, sing the praises of the 'Lamb'; Spenser refers to the day of doom in the following manner:

"When great Pan account of shepherds shall aske."

After some remarks on the 'composition' of a number of idyls into a bucolic cycle, Reissert proceeds to a somewhat detailed study of the relations of Spenser's 'months' to the sources, supplying also abundant and interesting parallels from Vergil, Mantuan, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Marot, Sannazaro, etc., that, by virtue of the traditions of the art, argue coincidence rather than conscious imitation or borrowing. In the case of the "Morall Aeglogues" Reissert finds occasion to modify the results previously reached by Kluge in an article that must be kept in mind in this connection (Anglia, III 266 f.).

Sattler gives us the twentieth instalment of his Beiträge zur Präpositionslehre im Neuenglischen, dealing with locative phrases of the type 'at, or, in the University'; 'at, or, in the South'; 'at, or, in London,' etc.

Of exceptional interest is the closing article of this number: *Gerefa*; Einleitung, Text und Wörterverzeichnis, hrsg. v. F. Liebermann. *Gerefa* is the title given to an Anglo-Saxon legal tract which is here for the first time brought to light; it is found in the Corpus Christi Coll. Cambr MS 383, where it immediately follows the curious and valuable *Rectitudines singularum personarum*, of which Liebermann believes it to be a continuation, a second part, by the same author. Remembering that this same manuscript, besides being an important source for the Laws, preserves to us the only known copy of the A. S. *Rectitudines*, it becomes a matter of conjecture how the *Gerefa* could so long have escaped the antiquarian student. Liebermann observes that the *Gerefa* is not found in the *Vetus Versio*, but we cannot know why this should be; more unaccountable still is the fact that Thorpe passed it by. The latter made direct use of the manuscript, and was impressed with the character of the *Rectitudines*, of which he said: "This piece is valuable, as presenting us with an enumeration of the several classes of persons employed on a domain, of the services to be rendered by each, and of the reciprocal duty of the lord to those engaged on his land" (Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, p. iv). Liebermann also ventures to suggest that the Latin translator and Thorpe alike may have found in the obscure terminology of the *Rectitudines* a satiety that quieted further curiosity for a second chapter even more distressfully difficult. Thorpe certainly in a measure exposed himself to such a charge when he offered his impression that the *Rectitudines* were "hardly susceptible" of an English translation, as an apology for substituting the Latin version. The *Gerefa* contains but nineteen brief entries, and is critically edited, annotated and translated by Liebermann. The student of "Institutions" will welcome this additional light on the functions of the Reeve, and on other attendant relations in the agricultural economics of England about the time of the Norman Conquest. This newly rescued document has, moreover, a very peculiar interest for the English lexicographer. Many words cited in A. S. and Modern English dictionaries as 'due to Somner, but unauthorized,' are here rediscovered. From Somner's entries of oblique forms which agree with the *Gerefa*,



and from a longer citation s. v. *odene* (*on odene cygne macian*), it cannot be doubted that he made use of this manuscript, although he also omitted some words in it which to this day have not found their way into the lexicon. The standing reproach against Somner has thus been shaken, and the presumption raised that he never entered on his lists an "unauthorized" word.

In an appended letter Prof. ten Brink takes it upon himself to correct Leonhardt in statements made with respect to Levy's indebtedness to others in his studies of the sources of Shakespeare's Cymbeline.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PÄDAGOGIK, 1885.

Fascicle 1.

1. Geschichte des Altertums, von Eduard Meyer. Erster band. Geschichte des Orients bis zur begründung des Perserreichs. 1884. xx u. 647 S. Review by Gelzer. This first volume shows excellent work and the results of recent scholarship. It does not destroy the value of Duncker's great work, excepting as late editions may hurt earlier ones. The history is divided as follows: History of Egypt to the end of the Hyksos period; old Babylonian history; the Semites, Asia Minor at the time of the Egyptian conquests; the period from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the ninth century; the Assyrians; the Iranians.

2. Ueber die ἀπαγωγή in attischen Gerichtsverfahren. M. Sorof. S. opposes the view of Meuss, that the ἀπαγωγή could be enforced only in case of criminals detected ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. It could be employed, in cases of murder, not merely against aliens, but also against citizens.

3. Anz. von Porphyrii quaest. Homericae, ed. H. Schrader, Fasc. II. A. Römer. S. believes that the ζητήματα Vaticana give an entirely incorrect idea of the work of Porphyry, as a whole. They are, however, genuine extracts from P. culled by an excerptor.

4. Homerisches. [νῶτα διπνέτα.] M. Zucker. This expression refers as much to the quality of the special portion of meat given to Ajax and Odysseus as to the quantity. It is nothing more or less than the favorite "loin steak" of the modern kitchen.

5. Χίμαιρα—αἶγες. O. Rossbach. The fabled Χίμαιρα is a personification of a volcano in Lycia of the same name, mentioned by Pliny. Cf. the term αἶγες, which Aristotle says was popularly applied to a kind of meteor.

6. Zu Antiphon. Moriz Schmidt. Being remarks on the text in several places.

7. Zu Plutarchos. F. L. Lentz. Three emendations.

8. Zu des Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomerica. A. Zimmermann. Textual criticism of a large number of passages.

9. Memmius im Gedichte des Lucretius. A. Kannengieser, Lüneberg. In die Jahrbücher, 1882, pp. 833-7, K. sought to prove that the name Memmius ways occurs in such parts of the fifth book as are later additions to the

"carmen continuum," and are not in the plan which the poet gives in the introduction to the book. This had already been prepared for publication, when Lucretius enlarged it so as to include mention of Memmius. On the other hand, I. Bruns (*Lucrez-Studien*, Freiburg, 1884) held that the entire poem had been written for Memmius, that he received special mention only in the first book and then steps more and more into the background, so that, though occasionally mentioned, he gives way to the great circle of the poet's readers. For the present paper the question is whether the reverse be not the case, that Lucretius first wrote for the public and then recast the work for the sake of honoring his friend Memmius. This K. seeks to answer by proving for the first and second books what he holds concerning the fifth, that in no main passages of the poem is any direct or indirect notice of Memmius taken.

10. Zu Terentius. Braune, Berlin. Critical contributions to the *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, *Haut.*, and *Hecyra*.

11. Zu Tacitus. Draeger, Aurich. A note on Ann. III 58. *Comp. Ov. Met.* V 273, XI 434.

12. Die Träger des Namens Hermagoras. O. Harnecker. The numerous notices of rhetoricians and philosophers named Hermagoras all refer in reality to two men. Hermagoras the Elder, mentioned as a Stoic philosopher by Suidas, and as the founder of systematic rhetoric by Cicero, Quintilian and others, flourished about 180 B. C. Hermagoras the Younger, a rhetorician, mentioned by Suidas, Strabo and others, lived at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius.

13. Die Sagen von der Geburt der Athene und Aphrodite. P. Stengel. The myth of Athene's birth directly from the head of Zeus must be of late origin. Originally she was probably regarded as the daughter of a sea-goddess; cf. *Τριτογένεια*, and was reared beneath the waves until fully grown. The story of her springing in full beauty from the foam of the sea was afterward transferred to Aphrodite.

14. Noch einmal die Aegis bei Homeros. P. Stengel. S. cites A. 32 ff., and E. 738 ff., in support of his view that the *αἰγίς* was a shield, and not the skin of an animal.

#### Fascicle 2.

15. Nautisches zu Homeros. A. Breusing. A vigorous attack upon the received meaning of a number of Homeric words. Most important are *σπείρη*, *πορφύρεος*, *ιοειδής*, *ἡεροειδής*, *ἰσχυρὸς* (ζ 271); *σπείρα* (ζ 268); *ἐφολκαῖον* (ξ 350); *δρνώχους* (τ 574).

(4.) (Continued) P. Stengel. Discussion of the meaning of *κρήνη* (of victims), *ἄγνωστον* (v. 191).

Heerdegen, Erlangen. This communication states that the copy of the *Brutus* made from the original by Flavius Blondus is really in existence. It was discovered by J. Heerdegen in 1592. From this were made the copies of the *Brutus*. The discovery of this copy of Blondus (= B) is the discovery of the Laudensis would have been.

17. Zu Quintilianus. Kiderlin, Nürnberg. Critical notes on twenty passages in the first five books.

18. Zu Livius. Harder, Berlin. A textual criticism on I 21, 4. *Et soli* is all that remains of *inca]pitoli[o*.

19. Die siebente ode im vierten buche des Horatius. Probst, Münster. This poem is recognized as essentially a spring-song. One may account for the sad tone which prevails in certain of the lines by noticing how it is true that different poets draw different lessons from the approach of spring. To Horace it suggests the contrast of life and death, the perpetual renovation of Nature, and man's passing away into perpetual night. A very good translation closes the article.

### Fascicle 3.

20. Die psychologie des ältern griechischen epos. W. Schrader. A careful study of the meaning of the different terms relating to the soul and its functions, as found in Homer, the Homeric Hymns, and Hesiod. In *φρένες* the idea of the activity of the reason predominates, while *θυμός* includes the realm of feeling and will. Among the numerous terms whose meaning is discussed are *φρήν*, *ψυχή*, *θυμός*, *σῆθος*, *ἥπαρ*, *νός*, *νόημα*, *βουλή*, *μῆτις*, *μένος*, and others.

21. Zu Artemidoros. O. Keller. A brief textual note.

22. Pausanias und Strabon. L. v. Sybel. Parallel extracts from Strabo and Pausanias, showing a remarkable similarity in matter and arrangement. The author hints at a common source, through Apollodorus and Artemidorus.

(7.) (Continued.) Zu Plutarchos. C. Stegmann. Criticism of the text of several passages.

23. Zu Theokritus. Ziegler, Stuttgart. The Urbina 140 does not read, for the superscription of the first epyllion, *Μέναικος αἰπόλος*, as Ahrens has it, but *μενάλκας αἰπόλος*.

24. Zu Plautus. Brix, Sorau. The good work already accomplished by Brix as a student of Plautus renders interesting the present contribution. The notes are all critical and are mainly on the *Mostellaria* and the *Rudens*; there are two on the *Cistellaria*.

25. Zu Ciceros Cato Major. Meissner, Bernburg. Some valuable and suggestive critical notes.

26. Zur charakteristik des verfassers der *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. R. von Scala. This is essentially in accord with W. W. Fowler (*Journal of Philology*, 1882, 197-205), that the author was of the party of the people and the Italian allies, in the period from the Gracchi to the Civil War. The *Rhetorica* is a satire on the Sullan faction, exceedingly bitter, the work of a contemporary speaking with eloquence and with anger over the failure of wholesome efforts at reform.

27. Zu Caesars *Bellum Gallicum*. Conradt, Stettin. On the translation of *cuius rei nulla est occultatio*. Nägelsbach and Haack (*Stilistik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 30) render *occultatio* 'power to conceal.' The sentence really means, in its connection,

'in this respect, in matters of the sexes, there was no painstaking concealment among them.'

Fascicle 4.

28. Zur chronologie der Platonischen Dialoge. H. Siebeck. An elaborate effort to settle the order of the dialogues from internal evidence, and particularly from references backward and forward from one to another. The conclusions reached give the following order: Charmides, Republic I (about 394), Republic II to IV 18, Laches, Protagoras, Gorgias, Phaidros (about 390), Menon (about 395), Phaidon (?), Republic IV 19 to IX (about 388), Symposium (about 385), Menexenos (about 387), Theaitetos (after 365), Sophistes, Politikos, Philebos, Parmenides, Laws.

29. Anz. von W. H. Roscher's Lexik. d. gr. u. röm. Myth. 1-5. P. W. Forschhammer. A short notice, chiefly commendatory.

(4.) (Continued.) Homerisches. H. Scotland. S. would retain ε 486 unchanged, but in ε 542 he would write *πέδραε* for *θέμωε*.

30. Zu Xenophon's Anabasis. R. Büniger. Comments on I 10, 9 f., and III 4, 19-23.

31. Zu Sallustius. Opitz, Dresden. Critical notes; two on the Catilina, five on the Jugurtha, and one on Hist. II 41 D (or. *Collae*).

32. Horazische massivität. Plüss, Basel. An analysis of the purpose, poetic situation and subject of Carm. II 5. Happily there is none of that tediously minute analysis which one is tempted to think Plüss is sometimes guilty of.

33. Zu Tacitus Dialogus. Walter, München. A critical note on §37 ad fin. in the Dialogus. For *velint* read *elevant*.

34. Zu den Berner Lucanscholien. Hagen, Bern. A valuable supplement to Usener's *Commenta Bernensia* (Leipzig, 1869).

Fascicles 5 and 6.

35. Die glaubwürdigkeit des Thukydides, geprüft an seiner darstellung der belagerung von Plataia. Hermann Müller-Strübing. A very interesting article of sixty pages. The author believes the history of Thukydides to be a "martialisch-didaktische epopöe," and carefully sifts the details of the siege of Plataea for proofs of his theory. He finds many statements which he thinks to be manifestly fictitious, and makes out, it must be confessed, a strong case.

36. Der Boiotische doppel-kalender. A. Schmidt. A supplement to the author's comprehensive discussion of the Attic double calendar, in the *Jahrb.* for 1884. In the present article he discusses the lunar calendar of the period of Meton, and of the previous period, with a view to elucidating the meaning of two Boeotian inscriptions, at Tanagra and Orchomenos respectively.

37. Zu Theokritos Hieron. J. Beloch. The date of the Hiero is fixed at 262 or 263 B. C., or about ten years later than hitherto supposed.

38. Zur lateinischen grammatik. Procksch, Eisenberg. 1. *tantum abest* followed by *ut . . . ut*. This construction is not found in Caesar, Nepos, or

Sallust; but in Cicero it occurs, with modifications, 28 times; in Livy 7 times. We may have (1) *tantum abest ut* . . . *ut*, or (2) *ut etiam* in the last clause, or (3) *ut contra*, or (4), only once, *ut vix*, or (5), instead of this second *ut*, (a) the indicative with *etiam*, or (b) with *vix*. Other modifications, extremely rare, are given. 2. The genitive of *neuter*. The form *neutrius* is archaic, extremely rare, and to be excluded from school grammars, although the 26th edition of Ellendt-Seyffert says 'und *ar, ur, us* sind *neutrius*.'

39. In Ciceronis epistulas ad M. Brutum. V. d. Vliet, Haarlem. Critical notes on I 12, 15, 16, 17.

40. Zu Ciceros rede pro Murena. Roscher.

41. (daminum) Epidaminus Epidaminensis. Hasper, Dresden. The name Epidamnus, with its derivatives, like *damnum*, goes back to a form having *i* between *m* and *n*. This *i* can be restored in all passages in Plautus where it has dropped out, excepting in vv. 263 and 267 of the Menaech., where there is a pun on Epidamnus and *damnum*.

42. Emendationes Vergilianae. Baehrens. These emendations cover Book II. See Jahrbücher, 1884, pp. 391-412.

(31). Zu Sallustius. A critical note on Jug. 70, 2. *Clarum* is a better reading than *carum*, though the phrase *carus acceptusque* is common enough.

43. *A* and *ab* before consonants. Meusel, Berlin. The result of the statistics here given is that before *b, v, m, f, p* the use of *a* was the rule; before *d, i, l, n, r, s*, in earlier times *ab* was the commoner, and in classic times was still preferred by many writers; that before *g* and *q, c* and *t* the form *a* was common, though *ab* occurs, rarely, before *g* and *q*, less rarely before *c* and *t*.

44. Zu Tacitus Annalen. Critical notes (3) by F. Walter, München.

45. Ein falscher Hyginus. Otto Rossbach, Rom.

46. Die unvollständigkeit des zweiten buches des Propertius und ihre entstehung. A. Otto. This is against the view of Birt (Rh. Mus. XXXVIII 197) that what remains to us of the second book of Propertius are the selections of some excerptor. Rather was it the case that in the original MS the pages containing the seventh and following poems of Book II were destroyed and, with them, those that indicated where the next book began. See Berl. phil. Wochenschrift, 1885, column 487.

47. Zu kritik des rhetors Seneca. A. Otto. Critical notes on the Suasoriae and Controversiae.

W. E. WATERS.

EDW. B. CLAPP.

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GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. Wien, 1885-6.

Ernst Kraus, "Über Heinrich von Freiberg." Three poems, supposed to have been written by Heinrich v. Freiberg, have come to us: A continuation of Gottfried's unfinished Tristan (T), the expedition of John of Michelsberg (M), and the poem of the Holy Cross (C). Their first editor, v. d. Hagen,

unhesitatingly assigned them to the same writer, while W. Grimm, upon a comparison of T with M, doubted this at the time (*Zur Geschichte des Reims*, p. 19). Goedeke, in his *Grundriss*, calls attention to the great contrast in the merit of the three poems. Bechstein agrees with v. d. Hagen, and ascribes the difference in rhyme and style to the difference in the time of composition, taking M and C to be the earliest efforts of the poet. This opinion Kraus controverts, and adopts in the main the view first started by W. Grimm, that T and M had different authors. He further holds that the writers of T and C were one and the same, and proceeds to establish his theory by pointing out in detail the marks of similarity in rhyme, dialect, and vocabulary in the two poems. The description of knightly pageants, the style, and, above all, the poverty of context, stamps M as emanating from an author far inferior to the writer of T, who must always be ranked as one of the best among the later mediaeval poets.

"Der älteste Tristrantdruck" is the subject of a paper by F. Pfaff, in which he gives a full account of the now oldest Tristrant prose edition. It was found in the Royal Library at Berlin, and bears the date of 1484, fourteen years older than the one heretofore considered as the *editio princeps*. This makes the number of Tristrant prose editions 18. Pfaff compares the reading of this edition with Eilhart's poem, and concludes that it does not represent the oldest prose version—which must have been lost—and that its value for Eilhart criticism and text emendation is not as great as first was expected. In the course of his discussion, Franz Lichtenstein, the editor of "Eilhart," comes in for a little sharp mentioning, in consequence of the latter's criticism of Pfaff's edition of the prose Tristrant.

O. Brenner, "Zum Speculum Regale," defends the resolution of abbreviations in his edition of the *Königsskuggsjá*. While granting that in the case of small manuscripts, isolated in language or contents, especially old fragments and poetic monuments, a diplomatic copy is not only recommendable but obligatory, Brenner contends that, as regards long prose texts, clear in language, not very rich in abbreviations, and handed down in numerous manuscripts, the obscurity of the print, the danger of overlooking trifles in proof-reading, the trouble to the compositor, and the expense of printing do not correspond to the imagined advantages of a diplomatic edition.

Hans Herzog has a minor paper on *Memento Mori*, which he thinks was written down in the Benedictine Abbey of Muri. The name in the last line (*dis machet allein Notker*) he thinks is identical with the Notker who, together with a certain Heinrich, is mentioned as having written most of the books in the monastery. According to Scherer (*Z. f. d. A.* 24, 430), he is not the same as Notker Teutonicus of St. Gaul.

Ludwig Tobler offers a new explanation of the word *kuniowidi* in the *Merseburger Spruch*. Taking *kunie* in its original meaning, "race," he refers to Plutarch's account of the defeat of the Cimbri at Vercelli (Marius, chap. XXVII), where it is said that the Cimbri were bound together by great chains (*maximisque ulnorum robore atque oneramento*). From meaning a chain binding together members of a family in battle, the word then came to mean, when this custom became obsolete, a great chain in general.

Colmar Schumann gives a number of notes on doubtful passages in the Heliand. In l. 2 he thinks *wordgodes* is taken from l. 7, as a gloss to *reckean that girāni*. The other lines commented on are 25, 50, 94, 217, 256, 297, 447, 546-47, 605, 880, 955, 984, 1354, 1396, 1553, 1738, 2188, 2410, 2685-90, 2888, 3065, 3161, 3227, 3235, 3372, 3451, 3696-3700, 4004, 4086, 4329, 4416, 4704, 4899, 5113, 5158, 5426, 5497, 5508, 5714, 5890, 5920.

To Bartsch's notes on Arnold's *Juliane* (cf. *Germania*, 28, 257 ff.), R. Sprenger adds a few others. In ll. 585 ff., for example, instead of *die dā schussen die guote*, etc., he would read *die dā schussen die gluote*.

"Zum Kürenberger." By Hermann Neubourg. The author gives a few more parallels between the Kürenberger strophe and the Nibelungen strophe, in addition to those already discovered by Pfeiffer, Bartsch, Thausing, and H. Fischer, and cites a few instances of foreign influence in the Kürenberger. In strophe 2 (*wes manest du mich leides*) he thinks the person addressed is a lady, and not, as hitherto supposed, a knight, for which several reasons are adduced. The question whether strophe 8, 9 (*jō stuont ich nechtint spāte*) should be struck out is answered in the negative. As to the character of the Kürenberger, Neubourg takes exception to certain statements by Scherer, who, he thinks, has painted the poet too black.

"Bruchstück aus Wolframs Parzival." To the list of Parzival MSS contained in Lachmann's edition, Franz Pfeiffer's Quellenmaterial, and Goedeke's Grundriss, K. A. Barack adds a fragment belonging to the public library of Colmar. It corresponds to Lachmann, 478, 11-482, 28, and 492, 1-496, 15. The handwriting, which is neat and elegant, dates from the thirteenth century. The text commonly corresponds to G, not seldom also to D.

"Aus den Predigten Georgs von Giengen." In the library of the Foundation of Premonstrants at Geras, in Lower Austria, C. M. Blaas found two codices containing a hitherto unknown collection of sermons, whose author he identifies with the university teacher in Vienna, Georg Tudel von Giengen. He publishes the most important of his sermons, especially those pertaining to costumes, social life, superstition, and customs.

Hermann Fischer continues his "Kleine Mittheilungen," containing a "Fragment of a Swabian Medical Book," which, according to the handwriting, dates from the fifteenth century and belongs to the Swabian-Alemannic district, most likely to Württemberg; a "Fragment of the Passional," and a "Fragment of Barlaam and Josaphat," of the same date and dialect; and "Two Fragments of the Lives of the Fathers," of the fourteenth century and of a Middle German or M. H. G. dialect. These fragments are all taken from MSS in the Royal Public Library of Stuttgart.

K. A. Barack publishes a "Bruchstück aus Rudolfs von Ems Wilhelm von Orlens," dating from the fourteenth century; and Oskar Böhme discusses a number of M. H. G. words not found in Lexer's Dictionary, or only imperfectly defined.

Adalbert Jeittes publishes a "Bruchstück aus Rudolfs Weltchronik," and K. Bartsch a "Bruckstück eines deutschen Cato." Felix Liebrecht gives a

favorable review of "Sagor ock Äfventyr upptecknade i Skåne af Eva Wigström, Stockholm, 1884."

No. 2 opens with an article by Gustav Ehrismann on the Relation of the MSS of the Renner of Hugo von Trimberg, and R. Sprenger follows with a series of notes on the Kindheit Jesu by Konrad von Füssebrunnen.

Ernst Kraus publishes a fragment of the Schwabenspiegel, discovered June, 1883, in a MS of the Bohemian Museum, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.

Hermann Fischer, Anton Birlinger, and Theodor Gelbe publish fragments of Rudolf's Weltchronik.

Ferdinand Holthausen publishes a Latin sermon against dancing, by Johannes Herolt, of the year 1492, and K. Bartsch a German sermon on the same subject, taken from a MS in the library of Erfurt, dating from the fifteenth century.

J. J. Crane publishes two Latin folk-tales of the Middle Ages. These are variants of Grimm's Märchen, "Das Wasser des Lebens" and "Die drei Brüder."

Renward Brandstetter publishes "The Luzern Stage-Directions" for the years 1545, 1560; those for 1583 and 1597 follow in No. 3.

Gustav Rossett publishes two German songs from the time of the Schmalkaldic War, and A. Bernoulli publishes rhymed maxims found on the first leaves of a MS containing a chronicle of Colmar to the year 1425.

In Miscellen, Felix Liebrecht prints a corrected text of the Icelandic ballad Kistuðans, already published in Germania XXIX, and accompanies it with a German translation; and Franz Happe publishes a number of letters by Meusebach to Cl. A. Schlüter, written between 1820 and 1823; others written between 1824 and 1843 follow in No. 3.

No. 3 opens with a series of notes by Fedor Bech on Kinzel's new edition of Lamprecht's Alexander. Bech takes exception to several of Kinzel's textual emendations and comments on a number of passages.

Fr. Losch gives facsimiles of the Runic Alphabets of Berne, and accompanies the same with detailed remarks on the various characters. Though not written by an Anglo-Saxon, he thinks these runes are of an Anglo-Saxon-Northumbrian origin. Among the characters he finds some that are specifically Gothic. Hermann Hagen adds a few remarks on the age, origin, and contents of the MS. He refers it to the ninth or tenth century. The character of the writing points to Scotland or Ireland, a fact of no small importance for the runes in question.

Paul Walther furnishes an interesting paper on the name Germanus, which he identifies with Latin *germannus*. In another little paper he thinks that in the "spruch" *Selbwachsen kint*, etc., which has given commentators so much trouble, Walther v. d. Vogelweide addresses wayward youth in general, and no particular individual.



Ignaz Peters has a minor paper, "Die Zahl der Blätter des Codex Argenteus," and J. Trötscher sends emendations "Zum M. H. D. Wörterbuch."

J. Baechtold publishes another Zürich fragment of Parzival (cf. *Germania*, XXIX 71), corresponding to Lachmann, 10, 8-28, 24; and A. Jeitteles publishes a song on the William Tell-Gessler story.

Felix Liebrecht gives a review of "ΚΡΥΤΑΔΙΑ. Recueil de documents pour servir à l'étude des traditions populaires. Vols. I, II. Heilbronn, Henninger frères, éditeurs, 1883, 1884." In the Miscellany he gives a very interesting account of the origin and development of the Northern Museum (Nordiska Museet), founded by Arthur Hazelius in Stockholm. Inspired from early youth with an intense patriotism, Hazelius was grieved to see how fast all peculiarities of manners, costumes, etc., were disappearing, and determined to buy up old garments, etc., and preserve them from destruction. The private collection begun in this way soon swelled to great proportions, and has led to imitations in Finland, Denmark, and Norway. In 1880 Hazelius presented his museum to the Swedish nation.

No. 4 opens with an article by K. v. Bahder on "Lamprecht's Alexanderlied and its Home." Kinzel incorrectly refers the Strassburg MS to the southern part of Middle Franconia. Bahder thinks with W. Grimm that it belongs to the Middle Rhine, perhaps a little south of the Lower Main. The dialect of the "Uebersetzung" also belongs to the east side of the Rhine. It adjoins the Hessian dialect, and is perhaps to be localized on the Thuringian border north of Rhön. Kinzel's supposition that Lamprecht made use of the old Kaiserchronik, that his Alexander was used by the priest Konrad, and that Lamprecht, therefore, must have written in Bavaria, where the two poems arose, is not probable. Lamprecht used both the Kaiserchronik and Roland. This need not have been done in Bavaria, as the Strassburg MS of the Roland shows how soon the poem reached the Rhine. Alexander has more resemblances to another Bavarian poem, König Rother. K. v. Bahder contributes another short paper, "Zu Wernher vom Niederrhein und dem wilden Mann," and a few verbal explanations. The words commented on are: *ingiriuno* (in *ingriuno*) in Otfried, *sich marawen* and *sweld* in Notker, and the verb *jehen*, for which he thinks there is a Middle German variant *jihen*.

Al. Reifferscheid contributes a short treatise by Albert Hoefler on "Love as a subject of popular German poetry"; and the remaining part of the number consists of a bibliographical list of books that appeared in the field of Germanic philology during the year 1884.

#### Heft I.

1886-87.

Beiträge zur Kenntniss der niederdeutschen Mystik, by F. Jostes. The value of the works of the mystics belonging to the little circle that clustered round Ruysbroeck at Groendael has long been recognized by the historian and the student of literature, and the Maatschappij of Flemish bibliophiles may be said to have opened up one of the most important mines of information on the subject when they published, under the editorship of the late Prof. David of Louvain, the first complete edition of Ruysbroeck's works. Merit of a similar

kind, though in a less degree, attaches to Van Otterloo's treatise, "Johannes Ruysbroeck, een bijdrage tot de kennis van den ontwikkelingsgang der mystiek," which excels the works of Engelhardt and Böhringer on the same subject. There seems to be, then, no lack of treatises already written concerning Ruysbroeck and the mystics in the Netherlands, yet the present addition to the number will not be unwelcome to those who are familiar with the earlier works and who know how much is still to be done to clear up the relation of Ruysbroeck to his predecessors, to determine his influence upon his contemporaries and successors, and the development of mysticism in the Netherlands. With seemingly abundant, though widely scattered material, the literature pertinent to this question has not been sufficiently gathered to allow of systematic research. In conclusion, Jostes prints part of two important MSS heretofore unpublished.

L. Fulda contributes an article, "Noch einmal Zelt und Harnisch im ersten und zweiten Buche des Parzival," in which he suggests an explanation of the difficulties caused by the confusion of the terms *palas* and *harnas* in the first two books of the epic. The places referred to are 27, 13-28, 6; 52, 17-53, 11; 54, 11-16; 58, 9-17; 61, 8-15; 64, 13-18; 70, 13-21. This is an old and notable controversy. Isenhart has given away a valuable possession for the sake of Belacane. Was it the *harnas* or *palas*? (27, 15-20, Lachmann):

er gap durh mich sin harnas  
enwec, daz als ein palas  
dort stêt (daz ist ein hœch gezelt:  
daz brâhten Schotten ûf diz velt.)  
dô daz der helt âne wart,  
sin lîp dô wênic wart gespart.

Lachmann places the words *daz ist* to *velt* in parenthesis, and takes *harnas*, so to speak, as *pars pro toto* (the armor lying in the tent). Haupt explains in a similar manner, and both agree that the passage is by no means clear. San Marte (Germ. II 85) puts the parenthesis before *daz als*, and supposes the enclosed sentence to be an incidental expression which suddenly interrupts the course of the story. Bartsch first believed that Wolfram, in translating here, had mistaken the Old French *helberg* (= Herberge, Hütte, Zelt) for the much more frequently occurring *halberg*, which view, controverted by Paul (Beiträge, II 71), he abandoned in his second edition of Parzival, accepting instead the explanation of San Marte. Lately Bötticher and Zacher have again revived the opinion long ago discarded by Bartsch (Ztschr. f. d. Phil. XIII 4). After refuting in detail the arguments brought forward in support of their views, Fulda asks the question whether Isenhart could not have given away *both armor and tent*, and wonders why no one has thought this third case possible, which would remove all difficulties and protect a great poet from the accusation of having been, even if but once in his life, a thoughtless translator. Fulda strikes out Lachmann's parenthesis, places after *enwec* a semicolon, and translates: "Er gab um meinethwillen seine Rüstung fort; was als ein Palast dort steht, das ist ein geräumiges Zelt, welches Schotten auf dies Feld brachten. Als (auch) dessen der Held sich entäussert hatte, da schonte er sein Leben nicht mehr."

Reinhold Köhler, "Zu Dietrich's von Glezze Gedicht 'der Borte,'" in noting the coincidence between the story in this poem, the antique of Kephalos and Prokris, as told by Antoninus Liberalis (*Metamorphoses*, chap. 41), Hyginus (*Fabula* 189), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, VII 682), and the story in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* of the judge Anselmo and his wife Argia, calls attention to a striking similarity which they all bear to the "Märchen" in the *Histoire de la dame des Arabes Jasmin* in the *Contes Arabes modernes, recueillis et traduits par G. Spitta-Bey* (Leide, Paris, 1883). Whether this Arabian märchen, like the Italian and the Old German, found its germs in the Greek story, or whether not all be "the glittering star-dust, the fragments of the earlier constellations of Oriental fancy," will be indeed difficult to settle.

F. M. Böhme furnishes "Nachträge zum altdutschen Liederbuch." These Nachträge, consisting of the folksongs "Die Frau von Weissenburg" (with the original melody), der Mutter Warnung, and der Dollinger, of which different versions have already found a place in his *Liederbuch*, are an additional evidence of the unceasing and steady work that is being accomplished by the author of the foremost publication on the field of the Volkslieder of Germany, Franz M. Böhme.

Gustav Ehrismann, "Zu Eilhart's Tristrant 1183," proposes an explanation of the proper name *Jemsetir* in the Tristrant. By a change of the initial we get the Old French *Semsetir* = *sems* (sens) *tiere* (tere, terre), *sine terra*.

"Mittheilungen aus der Münchner Kön. Bibliothek" is the subject of a paper by F. Keinz and K. Bartsch, in which they describe and print a number of fragments found in the Munich library. These consist of fragments from a poetical version of the Genesis and Exodus, probably written towards the end of the twelfth century by a Middle German poet, a legend of St. Patrick, fragments from Veldeke's *Eneide*, Aue's *Arm. Heinrich*, Reinbot's *Georg*, Stoffel's *Gauriel*, Konrad's *Goldner Schmiede*, and a collection of Low German fables. Theo. v. Grienberger adds to these some Salzburg fragments (Konrad v. Heimesfurt *Mariae Himmelfahrt* and *Aus dem Buch der Märtyrer*) of the first half of the fifteenth century.

K. v. Bahder supplies a fable, still found among the southern Slavonic people, which will throw light on the question asked in one of Spervogel's *Sprüche* (Mf. 26, 34): "Weister wie der igel sprach? Vil guot ist eigen gemach." This fable, to which the poet evidently refers, must have been lost in Germany at an early time, since not a trace of it is found in any of the mediaeval collections. In addition Bahder prints a Middle German "Gereimte Beichte" of the 12th century, from a codex in Upsala, and a Low German "Canticum Rustardini" from a paper MS (fifteenth century) in the same library. In an article, "Des Hundes nôt," Bahder controverts the opinion of Voigt, who, in his edition *Isengrimus* (p. xci), pronounces the *Thierepen* creations of the French mind and in their elements the offshoot of the humor and satire of French monks. Bahder agrees with Gustav Meyer's expression in the latter's essays (p. 225), "Thiermärchen zu ersinnen darf man dem menschlichen Geiste unter allen Himmelsstrichen zutrauen," and adduces examples of Slavonic forms of the Märchen of *Isengrimus*. The M. H. G. poem, "Des Hundes nôt," is shown to go directly back to a German fable.

F. Holthausen conclusively proves the "Luzerner Fastnachtsspiel" (published in *Zeitschr. f. d. Philol.* Vol. 17, p. 347) a translation of Nicolas de la Chesnaye's Old French moralité, "La condannacion de bancquet," and Chr. Kolb sends a fragment from the *Aventiure Crône* of Heinrich von dem Türlin, which K. found as part of a cover round a parchment MS in the Schwäbisch-Hall city library. Otto Böckel contributes a variant of the German Leonorensage, and F. Losch points out some stupid, perhaps intentional mistakes made by the writer of the "Berner Runenalphabete" (*Run. Cod. Bern.* 207, fol. 264 b). Cf. *Germania* 1885, Heft 3.

C. Marold, in a minor paper, "Zu Otfrid," believes the title, "Liber evangeliorum," used by Otfrid for his work, to be borrowed by the latter from Juuencus, who, according to nearly all MSS, employed it for his *Historia evangelica*. Juuencus figures among the poets mentioned by Otfrid in the dedication to Liutbert, and belonged to the best known writers of that time.

A short communication, "Zum Rolandsliede" (ed. Bartsch), from F. Holthausen, has a few new emendations, and "Das Verhältniss der Texte von Lamprecht's Alexander" is discussed by Otto Behagel, who holds the Basle text to stand independent of the Vorau and Strassburg versions.

Carl Bartsch prints the first page of the Iwein MS (a) of Heidelberg, which hitherto could scarcely be deciphered any more. With the aid of Dr. Zange-meister and sulphide of ammonium he managed to spell out a few words in each verse.

Under the head of Literature, Dr. Bartsch speaks most favorably of O. von Heinemann's Catalogue of the MSS in the celebrated Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel (1884), and the Miscellany contains "Handschriftliches aus Luzern," i. e. a few specimens from a Low German MS of the fifteenth century.

C. F. RADDATZ.

## BRIEF MENTION.

Messrs. STRONG and PEARSON's *Juvenal* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1887), being intended for the mixed classes in modern English colleges, has been expurgated for safe perusal. The sixth satire has been omitted bodily, as well it might, if an expurgating editor has no more judgment than the gentleman who failed to excise v. 73. Satires II and IX share the banishment of VI, and the knife has been carefully used on the rest. What Messrs. Strong and Pearson had to avoid in a college edition they have fairly succeeded in avoiding. The student will not have to encounter the overwhelming erudition of Mayor, nor the leisurely chattiness of Lewis, nor the false point-making of Simcox. Each satire is preceded by a reduction, as it might be called rather than a summary, the usefulness of which the present writer would be the last to dispute, and these are all well done. The notes are boiled down to the minimum and sometimes below the minimum, and the grammatical and stylistic observations are decidedly fitful. Anything that happens to have interested the editors in any recent publication is clapped in, and there is no systematic record of grammatical and rhetorical usage, such as would aid the student in forming an image of Juvenal's style. Nothing could be more important for measuring Juvenal than the comparison with Horace, Persius, Petronius, and Martial, not only for the things said, but for the way in which the things are said; but the limits are so narrowly drawn as to make this impossible. The spelling is inconsistent, *corna* here and *cena* there, and it must be confessed that *strigil* printed as a Latin word (on 3, 263) is a rasping mistake, which might have been forgiven before the publication of Frischlin's famous *Strigilis grammatica*, in 1584, but not since. The citations are sometimes careless. In references to Müller's Handbuch the volume is not given, nor the page, nor the author of the article, except once, and then falsely. So in the note on 4, 105 'Brugman in Müller's Hdbch.' should be Schmalz in Müller's Handbuch, II 270. Of the Greek syntax of the editors the note on 7, 104 does not make a favorable impression, for why we should expect the participle with *av* for *legenti* is not discernible, nor does it speak well for their Latin feeling when they class *leto dedit* (10, 119) with Vergil, Aen. 5, 451: *it clamor caelo*. In fact, the whither dative in Latin poetry is an extension of the personal, and *leto dedit* enables us to understand *it caelo*, and not the other way. See my note on Pindar, O 2, 90, and add to the Greek examples there 1 167 and Plat. Rpb. 8, 566 c: *θανάτῳ δίδοται*. Sometimes the hesitation is remarkable. There can be no doubt about *lassata viris* (6, 130); why should there be any about 1, 13: *assiduo lectore*? If *alius* requires a note (1, 10), surely *illum* requires a note (10, 108). 'Octonos . . . Idibus' (quoted 10, 116) is a misprint that corrects itself; but by what ill luck did the statement that 'M.' Acilius Glabrio was consul with Trajan in A. D. 44' get into the notes on 4, 94?

The introduction is well written and will commend itself to the admirers of the rhetorical poet, who has never lacked admirers in England, although, according to Mr. Pearson, he has his true spiritual congeners in Americans.

In the list of authorities Weidner figures in the front rank, a tardy satisfaction to a much slighted commentator, whose wails about neglect have evoked no sympathetic echoes in Germany, and we venture to say that the editors enjoy a like insular solitude in their high estimate of Doetsch's 'Juvenal, ein Sittenrichter seiner Zeit.' The index is quite inadequate.

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If Messrs. Pearson and Strong have for the most part limited their notes on Juvenal to the 'irreducible minimum,' Prof. G. G. RAMSAY has allowed himself ample room for genial and discursive comment on *Selections from Tibullus and Propertius* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1887). This he has done in accordance with his experience 'that the surest way to interest students in the classics, even in their grammatical difficulties, is to make them feel how rich and varied a field of human interest they present.' In the pursuit of this interest, however, the commentator seems to allow himself far too much sweep, and the pages upon pages of extracts from an earlier Professor Ramsay's Tibullus are out of all proportion to the character of the present edition, and in any case should have been revised and brought down to date. In the commentary on Propertius, while Professor Ramsay makes a handsome acknowledgment of the merits of Professor Postgate's edition, he has the courage to differ with him at more than one important point, and, in fact, exhibits throughout a Scottish sturdiness which we must respect. Indeed, the Scottish flavor of the whole book is in delightful contrast to the so-called scholarly reserve so much in vogue, and cannot fail to heighten the pleasure with which it will be read by the lads, and especially by the lasses, whom the professor has evidently had in his eye. We like to see *cista* (Tib. 1, 7, 48) translated by 'kist,' and *sepositam* (Tib. 2, 5, 8) by 'put past.' There is a certain 'pawkiness' also in the note on Prop. 3, 4, 17: 'It is an interesting and instructive circumstance that the ancient Southron was shocked because the Celt wore trousers, while the modern Southron affects to be no less shocked because he dispenses with them. The latter probably forgets that the kilt was a Roman military dress, worn by the Caesars: see the famous statue of Augustus in the Braccio Nuovo.' So much for the carping Sassenach. The treatment of grammatical phenomena is much more penetrating than what we find in Pearson and Strong's Juvenal, as, for instance, in the discussion of the so-called dative for *ad* and acc.; cf. Tib. 1, 1, 5: *vitaē traducere* with 2, 5, 44: *caelo miserit*, though it would have been better to speak of 'personal dative' than of 'trajective force'. But, unfortunately, this commendation cannot be made uniform. So Professor Ramsay spoils a good note on Prop. 1, 8, 24 by a poor one on 1, 17, 6, and it is rather strange that the author of a work on Latin Prose Composition should not have made clear to himself once for all the difference between the relative interrogative *quis* and the relative *quominus*, and should have followed Postgate blindfold on Prop. 1, 8, 22. In his note on Prop. 1, 22, 4: '*Italiae duris funera temporibus*,' he says, '*Italiae*, doubtless to be constructed both with *funera* and *temporibus*.' In spite of the Scottish caution which such a note suggests, and in spite

of the reinforcement of this procedure by the well-known example of Professor Campbell, we venture to say 'Doubtless not.' No word can have more than one regimen, although the echo of a word may haunt another element of the sentence. If we read *patriae sepulcra* we must construe *Italicae funera*. On Prop. 2, 13, 27 we find the inveterate superstition that the fut. implies a softened, courteous imperative. The note on *equidem* with the third person (Prop. 2, 31, 5) should have had a reference to Ribbeck, and on Prop. 3, 8, 17 some use should have been made of Jahn's overwhelming note on Pers. 4, 19. Prop. 3, 2, 8, *si* with ind. is the regular construction after *miror*, as *ei* with ind. after *θαυμάζω*. Prop. 3, 2, 21, the reference should be, not to Pind. P. 2, but to P. 6, 10. Other trifles it is not worth while to notice. It is a mere slip that in Prop. 1, 17, 3 the editor comments on *omnia et* and puts Paley's conj. *omine et* into the text, but it is a graver fault to waste space by repeating notes, which always savors of undigested work; comp. note on Tib. 1, 3, 34 with note on 1, 1, 20; the note on Tib. 1, 3, 37 with the note on 1, 1, 51.

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Herr ROBERT SCHNEIDER of Halberstadt has edited the *Bellum Grammaticale* of JOHANN SPANGENBERG (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1887), a schoolmaster's trifle, which amused schoolmasters three hundred years ago and may amuse schoolmasters three hundred years hence. Some of the details of the war between the noun and the verb are very ingenious, such as the fate of the imperatives *Dice*, *Duce*, *Face* and *Fere* 'quibus ignominiae causa posteriores vestium partes praecidi iussit rex Poeta' (evidently suggested by 2 Sam. 10, 4), and there are curious side-lights thrown every now and then on the state of grammatical studies in the period of the Reformation. The editor seems to have done little beyond the correction of the spelling, which was hardly necessary for the only class of readers that will care to look into the little book.

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Dr. B. SCHRADER's admirable work, *Sprachvergleichung und Ungeschichte*, was sent to the most eminent authority in America for review as soon as it reached this Journal, but many engagements and impaired health have retarded for years the hoped-for notice. Meantime we would call attention to the *Probe-Vorlesung* of Dr. Schrader at the University of Jena, *Ueber den Gedanken einer Kulturgeschichte der Indogermanen auf sprachwissenschaftlicher Grundlage* (Jena, Hermann Costenoble, 1887), in which he has sketched with a firm hand and in bright colors the outlines of the province in which he has worked so successfully.

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A Latin Grammar that fits itself so closely to the French idiom as M. LOUIS HAVET's *Abrégé de Grammaire Latine* (Paris, Hachette, 1886) does not fall within our criticism. Still practical teachers will find valuable hints here and there, and the more scientific student will detect what Bréal happily calls 'the latent linguistics' of the little volume.

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In the Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Ginn & Co. will publish this summer Zupitza's *Elene*, edited, by permission of Prof. Zupitza, by Prof. Henry Johnson, Ph. D. (Berlin), of Bowdoin College.

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. VIII, 3.

WHOLE NO. 31.

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## I.—THE ASSYRIAN *E*-VOWEL.

Within the last few years the existence of an *e*-vowel in Assyro-Babylonian as well as in Sumero-Akkadian has been not infrequently denied. Hommel promised, p. 463 of his *Semiten*, soon to give full evidence that *e* never existed in Sumero-Akkadian. Although more than three years have since elapsed, a comprehensive treatment of the subject has not yet appeared. As I remarked, II ZK 272, 3, we have been rather "contenting ourselves with *Edicten und Zustimmungsadressen*." Hommel published only a few short remarks, *Zur Lautbestimmung von i* (I ZK 72 and 73), confining himself, "*da der Raum für dieses erste Heft nicht überschritten werden sollte*," to pointing out the chief reasons which had led him to his conclusion. To this Dr. Bezold made some additional remarks, reserving for one of the succeeding numbers of the *Zeitschrift* a brief history of the transcription of the characters for *i*, as well as some further discussions on the "interesting question raised by Dr. Hommel." Thus far this promise has not been fulfilled. Lyon, too, in his *Assyrian Manual*, has given us only a *Wechsel auf die Zukunft*. He says, l. c. xxvii, §7, 1: "Some students believe that the Assyrians did have separate signs for *e*-syllables, but it is clear from an examination of the cuneiform texts that the signs for *i* and those supposed to represent *e* are used interchangeably." "I have collected considerable material on the subject which I hope some day to publish."

Other expressions of opinion with regard to the *e*-vowel are given in Delitzsch's AS 16, AL<sup>2</sup> 2; Oppert, GGA 1878, in his review of Delitzsch's AL<sup>2</sup>; Haupt, SFG 65-68; Pognon, *Bavian*, 161; Lotz, TP 72 and 73; C. F. Lehmann's Inaugural Dissertation, p. 36.

In the following paper I shall subject the question of the pronunciation of this *e*-vowel to a new examination.

First of all, I should like to remark that the signs for *i* and *e* are not throughout confounded with one another. As I have shown, SFG 68, the historical orthography with *e* is in certain cases regularly retained. I know of no instance in which *gi-e-ru* "plain" is written *gi-i-ru*, and there will hardly be any passages found in which for *ri-e-šu* "head," *gi-e-nu* "sheep," *ri-e-mu* "grace," *ri-i-šu*, *gi-i-nu*, *ri-i-mu* are written. *Ri-i-mu*, i. e. *rīmu*, means "wild ox," *ri-e-mu*, i. e. *remu*, on the other hand, "grace."<sup>1</sup> Cf. further *neru* "600" and *ntru* "yoke," *šeru* "morning" and *širu* "flesh," *šeru* "plain" and *širu* "lofty." Similarly, the prefixed *w* of the causative stems of verbs *𐤌𐤕* and the infixed *n* of the reflexive-passive stems of the same verbs are regularly written with a following *e*. Consequently we cannot say that there is no difference at all in the use of the signs for *i* and *e*.

It is true that the original *e*, as in many languages, became *i* in course of time: *rīšu* or *rešu* "head," *kīnu* or *kenu* "righteous," were pronounced *rīšu*, *kīnu*, just as the Western Syrians say *rīšō*, *kīnō* for the Eastern-Syriac *rēšā*, *kēnā* (Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, §46).<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the characters for *i* and *i*, i. e. *e*, are frequently confounded in writing: for *šumelu* "left" they wrote *šu-mi-lu*, for *emur* "he saw" (cf. E. Syr. *nēmar*, W. Syr. *nīmar*), *i-mur*, etc. On the other hand, we find *e-mil-tu* "right side," for *imittu* (= *imintu*, fem. to 𐤍𐤓), *simāte*<sup>3</sup> "distinctions" for *simāti*,

<sup>1</sup> In distinguishing between *e* and *i* Delitzsch is very inconsistent. *Hebr. Langu.* 7 e. g. and AL<sup>3</sup>, p. 15, No. 118 and p. 145, s. v. 𐤍𐤓 he correctly reads *rīmu* "wild ox," in his *Proleg.* p. 16, on the other hand, *rēmu*; so, too, he gives correctly, *Proleg.* 47, and *Schrifttafel*, No. 119, *širu* "flesh," while in the *Glossary* to AL<sup>3</sup> he writes *šēru*.

<sup>2</sup> The Eastern Syrians at present pronounce the old *ē* very much like *i*, no matter whether it corresponds to a W. Syriac *i* or *e*, though there is still some difference between this *e* and the ordinary *i*. Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 31, note; *Neo-Syr. Gramm.* p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The stem is, as Flemming, p. 41, 37, pointed out, 𐤍𐤓𐤕; cf. *asāmu*, S<sup>3</sup> 100.

*Simtu*, plur. *simāti*, is a formation like *biltu*, plur. *bildāti* "tribute" (*Hebraica*, III 107, 2), and the name of the third month *Simānu* (Esth. 8, 9: 𐤍𐤓𐤕) is a form like *liddānu* "offspring" (II R. 36, 52; 37, 21) from 𐤌𐤕. The ' in 𐤍𐤓𐤕 is certainly no proof for a derivation from 𐤍𐤓.

<sup>4</sup> Why Delitzsch reads the feminine plural ending *ātē* instead of *āti*, I do not know. Does he perhaps assume a double plural ending? an addition of the masculine plural ending *e* to the feminine plural, as in Hebrew 𐤍𐤓𐤕𐤕 or in 𐤍𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕 (Gesenius, §87, 5, rem. 1; §91, 3)? Or does he read *ātē* merely on the basis of passages like *ep-še-te-e-šu lim-ni-e-ti*, III R. 15, 13b or V R. 6, 109,

*niribite šupšuqâte* "impassable straits" for *neribeti šupšuqāti*, etc., etc.

where, alongside of *si-ma-ti-ša*, the spelling *si-ma-te-e-ša* occurs? This *i-t*, I suppose, expresses only a long *i* arisen from *t* under the influence of the accent: *si-ma-ti-t-ša* stands for *simatīša*. The length of the vowel is probably to be considered here as in *mu-ša-bu-u-ka* (i. e. *māšabūka* or rather *mōšabūka*) "thy dwelling," IV R. 31, 27b, or *ar-na-a-šu*, *arndū* "his sin," V R. 3, 17. Besides it is not certain that *simati* is plural in this case. Perhaps *simati* is to be read as singular with short *a*. For the preservation of the *a* before the feminine ending, generally syncopated in analogous cases, cf. forms like *hīratu* "wife" = *hīrtu*, II R. 36, 43; *kīšatu* "forest" = *kīštu*, II R. 23, 46 and 43; *kīmatu* "family" = *kīmtu*, II R. 29, 73; *rū'atu* "spirit" = *rātu*, S<sup>b</sup> 85; *rebitu* "broad way" (= *raḥabatu*, *raḥbatu*, SFG 16, 6) alongside of forms like *beltu* "lady," *neštu* "lioness," *keltu* (= *kentu*) "righteousness"; *belitu* "lady" (= *beltu*, II R. 36, 63); *adamatu* "blood" (S<sup>b</sup> 225; II R. 37, 60) alongside of forms like *alaktu* "course," *mahiḡatu* (cf. *ḥasiḡatu*, V R. 28, 13) = *mahiḡtu*, V R. 17, 46; *tubuḡatu* "region," II R. 35, 38 = *tubuḡtu*, S<sup>b</sup> 221, etc. Accordingly, we could safely assume alongside of *simti* a singular form *simati*.—The *i* in the feminine plural ending *āti* is due, just as the *i* in the masculine plural ending *āni* for *āmi*, to dissimilation; the primitive forms were *āta*, *āna* or *āma*, and *āti*, the masculine plural ending of adjectives and participles, as well as *āni*, the fuller plural ending of the third person plural of verbs, rest, as I pointed out SFG 70, below, on analogy.—A trace of the old plural ending *āni* in Aramean—not to speak of the feminine plural forms in *ānu*, mentioned SFG 70, 71—seems to be preserved in the Syriac plural forms in *ānē*, cited by Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* §74: e. g. *šallitē* "governor," plur. *šallitē* or *šallitānē* like Assy. *šarre* or *šarrāni* "kings" from *šarru* "king"; cf. also Nöldeke, *Neusyr. Gramm.* p. 126; *Mand. Gramm.* p. 169; Duval, §265. The final *t* of *šallitānē* seems to me due to analogy. According to Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.* p. 69, ܫܠܝܬܐ, Cant. 2, 12, as plural to ܫܠܝܬܐ and ܫܠܝܬܐ, Prov. 24, 31 from ܫܠܝܬܐ, are probably to be put in the same category. Nöldeke himself referred to the Assyrian plural ending *āni*: *ḡalmāni* plur. of *ḡalmu* (constr. *ḡalam*) "images."—If alongside of *ḡalmāni* we find *ḡalmānu* in Assyro-Babylonian (*ḡal-ma-a-nu*, Beh. 106), it is an analogical formation based upon singular forms with the affix *ānu* like *ḡarrānu* "road" (plene *ḡar-ra-a-nu*, V R. 55, 16) from Assy. ܡܪܪ "to be narrow" (cf. *sāqu* "street" from Assy. ܣܩ "to be narrow," in Arabic with assimilation of the *ḡ* to the *p*: ضيق); *mūtānu* or *mōtānu* "pestilence," II R. 36, 5 (Syriac *maulānā*, Nöld. §128); *līšānu* "tongue" (plene *li-ša-a-nu*, IV R. 20, 24) from *līšu* "to lick" (Arabic لَحَس, see *Hebraica*, I 178, 4), etc. Similarly the *u* in the feminine plural ending *ātu* for *āti* (e. g. *ḡarrānātu* "roads," Nimr. 24, 5) is based on the analogy of the feminine singular forms like *amātu* (= *\*amāiatu*) "word," *aḡātu* (V R. 39, 64) "sister," *kaḡātu* "surrounding wall," *paḡātu* "government," *piḡātu* "governor," *iḡātu* "fire," *ruḡātu* "the great one" (V R. 13, 45; 39, 66). That is also the case with the accusative *a* in the feminine plural ending: e. g. *līšānāta*, Bezold, *Achaemeniden-Inscripfen*, p. 37, VII, O, 16; cf. *ibid.*, p. xi.

But it does not by any means follow from this graphical confusion of *i* and *ī* that these two vowels were not distinguished even in the earliest period; it only shows that in the course of time they converged. We have a similar case in Ethiopic. Here the two sibilants, *Shaut* and *Sât*, which correspond to the Arabic ش and س (or etymologically also to ث), are sounded alike as *s*, and consequently are continually confounded with one another in the manuscripts; but no one denies that the *Shaut* was originally pronounced *sh*. Similarly, we find in the Neo-Punic inscriptions alongside of חוּיָ "vixit," the spellings עוּיָ, אוּיָ, עוּיָ, הוּיָ, עוּיָ, עוּיָ, עוּיָ (Schröder, 82); accordingly the guttural letters are confounded with one another indiscriminately. Nevertheless, it is beyond all doubt that אַהוּע were originally in Phœnician sharply distinguished.

Confusion of the characters in writing does not even show that the sounds were not distinguished in pronunciation. In Ethiopic manuscripts the consonants *Ṣadai* and *Dappā*,<sup>1</sup> which correspond etymologically to Arabic ص (or ظ) and ض, are not infrequently confounded, and yet no Abyssinian would ever confound *Ṣadai* and *Dappā* in speaking; cf. Trumpp, ZDMG XXVIII 518; Prätorius' Ethiopic Grammar, p. 8. Accordingly, it is quite possible, in spite of all the confusion of the characters for *i* and *e* in writing, that even in the latest period an *e* was spoken, at least in certain words.

I shall first treat, in the following pages, of the instances in which an *ī* in Assyro-Babylonian loan-words is rendered by an *ē* in other languages; and, secondly, I shall bring forward the parallel cases in which Assyro-Babylonian *ī* corresponds to *ē* in similar formations of the cognate idioms.

### I. *Rendering of ī in Assyro-Babylonian Loan- Words by ē.*

1. One of the clearest examples is furnished us by the ancient Babylonian divine name *Bil*, construct state of *bīlu* "lord," *plene*

<sup>1</sup> The so-called emphatic consonants *ṭ*, *ḳ*, *p̣*, are pronounced in Ethiopic as tenues with glottal catch (*festem Absatz*). Accordingly they would be better transcribed *ṭ̣*, *ḳ̣*, *p̣̣*. Similar sounds are found in Armenian in the pronunciation of Tiflis and Erzerum, and in Georgian; cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*, 3d ed. p. 137. The Abyssinian *Dappā* is a German *s*, i. e. *ts*; *Ṣadai*, on the other hand, is an *affricata* with glottal catch like *ṭ̣s* in the Tiflis Armenian (Sievers<sup>2</sup>, 158).

*bi-i-lu* or *bi-i-lu*. In Herodotus the name appears in the form Βήλος; cf. Herod. I 181: Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον. So, too, we find in Latin corresponding to η a long ē, e. g. Ovid. Metam. IV 213:

Rexit Achaemenias urbes pater Orchamus, isque  
Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.

Bel appears here as the founder of Babylon and the Assyrian empire.

In the Old Testament we meet the name in the form בֵּל, so we have again an *e*-vowel; cf. Is. 46, 1: בָּרַע בֵּל קֶרֶס נָבו "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth"; Jer. 50, 2: הִזְבִּישׁ בֵּל חֵת מִרְדָּךְ "Bel is ashamed, Merodach is broken"; Jer. 51, 44: וּפָקַדְתִּי עַל-בֵּל בְּבָבֶל "I will punish Bel in Babylon." The same pronunciation appears in the name Belshazzar, Hebr. בִּלְשַׁצָּר, *i. e.* Babylonian *Bel-šar-ušur* "Bel protect the king," and in Βήλιβος, *i. e.* *Bel-epuš* (or *Bel-ibus*) "Bel made," the name of Merodach-Baladan's successor, whom Sennacherib appointed in Babylon.

If *Bi-i-lu* was not pronounced *belu*, but *blu*, why then was it not written בֵּל instead of בָּל?

Bel's consort was named *Belit* (for *belat* III R. 7, col. I 3, on account of the preceding *e*), construct state of *beltu* "lady" (= *ba'latu* II R. 36, 61). In Herodotus the name appears in the form Μύλιτα. Change of *m* and *b* can be observed in several cases in Babylonian: for מִרְדַּךְ-בִּלְאֲדִין, Babyl. *Marduk-bal-iddina* "Merodach has given a son," we read 2 Kings 20, 12: בִּרְאֲדִין-בִּלְאֲדִין, and the name of the city *Haleb* "Aleppo," appears in the Kurkh monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II<sup>1</sup> as *Halman*. Similarly, we find, instead of the *m* in the Akkadian name of the "cypress" *šurman*, Assy. *šurmenu* in Aramean אֲמַרְמָן; cf. Targumic שׁוּרְמָנָא (or rather שׁוּרְמָנָא), Cant. 1, 17; 3, 9; Talmudic שׁוּרְמָנָא, Gitt. 68b below, modern Arabic شربين *sharbin* (Immanuel Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 333).

Μύλιτα is accordingly = *Belit*. On the change of *v* and *η* cf. Sayce, *Accadian Phonology*, 7;<sup>2</sup> Haupt, SFG 51-55, CV 31, 20.

<sup>1</sup> This is the text in which Ahab of Israel is mentioned as *Ahabbu Sir'alā'a*. Cf. Schrader, COT 187 below; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 274; RP III 81.

<sup>2</sup> "Thus *tu*, 'a dove,' also appears as *te*, presupposing *tū*." Cf. *op. cit.* pp. 2 below; 5, 1; 8.

More accurate is the rendition of the name in Hesychius, who furnishes the gloss: Βήλθις· ἡ Ἑρα ἢ Ἀφροδίτη. This Βήλθις is = *Belti*, or rather בִּלְתִּי (with spirantic *th*), which properly means "my lady"; cf. the English "Our Lady," French "Notre-Dame" for the Blessed Virgin; Hebr. לַיְיָ prop. "my lords" for יהוה and the Phœnician Ἀδωνις, *i. e.* אֲדֹנִי "my lord." The *θ* in Βήλθις indicates the spiration of the *h* occurring in Assyro-Babylonian<sup>1</sup> just as well as in Syriac and Hebrew. Cf. *e. g.* Ταυθέ (Damascius, *Quæstiones de primis principiis*, ed. Jos. Kopp, p. 384) for the Babylonian *Tāvtu*, *Tāmtu* (אֲחֻמְתּוּ) "Sea" = *tāmatu*, \**tahmatu*, Hebr. הַיָּם and the New Testament *Mάρθα* for אֲחֻמְתּוּ, Luke 10, 40; John 11, 19.<sup>2</sup>

In Sanchoniathon, ed. Orelli (Leipzig, 1826), p. 38, Βααλτις appears as a surname of Astarte, just as in the cuneiform texts we find in Phœnician proper names *baal* instead of the Assyro-Babylonian *belu*. According to Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle, 1869), p. 145, 2, the vowel *i* is a part of the Greek ending -ις, Βαυλις going back to בַּעֲלִי, not to בַּעֲלִי "my lady"; cf. Renan, *Mém. sur Sanchon.* (*Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, t. XXIII, p. 315). This may hold good for Phœnician Βααλτις as well as for the other names cited by Schröder, Ἀνῶτις = אֲנַת, Χουσαρβις = חוּשָׁרִי, *Kádutis*, Herod. 2, 159; 3, 5 for *Kádusutis* = קִדְשָׁה "sancta" (sc. urbs = Jerusalem), although the *θ* in Χουσαρβις is not in favor of this view. That the *i* in Βήλθις, however, is really the suffix of the first person is shown by the Syro-Arabic gloss, No. 2480, in Bar Ali's Lexicon, ed. Geo. Hoffmann (Kiel, 1874), p. 88.

Here we read: בִּלְתִּי הִי אֶפְרוֹדִיטָא **الكوكب النى يعرف بالزهرة** *el-kôkab alladi ju'raf bil-suhare* "Aphrodite the star known by the name of Zuhare," *i. e.* the planet Venus. Cf. Lagarde in the London *Academy* of Dec. 15, 1870; reprinted *Symmicta*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1877. Lagarde has shown there that the name also occurs in the passage Is. 10, 4. Instead of the unintelligible בִּלְתִּי כִרְצַת חֵת אֲסִיר we should read: בִּלְתִּי כִרְצַת חֵת אֲסִיר "Belthis is sinking, Osiris has been broken."

One of my students called my attention to the fact that Abraham

<sup>1</sup>So we have to read instead of Belthi (M. Schmidt).

<sup>2</sup>See my remarks in the *Paris Hellenic University Circulars* for August, 1887, p. 117 ff. *On the pronunciation of the Old Persian.*

<sup>3</sup>Cf. also Syriac feminine forms like אֲחֻמְתּוּ, אֲחֻמְתּוּ, אֲחֻמְתּוּ, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* §23, E, p. 17.

Geiger already in 1863 took בִּלְתִּי = βῆλθι in one passage of the Canon. He thinks (in his *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, Vol. II, Breslau, 1863, p. 259) that the passage II Kings 23, 10 : וְטָפַא אֶת-הַתֶּפֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּנֵי-הַנֶּחֱסִי לְהַעֲבִיר אִישׁ אֶת-בְּנוֹ וְאֶת-בִּתּוֹ בָּאֵשׁ לְפָלֶךְ "And he defiled Topheth which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech," should rather be translated : "He defiled the burning place which was in the valley of the children of Hinnom *for Beltis*, causing every man to burn his son and his daughter with fire to Molech." Geiger refers to Jer. 32, 35 ; Carmina Barhebraei, ed. Lengerke, III, p. 5, l. 9 ; Lagarde, *Analecta*, p. 137, l. 22. The latter passage is also cited by Lagarde, *l. c.*, who quotes, besides, p. 16 of his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866), and Selden, *De diis Syris*, p. 156.<sup>1</sup>

Geiger's view on II Kings 23, 10 seems to me as unacceptable as Lagarde's conjecture on Is. 10, 4 is obvious. At all events it is clear that the *í* in the name of the god *Bil* and his consort *Bilit* was originally pronounced *e*.

2. A second instance of the rendering of a Babylonian *í* by *η* is afforded by the name of the number 600 in the combined decimal-sexagesimal system of the Babylonians. The cuneiform spelling of the word is given in Col. III of the Trilingual Vocabulary ASKT 110, 41 (cf. AL<sup>3</sup> 130, l. 138 ; V R. 12, 39) as *ní-t-r[u]*, the fragment of a duplicate (R<sup>M</sup> 2, II 415, published by myself II ZK 279) giving the variant *ní-t-ir* as V R. 18, 23b. This *níru* appears Syncellus 30, 6 (*Eusebi Chronicorum liber prior*, ed. Alfred Schoene, Berlin, 1875, col. 8) as νῆρος : ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Βηρωσσὸς διὰ σάρων<sup>2</sup> καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων ἀνεγράψατο· ὧν ὁ μὲν σάρος τρισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων ἐτῶν χρόνον σημαίνει, ὁ δὲ νῆρος ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων, ὁ δὲ σώσσω ἐξήκοντα. It might be objected that the *η* in this case could express an *í* ; however, the *η* is most likely based on correct tradition.<sup>3</sup>

3. The same doubt might be raised against the gloss of Hesychius (rec. Mor. Schmidt, Jena, 1862, Vol. IV, p. 14) : σάνη, or rather σαύη· ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνιοι. Σαύη is the Babylonian *šame* "heaven" (plene *ša-mí-í* IV R. 20, No. 3, 18), which in later times

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, Göttingen, 1884, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Cuneiform *ša-ar*, i. e. *šar*, AL<sup>3</sup> 70, top line ; cf. Delitzsch, "*Soss, Ner, Sar*," *AZ*, 1878, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> The Armenian version has, according to the great Armenian Lexicon (Venice, 1836-37), *νερ*.—Lagarde.

was pronounced *šavt* or in Assyrian *save*, *savt*, with an *s* instead of *š*. This can hardly be advanced as an evidence for the pronunciation of *š* as *e*; here too, however, it is the most natural assumption to ascribe the *η* to correct tradition.

4. The *e* of the plural of masculine substantives in Assyro-Babylonian<sup>1</sup> is also rendered by *η* in the name of Sennacherib, meaning "Sin (the moon-god) has increased the brothers," Assy. *Sin-ahe-erba*<sup>2</sup> (or *-erib*), *Sinaherba*, *Sinaherib*. In the LXX, Josephus, Berossus we find for it *Σενναχηρίμ*, *Σενναχηρείμ*, *Σεναχήριβος*; Herod. II 141: *Σαναχάριβος βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων*. In *Σαναχάριβος* the *a* instead of *η* may be due to the influence of the following *p*; besides, the *e* in *ahe*, as well as in *erba*, *erib*, arose from a primitive *a*. In *Σενναχηρίμ*, for which *Σενναχηρείμ* is merely another spelling, the double *ν* is probably due to progressive assimilation of the *ṣ*, as in Assy. *innabit* "he fled" for *in'abil*, *innamir* "he was seen" for *in'amir*; cf. also *Ῥάββηλος* = *אֶל רַב*, Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, p. 95. Concerning the change between *μ* and *β* we have already remarked above. In accordance with the *η* in *Σεναχήριβος* we find a *צָרִי* in Hebrew: the name appears in the Old Testament as *סִנְחַרִּיב* (II Kings 19, 20, *defective*: *סנחרב*), for which it might, perhaps, be better to write *סִנְחָרִיב*.

5. One of the most important instances for the rendering of *š* by *e* is furnished by the name of the tenth Babylonian month,<sup>3</sup> which appears in Esther 2, 16 in the form *בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשִׂירִי הוּא-חֹדֶשׁ טֵבֵת*. The cuneiform spelling is, according to the List of Months published in my ASKT 44 and 64 (reproduced AL<sup>3</sup> 92), *Ti-bi-tu*.

<sup>1</sup> That the spelling with *š* for the plural ending of the masculine substantives rests only on a combination with the plural ending *š* of the construct state in Hebrew, as Dr. Ernst Müller, I ZA 363, §5, remarks, is a very strange notion.

<sup>2</sup> The stem of *erib* is *אֶרֶב*. To this stem must also be referred Hebr. *אֶרֶבָה* "locust," Assy. *eribū* (written *e-ri-bu-u*, II R. 24, 14). *אֶרֶבָה* stands for *אֶרֶבָה* "it does not belong to the stem, but is a nominal derivative suffix as in *בְּרִיזָה*. For *הָ = ֶ* cf. *שָׁרָה = שָׁרָה* and Lagarde, *Semitica*, I, pp. 19 and 68; *Symnicta*, II 101. In *אֶרֶבָה*, the *ṣ* might be explained as prosthetic, like the *ṣ* before an initial *ר* in Syriac, *אֶרֶבָה* "firmament" for *רֶקֶעַ* (Nöld. §51), or the *ṣ* in Hebr. *אֶנְרוֹף* "climbed hand" (Ges. §85, No. 45), Ex. 21, 18; Is. 53, 4. Assyrian *eribū*, however, cannot be derived from *רֶב*. A prefixed *e* would be impossible. In Syriac we find, instead of *אֶרֶב*, the stem *רֶב*, impf. *רֶבֶב*, which is related to *אֶרֶב* like *יֵלֵךְ* to *אֵלֵךְ* or *יֵרֵךְ* "to be long" to *אֵרֵךְ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Talmudic tract Taanith (6<sup>b</sup>) translated by D. O. Strasschun, Halle, 1883, p. 28.



Hebrew טָבַת plainly shows that this was pronounced *Tebētu*, and not *Tibtu*. The latter would, as I have remarked, II ZK 272, have become טָבִית in Hebrew. Friedrich Delitzsch (*Hebr. Langu.* 16) derives the name from טָבַע. It means, he thinks, "sinking in water." He might have mentioned that C. B. Michaelis had already referred טָבַת to the stem טָבַע in the sense of طبع "to be soiled," explaining it as the "muddy month." This could be found in Fürst's Lexicon, whose remarks under טָבַע seem to have helped Delitzsch to his statements, e. g. on p. 172 of the *Prolegomena*.

6. Another Babylonian loan-word in the Old Testament is הֵיכָל "palace, temple" (plur. Hos. 8, 14: הֵיכָלוֹת = Assy. *ekallâti*), which passed into Syriac in the form *haikêlâ*, and thence into Arabic and Ethiopic. The diphthong is here only a secondary development from *e*.<sup>1</sup> הֵיכָל "palace," certainly does not come from Arabic هَيْكَل *haikal* "large, high." On the contrary, it is much more probable that هَيْكَل means properly "like a palace." הֵיכָל, Assy. *ikallu*, goes back to Akkadian *e-gal* "domus magna," *e* being = Assy. *bitu* "house," and *gal* = Assy. *rabû* "great"; cf. S<sup>2</sup> 232 and 124; IV R. 5, 31c; Schrader, HI 148; ASKT 74, 19. Hommel thinks (I ZK 73) that הֵיכָל proves nothing for the pronunciation *ekallu*; if the word was pronounced *ikallu*, he says, the *i* would, according to Hebrew phonetic rules, have become *e* in an open pre-tonic syllable just as well. I do not know whether Hommel, in his pronunciation *ikallu*, considers the *i* long or short. It can hardly have been short, since from *ikêl* הֵיכָל would have arisen in Syriac, but *haikal* never. If, however, the word was pronounced *ikallu*, I do not see why this should not have been rendered in Hebrew by אֵיכָל or הֵיכָל. This would

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Syr. *Jarjajîd* "cypress" = Babyl. *Jurmenu*, *Jurvenu* (BAL 88, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Fränkel, in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der mehrlautigen Bildungen im Arabischen* (Leyden, 1878), p. 16, prefers to connect هَيْكَل with a stem

هَكَل. Cf. the inaugural dissertation of the same author, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, Leiden, 1880, p. 17, below. Fränkel's new book on the same subject is not accessible to me. [See now: *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, von Siegmund Fränkel, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1886, p. 274.]

have been a form like the name of Saul's daughter, David's wife, מִיכָל or the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον מִיכָל "brook" (cf. II Sam. 17, 20: יָבְרוּ מִיכָל הַמָּיִם "they be gone over the brook of water"), which, according to Delitzsch (*Hebr. Langu.* 20), corresponds to Assy. *mīkal-tu<sup>m</sup>*, II R. 38, 19. The spelling מִיכָל, as well as the Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic *haikal*, clearly shows that *i* in Assyro-Babylonian was pronounced *e*.

7. Similar to מִיכָל is, according to Hommel (I ZK 73, n. 1), the case of the divine name נִרְגַל (cf. II K. 17, 30: אֲנֹשִׁי-כּוּת עָשׂוּ אֶת-נִרְגַל "the men of Cuth made Nergal"). But this holds good only inasmuch as this name likewise shows that *i* was pronounced *e*. Hommel reads the name (*Semiten*, 512) *Nirgal*. This, however, would have become in Hebrew נִרְגַל, not נִרְגֵל just as little as נִבְרַר becomes נִבְרֵר. As Delitzsch remarked (*Chald. Gen.* 275), the primitive form of the name is not *nirgal*, but *nī-unu-gal* (cf. IV R. 24, No. 1). *Nī* is, according to S<sup>b</sup> 2, 14 = *emūqu* "might," *unu* (S<sup>b</sup> 190) = *šubtu* "dwelling," and *gal* (as in *e-gal*) = *gal* "great." *Unugal* "great dwelling," denotes especially like *uru-gal*, which, S<sup>b</sup> 192, corresponds to the Assyrian *qabru* "grave," "Hades," and the list of gods cited by Delitzsch (III R. 67, 69 c. d.) plainly shows that the god *Nī-unu-gal* is the god with the sword (*namṣari*, S<sup>b</sup> 210), of the grave (*ša qabri*). Whether *uru-gal* arose from *unugal*, *uru*, *ur* "city" (dial. *eri*) being a modification of *unu*, a nominal formation from *nu* "to settle," with a vocalic augment, is uncertain. At all events *Nī-unu-gal* or contracted *Ninugal* could very well become with dissimilation *Nirugal*, just as in Aramean תַּנִּין "two" becomes תַּרְנִין. נ was in Akkadian (as in Assyrian) pronounced as a spirant after a preceding vowel, and this explains the נ in נִרְגַל. The preceding שׁוּ is a vocal Shēwā, as in שַׁרְרֻכְנוּ, Is. 20, 1 = *Šarrukenu*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The interchange between ח and ה, i. e. ח and ע also takes place in the name תַּנְלַת-פַּלְאֶסֶר = Assy. *Tukulti-pal-ešarra* or perhaps *Tūklat-pal-esar*. תַּנְלַת was pronounced in Hebrew תַּנְלַת, and *tukulti* or *tuklat* in Assyrian תַּנְלַת. Cf. further Babylonian *Agamatanu* and אַחַמְתָּא (Greek Ἀγβάταν and Ἐκβάταν). The *g* in *Agamatanu* was pronounced like ع and the ح in אַחַמְתָּא stands for כ.

8. The same influence of a vocalic Shēwā, reduced from an Assyrian full vowel, on a following consonant, is witnessed in Syriac נַרְיָבָא, which, as Geo. Hoffmann first recognized in his *Extracts from Syriac Acts of Persian Martyrs*, is identical with Assyrian *neribu*, plur. *neribeti*; cf. AKM VII 3, p. 225, n. 1794. Through Hoffmann's kindness I had the opportunity in Kiel, in the beginning of 1880, of seeing the proof-sheets of his work, then going through the press, and was thus enabled to communicate to Dr. Lotz the remarks printed, p. 143, n. 1 of his *Tiglath-pileser*. נַרְיָבָא also occurs as a name of different places, not only as Nöldeke has remarked (*Mand. Gramm.* 135, 2) in the East near Mōsul, but also in the neighborhood of Damascus and Aleppo. The Arabs write نيرب or نيربا, Greek Νίρβος (Steph. Byz. from Nicol. Dam.). Nöldeke, *l. c.*, is inclined to derive the word from נַרְיָבָא; Hoffmann thinks we might possibly connect it with وارب *warb* and نيرب, used of the wind furrowing the sand with ridges. From the Assyrian point of view both of these etymologies are impossible; *neribu* can only be derived from *erēbu* "to enter." It stands for *nerabu*, *nārabu*, *na'rabu*, *naḡrabu* from the stem غرب, whence עֶרֶב (Assyr. *erēbu*) "sunset, evening" (קְבוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ), and means "entrance, pass," then "hollow, gorge," like Ethiopic *ba'dt* "cavern," from *bd'a* "to enter" (BAL 96, 3). The vocalic change under the influence of the guttural is the same as in šelibu "fox" = šelabu (III R. 15, 16 b), ša'labu, ثعلب or rebitu "broad way" = رَجَبَة, رَجَبَة (SFG 16, 6; *Hebraica*, II 5, 4). The ع in the name نيرب is as little evidence for a derivation from a stem 'b as the ' in هیکل. The ع merely expresses a Syriac ē' [as in کيوان "Saturn" = כַּיָּוָן].

<sup>1</sup>Arabic ع is rendered by Assyrian *e* in the Gentilicium *Te-ma-a-a* (Del. Pd. 301; COT 135, below; KGF 211), i. e. an inhabitant of מְאָדָּה, Arab.

نِيبَا (LXX θαιμαν).

9. The Arabic *ai* is to be regarded as the *ai* in the LXX αἰαμ = Hebr. אֵלַם, אֵלַם "πρόναος," Ezech. 40, 16-36; cf. Cornill, 226; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 101. Here, too, we have only the rendering of an Assyro-Babylonian *ī*. As remarked in the *Specimen Glossarii Ezechieli-Babylonici auctore Friderico Delitzsch* (in Baer's edition of Ezechiel, p. x), אֵלַם "Babylonismus est, nam Babylonice quodvis anticum *elamu* dicitur." *Elamu*, or rather *ellamu*, is chiefly used in Assyrian as a preposition in the sense of "before" both of time and place, e. g. Sennach. II 77: *ina tāmirti āli Altaqū el-la-mu-u-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu*, i. e. *ellamū'a sidru šitkunū* "in face of the city of Eltekeh in front of me they placed their battle-array"; and Sennach. V 47: *ellamū'a ina āli Halūle ša kišād nāri Idignat šitkunū sidirta* "in front of me, near the city of Halūle on the bank of the river Tigris they drew up their battle-array." With the spelling *il* instead of *el* and the meaning "before" (temporal) we find *ellamu*, V R. 4, 127: *ša Sin ahe-erba šar māt Ašūr abi abi bānū'a illamū'a ikšudu* "(the city of Beth-Imbi) which Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, the father of the father my begetter had conquered before me," and Sarg. Cyl. 45 we read: *CCCC malke labirūti ša ellamū'a belūt māt Ašūr epušū* "the 350 old princes who before me exercised the government of Assyria." Why Lyon, p. 70 of his Commentary, writes *ēlamū* for *ellamu*, I do not know.

10. The word is, as has been remarked above, spelled with a double *l*: *ellamu*; *elamu* with one *l* means "high," not "before." The latter appears in Hebrew as אֵלִים, the name of Susiana ('Ελυμαίς, COT 96), for which in Assyrian the feminine form *Elamtu* is generally employed. Similarly we have in Assyrian *kabiltu* "liver" (Zi. 29) for אֵבֶר, *tī'āmtu* "sea" for תְּהוֹם, *napištu* "soul" for נַפֶּשׁ, *zibbatu* "tail"

<sup>1</sup> On the relation of Assyrian *kabātu* to Hebrew אֵבֶר see my remarks, *Andover Review*, July, 1884, p. 98, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Tī'āmtu* is possibly, as I remarked, *Wāteh-ben-Hazael* 4, 4, to be combined with Arabic تِهَامَة, *Tihāme*.

<sup>3</sup> Hebr. נַפֶּשׁ "my soul" is shortened from *napišt* just as מַלִּיקִי from *maliki*; נַפְשׁוֹ "his breath," Job 41, 13, on the other hand, stands for נַפְשׁוֹ from נַפֶּשׁ = Arabic *nafas*. נַפֶּשׁ in נַפֶּשׁ וְנֶפֶשׁ, Is. 3, 20, seems to come from נָפַשׁ "to anoint," just as נָחַל, Assy. *naḫālim* is connected with חָלַל. נַפֶּשׁ is the same as Assyrian *ša ina libbi ipāššā* (for *inpaššā*) V R. 6, 21. Mr. S. A. Smith translates in this passage "to breathe," deriving the form from נָפַשׁ. But the impf.

= עֶרְטוּ, *erṣitu* "earth" for אֶרֶץ (Del. *Parad.* 131, 27.) The feminine ending, however, is of no consequence here, the chief point being that also in this word Assyro-Babylonian *t* is rendered by עֶרְי. If, instead of *Elamu*, *Îlamu* was pronounced, why then do we not find עֶלָם instead of עֶלָם? We have עֶרָם Gen. 36, 43; I Chron. 1, 54, and עֶרְדָּ Gen. 4, 18. The LXX, to be sure, shows here that the name was not pronounced עֶרְדָּ, but עֶרְדָּ, غیرد, and for עֶרָם I Chron. 1, 54, we find in the LXX, ed. Lagarde, Αἰραμ. For Γαδὰδ = עֶרְדָּ cf. Lagarde, *Orientalia*, II 36-38; [*Mittheilungen*, I 196]. On Ζαφωμ I cannot enter here.

Friedrich Delitzsch has shown (*Assyr. Stud.* 38) that *Elam* means "Highland." He combined the stem with Arabic عَلم "anything rising above the plain," used by the poets even for جَلَّ "mountain." The development of meanings is the same as in אמר, whence اماره "mark," a synonym of علامة. This

Qal of this stem would be *ippuṣā*, the present Qal *indpuṣā*, and the impf. Niphal *innapiṣā*. Besides, "they breathed" does not suit the context. For Assyrian *paṣṣū* (S<sup>b</sup> I, 18 plene *pa-ṣa-a-ṣu*) see Zimmern 28, 2; II ZK 355, 45, and for the correct understanding of the Syriac forms *neṣṣā*, *nafṣā* compare my remarks *Wāleh-ben-Hazael*, 12, 1.

<sup>1</sup> So, not *irṣitu*, we must of course read, *i* before a feminine *ṭ* occurring only after a preceding *e*, e. g. *rebitu* "broad way," *belit* "lady," *berit* "middle," *ellit* "bright," *ebbitu* "pure," etc. So, too, we have to read *ezzu*, fem. *ezṣitu* "strong." Where *i* stands before the feminine *ṭ* in the absence of a preceding *e* we always have the termination *ṭi* as feminine to forms ending in *'*, the *'* either being a stem-consonant or a derivative affix: e. g. *rabit*, feminine to *rabā* "great," *mahrītu*, fem. to *mahrā* (= *\*mahraṣu*) "first," a denominative derivative from *mahrū* "front"; similarly *Aṣṣāritu*, *Akkaditu*, *Ūritu*, etc. Accordingly, I think, we should read *urṣitu* "grass" *urṣitu* as feminine to a noun *urṣā* = *\*wurqaṣu*, وَرْقِ. The same termination seems to be in *qirbitu*.

*Qirbitu*, however, might stand for *qerbitu*, *qerbatu*, *qirbatu*, since *i* before *r* became *e* in Assyrian. In the same way the plural form *girreti* "road" is explained by the supposition that *girru* was pronounced *gerru*. After an *i* the *d* of the feminine plural ending remains as a rule unchanged; cf. *ṣimāti*, *lūtāti*, *idāti*, *ṣimāti*, *ḥidāti*, *rīṣāti*, and, on the other hand, *belṭi*, *reṣṭi*, *neribṭi*, *eṣṣṭi*. A formation similar to *erṣitu* is *erṣitu* "cloud" and *elṣitu* (Nimr. 45, 74; II R. 23, 36; V R. 27, 63; 40, 25; cf. also *erritu*, IV R. 45, 33 = *arratu* "curse.")

will hardly be gainsaid. On the other hand, Delitzsch does not seem right to me in denying a connection between עֹלָם and עֹלָם. I do not believe that עֹלָם means properly "covering." It seems to me the stem עֹל is rather a denominal derivation of עֹלָם. I believe עֹלָם really means the "time reaching high up," *i. e.* "primitive time." The transfer from the remote past to the distant future may be secondary. In Assyrian, *ullānu* "height" and *ullū* "high," an intensive form of *על*, are used in the sense of long past; e. g. *ultu ullānu-ma* "for a long time," *āme ullūti* "days long past," prop. "high reaching days"; cf. Franz Delitzsch's Commentary on the Psalms, 4th ed., p. 83, n. 1. Assyrian *elamu* "high" and Hebr. עֹלָם, both go back to a ground form עֹלָם, as it still appears in Aramean, whence it passed into Arabic in the form *عالم*. For the *δ* in Hebrew, corresponding to the Assyrian *l*, cf. SFG 67, 1.

11. A further illustration of the rendering of initial Assyro-Babylonian *e* by *y* in Hebrew is the name of the site of Paradise, עֵדֶן, which, according to Del. *Parad.* 79 (cf. COT 26) is = Babyl. *edinu*, Akkad. *edin* "field, plain" (S<sup>b</sup> 1, 8).

12. Also the *e* of Hebr. עֶשְׂתִּי in עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂתִּי *ēṣdeka* stands for Babyl. *ī*, עֶשְׂתִּי corresponding to Babyl. *īšten* "one." עֶשְׂתִּי in the connection of עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂתִּי and עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂתִּי is shortened from עֶשְׂתִּי just as we find, alongside of עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂתִּי "ēṣdeka" with apocope of the final nasal עֶשְׂתִּי. For *ēṣ* instead of Babyl. *īṣ*, cf. the name of the goddess *Ištar*,<sup>1</sup> which appears in Hebrew as עֶשְׂתֶּרֶת. If the

<sup>1</sup> That *Ištar* possibly comes from the same stem as the name of the god *Ašur*, *Ištar* standing for *Išar*, a form like *mitgaru*, *šitrahū*, *gitmalu*, I communicated in the summer of 1883 to Lagarde, and subsequently to Tiele and Delitzsch; cf. Tiele in the Leyden Congress Transactions, Part II, p. 497, note. Delitzsch should have mentioned this, *Proleg.* 138, 2 and ZA I 421. In his *Hebr. Langu.* which appeared at the end of 1883, Delitzsch still remarked: "As to the name of the goddess *Ištar*, we must insist upon its non-Semitic origin." Whether the infixed *ṭ* in *Ištar* is reflexive is not *a priori* clear. As the feminine *ṭ* can be both prefixed and affixed, we might safely assume an infixing of the feminine *ṭ*. Certainly the secondary affixing of the feminine *ṭ* in עֶשְׂתֶּרֶת would not prove the contrary. This, however, is not so important, the chief point being, as I first recognized, that *Ištar* stands for *Išar*, derived from the same stem as *Ašur* and אֲשֻׁרָה. The *š* in both *Ašar* and *Ištar* is a *š*, = שׁ; cf. Nöldeke, ZA I 270 [and ZDMG XL 742].

spelling *e-iš-tin*, quoted by Geo. Bertin, TSBA VII 371, from a communication of A. H. Sayce, really occurs, we should have to assume *ešten* as the Assyro-Babylonian form. In this case, *ešten* could have originated from *ašten* by vocalic assimilation. The initial *e* would then have to be regarded like the *e* of the infinitive forms of the verbs לָע in Assyrian: e. g. *šemû* "to hear," *tebû* "to come," *šebû* "to be satisfied." As I have shown in Bezold's *Achämeniden-Inschriften* (p. 54, s. v. קבע), *šemû* stands for *šeme'u*, *šame'u*, *šamû'u*. But whatever may be the case with the initial vowel, the *e* in the second syllable *ten* is certainly only a modification of *â*. The *â* has become here *ê*, just as we find in Hebrew alongside of the affix *ân* the termination *ên*. So, too, words like *sur-qin-nu* "altar," *un-nin-nu* "supplication," *e-ri-in-nu* "box," *ur-ka-rin-nu*, the name of a precious wood, would, perhaps, be best read: *surgênu*, *unnênu*, *erênu*, *urkarênu*,<sup>1</sup> corresponding to Hebr. יִצְרָקוֹן, יִחְנוֹן, אֶרֶן, יִצְרָקוֹן. The original *â* of *išten* is preserved in *ilu ištânû* "the one god," IV R. 16, 8\* (SFG 64, 4). According to Del. *Chald. Gen.* 277, *išten* is an Akkadian loan-word, a compound of Akkad. *aš* "one" and *tân* "measure, number." Kautzsch's derivation from עֶשֶׂת (Ges. §97, 2) is certainly not very satisfactory (Lotz, TP., p. 151, n. 1). On the importance of עֶשֶׂת for Pentateuch criticism I will not here enlarge. Giesebrecht's remarks in ZAT '81, 226 are not accessible to me at present.

13. I will finally mention *šedu*, the name of a demon (*plene še-e-du*, *ši-t-du*, S<sup>b</sup> 175) which, as is generally admitted, is identical with Hebrew שְׁדִים, occurring twice in the Old Testament (COT 148); Deut. 32, 17 we read: וַיִּזְבְּחוּ לְשִׁדִּים לֹא אֱלֹהִים "they sacrificed to Shedim that were not God," and Psalm 106, 37 וַיִּזְבְּחוּ אֶת-בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת-בָּנוֹתֵיהֶם לְשִׁדִּים "yea they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto Shedim." Also in Eastern Syriac we have here plainly an *e*: שְׂאֲדָ, *šēdā* (Nöld. §98 C.) It is true, the Western Syrians pronounce *šādā*, and similarly the Assy. *ši-t-du* may have been pronounced later *šidu* instead of *šēdu*; the original pronunciation, however, was certainly *šēdu*, not *šidu*.

<sup>1</sup> For the termination *ên* instead of *ân* cf. Syr. 'hṛēnā, ḥṛēnā "another,"

Mand. הַוִּירְנָא, and Arabic الجُرَيْن = الجُراني, whence الجُراني, Nöld. *Neusyr. Gr.* p. 107, n. 1; *Mand. Gr.* §118. Cf. also the formations in *tn* like אֶפְרִינָא "early morning," Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* §132, [and Zimmern, p. 37, 8].

These are the chief illustrations which can be adduced for the rendering of an Assyro-Babylonian *i* by *e* in Greek and Northern Semitic. I shall now enter upon the second part, an examination of the cases in which we find an *e* in the cognate languages corresponding to an Assyro-Babylonian *i* in parallel formations.

## II. Assyro-Babylonian *i* Corresponding to *E* in Parallel Formations of the Sister Idioms.

Here we must consider above all the change from *ā* to *ē*, termed *إمالة* *Imāle*<sup>1</sup> by the Arabic grammarians. We distinguish two cases: (1) the cases in which the change from *ā* to *ē* is caused by an *i* in an adjacent syllable, and (2) the cases where *ē* originated from an *ā* without the influence of an *i*-vowel. In the latter instances the *ā* is generally due to the quiescing of a guttural.

(1). In modern Arabic, e. g. *lisān* "tongue" is pronounced *lisaen*, *lisän*, *lisēn* in the dialect of Baghdād (Newman, *Handbook of Modern Arabic*, p. 22), and in Syria they say instead of *kiḫb* "book" (according to Hartmann's *Arabischer Sprachführer*, p. 6) *kiḫb*, with long *ä* instead of *ā*.

The same phenomenon appears in Syriac.<sup>2</sup> Instead of Targumic ܐܡܝܬܐ "ambush," we find in Eastern Syriac ܐܡܝܬܐ (W. Syr. *kēmtā*), and ܐܡܝܬܐ "recreation" is probably arisen from ܐܡܝܬܐ, both words going back like ܐܡܝܬܐ to a form *qitāl*.

In the same light, it seems to me, we should view the Assyrian forms *imīru* "ass" (= ܝܡܪܐ *himār*), *pitiqu* "child" (II R. 36, 51c),<sup>3</sup> *pišilu* V R. 19, 36 and *pišīru*, Lotz, TP VIII 68. In *li-li-t-nu*, i. e. *liḫnu*, II R. 32, 4 (cf. Strassm. No. 4810), I think we have not a form *qitāl*, but the affix *ān*. The forms *imīru*, *pitiqu*, *pišilu* and *pišīru*, however, are quite certain, the character of the vowel of the second syllable being placed beyond all doubt by the spelling *pi-ti-t-qu*, II R. 36, 51c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grünert, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, philol.-hist. Classe, LXXXI, p. 447 seq.; De Sacy, *Anthol. gramm.* p. 322; Ewald, *Gramm. crit. lingu. Arab.* §72; Kosegarten, §§99-102.

<sup>2</sup> See Nöldeke, §111; Duval, p. 214; Barh. 239, l. 11. Cf. also Schröder, *Phön. Spr.* §33, and Nöld. *Neusyrr. Gramm.* p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Pitiqu* appears there as a synonym of *mīru* "child," cf. Del. *Assyr. Stud.* remarked, *Parad.* 236, "child" was called *pitiqu* (II R. 30, 48d) in the the Suteans (i. e. ܝܡܪܐ, Ez. 23, 23).



(2). In many words *ā* becomes *ē* without the influence of an adjacent *i*. Here again we distinguish two cases: (a) the words in which *ā* arose from the quiescing of a guttural, and (b) the words in which the *ā* does not seem to be due to the quiescing of a guttural.

(a) In Arabic we find, for instance, *kēṣ* "cup" for *kās* (Hebr. כוס), *ka's*. This *kēṣ* is on a par with E. Syriac *rēš* "head" (ܪܫܐ, Nöld. §98, C) = *rāš* (cf. *rāšā'a*, Senn. V 56) = *ra's*. Here Hebrew has again, as in כוס, an *ē* obscured from *ā*: ראש, only in ראשית or ישיית have we an *e* also in Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> Likewise *bēb* instead of *bāb*

<sup>1</sup> In some cases in Hebrew we have, instead of a quiescing א, apparently a consonantal א with preceding Shēwā and following vowel. Alongside of a form like ראש "head" and צא "sheep," we find שטח "stench" (Am. 4, 10), which, according to the tradition, should be pronounced as a dissyllable *bē'shāh*, and in contradiction with the forms ראשית (Deut. 11, 12: ראשית) and ראשון (Job 8, 8: ראשון; ראשית, Ez. 36, 11; ראש, Job 39, 9 and 10; plur. ראשים, Ps. 22, 22 with quiescing א, we have באר "pit," אב "wolf," כאב "pain," ראם "wild ox," שׂר "flesh" (Stade, §199b). In Arabic we have for these partly

*gatl*-, partly *gill*-forms, cf. رَمِ ذَبِ بِرْ; ثَارَ كَابِ. رَأْسَ; so too in Assyrian, cf. *rdū* or *reū* = *ru'ū*; on the other hand, *širu*, *šbu*, *rimu* for *š'ru*, *š'bu*, *r'mu*. In Syriac we find both for *a'* and *i'* an *ē*, e. g. ܪܫܐ "head," ܒܐܪ "pit," ܪܐܝܬ "wolf," ܦܐܝܢ "pain," for which the Western Syrians pronounce *rēš*, *bīr*, *dīb*, *kēb*. This might indicate that the Massoretic pointing of the Hebrew words ראש, ראם, שׂר is due to an artificial vocalic distraction. It seems to me very probable that these words were pronounced in Hebrew as in Assyrian ܪܫܐ, ܒܐܪ, ܪܐܝܬ. In favor of the traditional dissyllabic pronunciation ܪܫܐ, etc., one might think of adducing Ethiopic forms like *re'es* "head" (alongside of *rd's*); but these Ethiopic forms are themselves very obscure. According to Dillmann, *Gramm.* p. 73, *re'es* was pronounced later *rees*, *rēs*; so, too, *nēna*, *nehna* "we," with long *e* and quiescing breathing, instead of *nehna* (dial. *ndhna*) = Arab. *nahnu*. This *rees* would then be on a par with Assyrian *res*, E. Syr. ܪܫܐ, while for *nehna*, *nēna* (Assyr. *anīni*, *nīni*, *nīnu*) "we" the

quiescing of the ܐ in *remu* "grace" or Mand. ܬܬ "beneath" would afford a parallel. The question here arises: did *nahna* really become, with quiescing of the ܐ, *ndna* (written *ndhna*), and then, through change of *d* to *l*, *nēna* (written *nehna*), or did they really pronounce *nehna*, *re'es* with short *ē* and following guttural? To me it seems very doubtful, although Trumpp's Ethiopic authority, *Wäldä Šēlāsē*, pronounced (according to ZDMG XXVIII 531, 532) *ne-es* "youth," and *re'hēb* or *rā'hēb* "width," as well as *ne'hna* "we" (l. c. p. 548). Praetorius's explanation of this curious phenomenon (*Ethiopic Gramm.* §16, 1, rem.) is hardly satisfactory.

"gate," belongs here, the stem evidently being באב, an incomplete reduplication of בא "to enter."

The same change from *ā* to *ē* appears in verbal forms, e. g. יֹאכַל "he ate" (Syr. יֹאכַל) for יֹאכַל (*īdkul* as the form is still spoken in modern Arabic), and יֹאמַר (E. Syr. *nēmar*, W. Syr. *ntmar*) = יֹאמַר for *īamur* on account of the final ר. Cf. also Hebrew forms like תֵּאָחַז "she will come," Mich. 4, 8; אָהַב "I love," Prov. 8, 17 (alongside of אָהַב, Mal. 1, 2), וְאָחַז, Gen. 32, 5, "I have sojourned, I tarried." Here, to be sure, it is generally assumed that the צִי is due to a contraction of צִי, as in לֹאמַר for לֹאמַר and לֹאמַר = בְּאֵלֵהֶם. Nevertheless, אָהַב as well as אָהַב may very well have arisen directly from אָהַב = *a'hab*.

In Mandaean not only א, but, as in Assyrian, also ח and ע quiesce in a preceding vowel; e. g. בִּילָא "husband," where the *y* is treated like the א in רֵאשׁ, and שְׁמִית "thou didst hear," רִיכָא "thunder" (Hebr. רָעַם, ψ 77, 19; 81, 8). Quiescing of the ח appears, e. g. in פְּתִיחַ "thou didst open" = פְּתַחַת, תִּית "below" = תַּחַת, אֲנִי "we" = אֲנַחְנִי; cf. Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* p. 16, BAL 94, 2.

(b) The cases in which the *ā*, which subsequently passed over into *ē*, does not depend on the quiescing of a guttural are relatively rare. In Arabic we find, e. g. *nēm* "he slept" for *nām*, Hebr. נָם which, according to the usual explanation, is for *\*nawam*. Since ו as second stem consonant frequently interchanges with א or (as in Syriac בָּהַת = בּוּשׁ, רָהַת = רִיץ, כָּהַת = כּוּל) with ה, we might assume for *nēm* a form נָאם.<sup>1</sup> The same holds good for Hebrew בֶּן "just" (Gen. 42, 11: בְּנֵי אֲנָחְנִי "we are true men"), E. Syriac *kēnā*, W. Syriac *kīnā*. Arabic *nēs* for *nās*, on the other hand, might be shortened from *inās*, just as אֱנוֹשׁ (Hebr. אֱנוֹשׁ, a form like אֱלֹהִים "God," Aram. אֱלֹהָא = *ilāhā*) becomes נוֹשׁ in Syriac, and in *lēkin* = *lākin* "however" the *ē* might be due to the influence of the following *i*, besides there was also in *lā* primitively a hamza.

Sometimes the *ē* is due to the resolution of the doubling, e. g. Syriac *gērā* "arrow" = *gārā* = *garrā*.

In all these analogous instances we have in Assyro-Babylonian an *i*; consequently its primitive pronunciation must have been *e*. For E. Syriac *rēšā* we have in Assy. *rīšu*, for E. Syr. *kēnā* (Hebr.

<sup>1</sup> Or *nēm* may be a contraction of *naim*, *na'im* = *na'im*; cf. *nimtu* "I slept" = *na'imtu*. See Grünert, *Über die Imāla* (Vienna, 1876), p. 26, 3.

ן) *kīnu*, יִכְל (Syr. מְכַל) appears, according to SFG 66, 13, as *ikul*, יִכְר (E. Syr. נִמְכַר, W. Syr. *ntmar*) as *imur*; the *ē* in words like *gērā* "arrow" corresponds to Assyrian *t* in *zīru* (plene: *zi-t-ru*, II R. 62, 58) = *zāru*, *zarru*, *zar'u*, *zar'u* (Mand. וִירָא, BAL 90, 1). For Mand. בִּילָא "husband," we have in Assyrian *bīlu* (plene *bi-t-lu*) "lord," for רִימָא "thunder" *rīmu*, and שְׁמִיתָ "thou didst hear" would be in Assyrian *šimīt*. For the *e* in Mand. תִּית "beneath" = *taht* cf. Assyrian *rīmu* "grace" = *raḥmu*, *šīru* "morning" = *šahru*, for the *e* in Mand. פִּתִּית "thou didst open" Assyrian *naptilu* "key" = *naptahtu* (a form like *narkabtu* "chariot").

Taking all these facts into consideration, it is evident that *t* in Assyro-Babylonian must originally have been sounded *e*. As pointed out SFG 67, it has arisen almost throughout from primitive *ā*; only in a few exceptional cases did it develop from an *i* under the influence of a following *r*, as in *unammer* "I made brilliant" for *unammir*, *uštešer* "I directed" for *uštešir*, *umā'er* "he sent" for *umā'ir* = *\*iumahhir*. Sometimes even a short *a* became *e* under the influence of an adjacent *e* or *i*: so, *e. g.* in the form

أَفْعَل of the verbs *y'p*, *elepūš* "I made" = *etdpūš*, or *elebir* "I crossed" = *etdbir*, etc.; in a similar manner *šemū* "to hear" = *šeme'u*, *šame'u*, *šamā'u*, and *tebū* "to come" = *tebē'u*, *tabē'u*, *tabā'u*, *tabū'u*. In the majority of cases, however, the *e* is a modification of *ā*. It is true that this *ā* is generally due to the quiescing of the guttural, but the guttural had, as explained in my SFG 67, nothing directly to do with the change to *e*. At the time when *rāš* became *rēš*, or *bāl* *bēl*, the guttural had long been given up. The change of *ā* to *ē* is entirely analogous to the obscuration of *ā* to *ē* in Hebrew. I have frequently referred to the fact that Hebrew exhibits corresponding to the Assyrian *e* arisen from *ā*, an *ē* obscured from *ā*, Aramean having preserved in many cases the original *ā*. Cf. *e. g.*:

| Assyrian.        | Hebrew.  | Aramean.   |
|------------------|----------|------------|
| <i>imeru</i>     | חִמּוֹר  | חִמְרָא    |
| <i>šumelu</i>    | שִׁמְלָא | סִמְלָא    |
| <i>rešu</i>      | רֹאשׁ    | רִאשָׁא    |
| <i>ḡenu</i>      | צֶאֱן    | עֶנָּא     |
| <i>ekul</i>      | יִכְל    | יִכְלָא    |
| <i>emur</i>      | יִמְכַר  | יִמְכָּרָא |
| <i>Šarrukenu</i> | סָרְקוֹן |            |

It might be well to add that this *ē* instead of *ē* occurs also in Hebrew. Maltzan, in his *Reise nach Südarabien* (Braunschweig, 1873, p. 176), mentions that the Jews in Aden frequently pronounce *ē* for חולם, *e. g.* *mēri* for מורה "teacher," *mēseh* for משה and *Yēsef* for יוסף.<sup>1</sup> It is asserted that in certain parts of Russia the Jews pronounce *e*, or at least *ö*, instead of *o*. With this relation between צירי and חולם is evidently connected the fact that *y* was used to render *o* in Greek, while among the modern Jews, at least the אשכנזים, it serves to express an *e*. For America, *e. g.* they write אמעריקא, even נאלטסבארע for Baltimore.

In conclusion I will give a brief survey of the principal facts regarding the *e*-vowel in Assyro-Babylonian.

### III. Principal Facts regarding the *E* Vowel in Assyro-Babylonian.

1. The Assyro-Babylonian *e* is not a diphthongal *e* contracted from *ai*, but in all cases an *Umlaut* of *a*. The best transcription, therefore, would be *ä* as introduced in my BAL for the first time and subsequently adopted by Flemming in his *Nebuchadnezzar*. For practical reasons, however, the transcription *e* is preferable. If any one wishes to use the symbol *i* he may do so, provided he connects the right idea with this *i*; 'i' which was frequently employed before the appearance of my SFG is certainly objectionable, being based on an erroneous assumption. In Hebrew transcriptions of Assyrian words the *e* might be rendered by קנול or חֶטֶף קנול: *uṣekniš* "I subdued," *e. g.* might be written אֶרֶב שָׁמֶשׁ, *erēb šamši* "sunset" or אָרֶיב שָׁמֶשׁ, the אָרֶיב being pronounced as in תִּקְצָאָה or יִדֶּךָ.

2. The pronunciation of this vowel seems to have been like the *e* in English *where*, *there*, or the *ē* in French *même*, *fête*. In

<sup>1</sup> Maltzan remarks, however, that this *ē* is not quite so long as צירי. He means, I suppose, that it sounds more like *ä*, the Hebrew קִנּוּל. In Aden פִּתּוּחַ קִטָּן is not distinguished from פִּתּוּחַ, both are sounded alike as *a*. The title of the chief rabbis in Southern Arabia, *Mēri* (מֶרִי), is combined by Maltzan with Aramean קִרָּא "lord, master," and this mistake is reproduced by König in his *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 38. But it is evident that מֶרִי merely represents another pronunciation of מִוִּרָה. The missionary Wolf tells us that the Jews in Šan'ā pronounce *Mōre*, not *Mēri*; so it seems to me there can be no doubt as to the identity of these two words. Cf. also Job 36, 22, where the LXX render מִוִּרָה by *δυνάστης*, confounding it, like Maltzan and König, with קִרָּא "lord."

Hebrew we find in parallel cases an *ê* obscured from *â*, while in loan-words the *e*-vowel is rendered as a rule by יֵצֵרִי for Assy.

*e* appears in רָקֵן, Gen. 10, 12 = *Reš-eni* (i. e. רֵישׁ עֵינָא or ראס

العین, BAL 110, 2),<sup>2</sup> and in תִּגְלַת-פִּלְאֶסֶר = Assy. *Tuklat-pal-ešarra*.

Hebrew קְנוֹל is rendered by Assyrian *e* in the cuneiform transcription of the name מְנַשֶּׁה: *Me-na-si-e*, i. e. *Menasê* or rather *Mênâshê*.<sup>4</sup>

3. The definition of *e* as being an *Umlaut* of *a* does not seem to suit some cases in which *e* developed under the influence of a following *r* or *h* out of an *i*-vowel. But even here the *e* is only a modified *a* corresponding to the Hebrew פֶּתַח קָטָן or קְנוֹל in forms like יִחְבֹּשׁ instead of יִחְבֹּשׁ. *E* must be regarded here as a partial assimilation of the *i* to the following uvular *r*. In Hebrew an *i*-vowel is changed into a real פֶּתַח under the influence of a following *r*; e. g. וַיֵּרָא "and he saw" for וַיִּרְא (Gesen. §22. 2 b, rem. 2; 5b).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the two Babylonian Shaphel forms in the Aramean portions of the books of Daniel and Ezra, שִׁפְּלָא, impf. שִׁפְּלָא = Assy. *šapēl*, Šaphel of *caēbu* Hebr. עֹבָ (BAL. 91, 2) and שִׁפְּלָא Ezra vi, 15 = Assy. *šapēl*, Šaphel of *aqā*, Hebr. אָץ; see Delitzsch's *Prolegomena*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Dillmann's remark (*Genesis*, p. 186), that Sayce's identification of רָקֵן and *Reš-eni* was impossible, because the sounds did not agree, is not correct, *Reš-eni* was pronounced *Res-en* in Assyrian with a *u*.

<sup>3</sup> In the name שַׁלְמַנֶּסֶר "Shalmaneser," אֶסְרָא represents Assy. *ašarid* "prince" (II ZK 199), in אֶסְרָאִי it stands for *Ašur*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the name *E-ni-il Ha-am-ma-ta-a-a*, *Eni-il Hammatā* or *Havvatā* (III R. 9, 51), i. e. Eniel of Hamath or (according to Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 278) of the country of the Hiv(v)ites (Genesis X 17); cf. KAT 106, note; COT 90. *Eni-il* evidently means "Eye of God," the same name as Ἐνυλός, mentioned Arrian II 20 as a king of Byblos, on coins עִנְאֵל (Schröder, 179, 4). In the same fragment of the annals of Tiglathpileser II (III R. 9, 54) we find *Za-bi-bi-e* as the name of an Arabic queen (*šarrat māt Aribi*), and on the following plate (III R. 10, No. 2, 30) *Sa-am-si šar-rat māt A-ri-bi*, Khors. 27 more accurately *Sa-am-si-e*. *Samsē* evidently stands for *Šamšīe*, *Šamsīe*, and *Zabībīe*

for *Zabībīe* or *Šabībīe*, صبيية or زبيية and شبيية or شبيية, so the cuneiform *i* or *e* expresses here again an *ä*-vowel or *Umlaut* of *a*. In the Arabic names *Uḥḥ* (var. *Ḥaḥḥ*) and *Isammē'a* (عشمع) *e* represents the pronunciation of an *i* before a guttural (as in Hebr. יִחְסֵר = יִחְסֵר); see my *Wörterbuch-Hasael* (Chicago, 1885), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the name of the king of Ellasar (Genesis, XIV 1), אֶרֶךְ אֲדָרָא = Babyl. *Eri-Aku*, *Ārijāku* (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 224; Schrader, COT 120, below).

4. In some cases the original *a* is found alongside of the *Umlaut* *e*: e. g. *rāšā'a* "my head" instead of the ordinary *rešu*; *epāšu* "to make," TP VII 74, instead of *epešu*; cf. *ušāšib* and *ušešib* "I caused to dwell," *ušāziz* and *ušeziš* "I erected," *arratu* and *erritu* (IV R. 45, 33) "curse," *etanappašā* and *etenippušā* "they made." The shortened form of the plural ending of the masculine substantives appears as *e*, e. g. *šarre* "kings," *šame* "heavens," *me* "waters"; in the names of the tens the primitive *ā* is preserved, *ešrā* "twenty," *šilāšā* "thirty," *erba'a* "forty," *ḥanšā* "fifty," like Ethiopic *'ešrā*, *šalāšā*, *arba'e*, *ḥamsā*. *Ā* in these forms is a shortened form of the plural ending *āni*, the change of *ā* to *e* being due to epenthesis of the final *i*. The name of the father of *Ukīn-zer* "Χίνηςρος," given as *Amukkānu* in II R. 67, 23 (COT 226) may be derived from *amūqu*, the primitive form of *emūqu* "power."

5. It is difficult to state exactly under what conditions *a* is changed to *e*. In general we can say that *ā* due to the quiescing of an *ā* or *ā* (*i. e.* *\* or *o*) is preserved in many cases, while *ā* due to the quiescing of an *ā*, *ā*, *ā* (*i. e.* *ع. ح. ع. غ*) becomes *e* as a rule. The impf. Qal of *אכל* (*אכל*) "to eat," *e. g.* *ekul*, *tākul*, *tākul*, *tākulī*, *ākul*; *ekulā*, *ekulā*, *tākulā*, *tākulā*, *nīkul*. The same forms of *אירב* (*غرب*) "to enter" are: *erub*, *terub*, *terub*, *terubī*, *erub*; *erubā*, *erubā*, *terubā*, *terubā*, *nīrub*. The participle Qal of *אכל* is *ākilu*, the part. of *אירב* *eribu*, the imperative forms of the two verbs are *akul* and *erub*, the Shaphel imperfects *ušākil* and *ušerib*. The infinitive Qal of the verbs mediae *א* or *ה* has an *ā* between the first and third stem-consonants, *e. g.* *mādu* "to be much" (*מאד*), *nādu* "to be prominent" (*נהד*); the infinitive of verbs mediae *י* has *e*, *e. g.* *belu* "to rule" (TP 75). *אח* "brother" appears in Assyrian as *aḫu*, *אח* "father-in-law" is *emu*. The feminine to *aḫu* is *aḫātu*, the feminine to *emu* *emētu*.

6. Initial *e* is often, especially in the Neo-Babylonian texts, more accurately indicated by a prefixed *e*, *e. g.* *e-im-ga* "wise," *e-ik-du-ti* "strong ones," *e-ip-še-e-ti* "deeds" for *emga*, *ekdūti*, *epšēti*, since there exist no characters expressing a syllable *em*, *ek* or *ep* in distinction from *im*, *ik* and *ip*.

7. The *e*-vowel was primitively throughout distinct from the

*i*-vowel, but in the course of time it was confounded with *i*, as in Western Syriac. The characters for *e* and *i*, therefore, are often used interchangeably. In certain cases, however, the historical orthography with *e* was always preserved. In *scriptio plena* *i-e* may be written instead of *e-e* (as in *ne-e-ru*, *še-e-pu*, *be-e-lu*, *le-ni-še-e-ti*, *me-e*, *ša-me-e*, etc.). *Bi-e-lu* is *bēlu* as well as *be-e-lu*. Frequently the *e*-vowel is written *defective*, e. g. *ri-šu* instead of *ri-e-šu*, *ši-nu* instead of *ši-e-nu*. As there are no special signs for *re* and *še*, the characters *ri* and *ši* represent here the syllables *re* and *še*.

8. The *e*-vowel as *Umlaut* of *a* is different from the diphthongal *e* contracted from *ai*, the latter being written as a rule *i-i* like *ī*, not *i-e* or *e-e* as the *ä*. There are no special characters in the cuneiform writing either for diphthongal *e*<sup>1</sup> or for diphthongal *o*<sup>2</sup>. As I remarked, ASKT 166, §10, Assyrian script makes no difference between the vowels of נִיר "yoke" and בֵּית "house," nor between the vowels of שֵׁם "garlic" and שֹׁר "bull." Both are written alike *ni-i-ru*, *bi-i-tu*; *šu-u-mu*, *šu-u-ru*. I believe, however, that *ni-i-ru* was pronounced *ntru*, *bi-i-tu* on the other hand *bētu*, *bēthu*; similarly *šu-u-mu* "garlic" *šāmu*, but *šu-u-ru* "bull" *šōru*. We might introduce *ī*, and *ū*, as a special notation for this diphthongal *e* and *o*, writing *bi,ītu*, *šū,ūru* in distinction from the vowels in *ntru* and *šāmu*. We must distinguish three different vowels: the vowel of רִישׁ (= ראש) "head," the vowel of בֵּית (= bait) "house," and the vowel of words like נִיר "yoke." I indicate these three different vocalic sounds in accurate transcrip-

<sup>1</sup> I do not know of an example for the rendering of a diphthongal Hebr. *e* in Assyrian. The name אֶשְׁקֵרָא, *ʾaš-qērā*, a village in the tribe of Dan, on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem, mentioned once in the Old Testament (Josh. 19, 45) appears, Col. II 66 of the Sennacherib Prism, as *Ba-na-a-a-Bar-ga*. Some Assyriologists believe that we ought to read *Banaibarga*. I think *Ba-na-a-a* should be read *Band'a*, expressing a form אֶשְׁקֵרָא, the *status emphaticus* plur. of בֶּן "son" in Aramean. Cf. Gesenius, §116, 6, rem. b, foot-note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *O* in foreign names is rendered by *u* in Assyrian. Cf. *Akkū* = עֶכּוּ, *Asūdū* = אֲשֻׁדּוּ, *Udāmu* = אֲדָמוּ, *Iapḫā* = יָפֹחַ, *Iqallāna* = אִשְׁקָרָא, *Amqarrāna* = עֶקְרָא or rather עֶקְרִין\* ('Ακκάρων), *Hirāmu* = חִירָמוֹ (Εἰρωμος), *Hilbānu* = חִלְבָּן (Χαλυβών), *Šidānu* = שִׁידָן, *Puqūdu* = פֻּקֹּד, *Ba'ali-ḡarāna* = בַּעַל-צַפֹּן, *Magiddū* = מַגִּידוּ (Μαγεδδών), *Mā'ab* (alongside of *Mā'ab*) = מֹאָב, *Nikkū* = נֶכּוּ (Νεκός), *Pir'u* = פִּרְעָה, *Šābitu* = שֹׁבֵיטָה, *Ūnu* (V 2, 23) = אֵן or אֵן (Coptic ΩΝ) Gen. 41, 50; 41, 45; 46, 20; *Aduniba'al* = אֲדֻנִּיבַעַל (cf. Hebr. אֲדֻנִּיבַעַל), *Tuḫa'alu* = Εὐθάλως, Ἰθαβάλως (cf. אֲתֻבַּעַל, I K. 16, 31), *i. e.* אֲתֻבַּעַל.

tion by *e* (ä), *i*, and *l*, thus writing *reš* (räs) "head," *biš* "house," *nir* "yoke," or in Hebrew characters נִיר, בֵּית, ראש.

9. In most cases the Assyrian *e*-vowel is the *Umlaut* of a long *a*, due to the quiescing of an *h*, no matter whether the *h* corresponds to an ה, ח, ע, or ע. Cf. e. g. *rešu* "head," *šumelu* "left," *ekul* (for אָכַל, SFG 21, 1) "he ate," *ehuz* "he took," *himetu* "cream," *hišetu* "sin"; *šelibu* "fox," *belu* "lord," *ebir* "I crossed," *erub* "I entered," *ušerib* "I caused to enter"; *remu* "grace," *šeru* "morning," *pentu* "coal" (for *pemtu*, פִּחְמָה) = *ra'su*, *šuma'lu*, *ja'kul*, *ja'huz*, *hima'tu*, *hiša'tu*; *ša'labu* (ثعلب), *ba'lu*, *a'bir*, *ağrub* (أغرب), *ušağrib*; *raḥmu*, *šaḥru*, *paḥmatu*.

10. Initial *e* in Assyrian frequently corresponds to a ح, ع, or ع in the cognate languages. So we have, e. g. *eglu* "field," *emu* "father-in-law," *eššu* "new," *eburu* "friend," *ebūru* "union," *eldu* (for *ešdu*) "harvest," *eklitu* "darkness" for *haqlu*, *hamu*, *had(a)šu*, *habru*, *habūru*, *haš(a)du*, *haklatu*; with *h* and *h*, i. e. *y*: *epru* "dust," *enzu* "goat," *ezzu* "mighty," *emūtu* "union," *erpu* and *erpitu* "cloud," *ešrā* "twenty," *eli* "upon," *ebir* "cross!", *emid* "place!", *erub* "enter!", *ešūtu* "darkness" = *'ap(a)ru*, *'anzu*, *'az(i)zu*, *'amūtu*, *'arpu*, *'arpatu*, *'ašrā*, *'alai*, *'abir*, *'amid*, *garub*, *gaḥautu*.

With *h* the change from *a* to *e* is not so common, but we have, e. g. *eršitu* "earth" for *aršatu*, femin. to أرض, *erba'ā* "forty" for *arba'ā*, *enšu* "weak" for *an(i)šu*, *erritu* "curse," instead of the ordinary *arratu*.

Even after initial *h*, *h* and *h* occasionally remains unchanged, as in *albu* "sweet milk" (حليب), *annu* "grace" (חֲנִן); *agabu* "calf" (عجل), *adi* "until" (עַד), *atūdu* "he-goat" (عنود), *aqrabu* "scorpion" (عقرب), *aribu* "raven" (عُרב).

This modification of the *a*-sound after an initial ح or ع might be compared with the pronunciation of the فتح after initial عين in the Cairo dialect as described by Spitta. According to



Spitta (p. 38, below) words like *على* are pronounced in Egypt 'äly *عسل* "honey," 'äsal, *عالم* "scholar," 'älim, *عادل* "righteous," 'ädil, etc. Cf. also Ethiopic 'ešrā (Arabic 'iśrāna) instead of 'ašrā "twenty," *ebn* "stone" for *abn*, *elf* "(ten) thousand" for *alf*.

11. Very often the Umlaut of *a* to *e* is based upon a vocalic assimilation to an adjacent *e* or *i*. Here we must distinguish six different cases:

(a) *Ā* becomes *e* under the influence of a preceding *e*, as in *emetu* "mother-in-law" for *emātu* = *hamātu* (according to the preceding § 10), *remenū* "merciful" for *remānū*, *rāmānū*, *raḥmā-naiḫu* (رحماني), *belēti* "ladies" for *belāti*, *epšēti* "deeds" for *epšāti*, plur. to *epištu* for 'apīštu, a form like *napištu* "soul." Cf. further *rešēti*, *terēti*, *mešrēti*, *tenišēti*, *neribēti* and the infinitive Qal of the verbs primae *y*: *epēšu* "to make" for *epāšu*, *emēdu* "to place," *erēbu* "to enter," *ekēmu* "to take," *etēqu* "to proceed," *ešēdu* "to cut off."

(b) *Ā* becomes *e* under the influence of a preceding *i*, e. g. in the form *qilāl*: *imeru* "ass," *pītequ* "child" for *imāru* (حمار), *pīlāqu*; in the feminine plural ending *āti*, e. g. *girreti* "roads," *saḫmeti* "salvation," *šineti* "them" = *girrāti*, *saḫmāti*, *šināti*.

(c) Short *ā* becomes *e* under the influence of a preceding *e* when it has the accent: e. g. *etēbir* "I crossed" = *etdbir* (a'tdbir), *etēpuš* "I made" = *etdpuš* (a'tdpuš), *eteli* "I ascended" = *etdli* (a'tdli), *eterub* "I entered" = *etirub* (aḡtārub). In cases like *etenippušu* "they made" for *etanappušu*, the *ta* was originally accented, the form *افتعل* being a secondary formation from

*افتعل* with accented infixed *td*.

(d) Under the influence of an *i* a preceding *ā* may become per epenthesis *e*: e. g. (α) in the Shaphel forms *ušekniš* "I subdued," *ušemqil* "I threw down," *ušeškin* "I made," *ušeḫlil* "I completed," *ušemḫ* "I caused to find" for *uṣakniš*, *uṣamqil*, etc.; (β) in the Iste'al forms: *ilteq* "he took," *apteḫi* "I closed," *iṭteqid* "he appointed," *aḡterib* "I approached," *artedi* "I marched," *luṭteḫir* "I gathered" for *illāqih*, *apḫiḫi*, etc.; (γ) in Pa'el forms: *urepiš* "I enlarged," *ukeniš* "I subdued," *unekis* "I cut off," *useḫip* "I prostrated" = *urāpiš* or *urappiṣ*, *ukāniš*,

*ukanniš*, etc. (cf. the epenthesis of the *i* in Ethiopic forms like *ifēqēm*, *išfēqēm* for *iufēqim*, *iufāqim*, *iufaqqim*);<sup>1</sup> (δ) in the present Qal of verbs tertiae infirmæ, as *išēmī* "he hears," *iṭehī* "he approaches," *išest* "he speaks" for *išdmt*, *iṭdht*, *išdst*; (ε) in the first pers. sing. of the impf. *i* Qal, as *eqšir* "I joined," *eptiq* "I built" = *aqšir*, *aptiq* (Flemming, p. 29), cf. the הָנַן in Hebr. אָנַן or אָנַן. In all these cases the *a* seems to have had the accent: *ušēkniš*, *išēmī*, *illēqt*, *urēpiš*, *ēptiq*. In words like *Tešritu* "Tishri," *tešlitu* "prayer," *tesbitu* "supplication," the *ta* may originally have been accented, *tešlitu* standing for *tdšlijatu* (تصليّة), *tešritu* for *tdšrīatu*, *tesbitu* for *tdsbīatu* from the stem טָבַע

(Assyr. *subbū*, or with partial assimilation of the *b* to the preceding *s*, *suppū*), Hebrew טָבַע or rather הִשְׁבִּיעַ "obtestari," I K. 22, 16.

(e) Unaccented *ā* under the influence of a following *e* becomes *e*. Of *ileqt* "he takes" = *ildqt*, the 2 p. is *telēqt* instead of *talēqt*, *taldqih*, so too *tefeht* "thou approachest" for *tafeht*, *taḏdht*, and *ertedī* "I marched" for *artedī*, *artādī*. The same change is witnessed in the infinitive of the verbs tertiae *y*, e. g. *šemū* "to hear," *šebū* "to be satisfied," *tebū* "to come." Similarly the infinitives of פָּתַח "to open," לָקַח "to take," נָסַע "to proceed," נָסַע "to wash," חָפַע "to destroy," וָנָא "to be angry," should be read *petū*, *leqū*, *nesū*, *mesū*, *hepū*, *zenū*, not *pitū*, *liqū*, etc. The primitive form of *šemū* "to hear" is *šamā'u*. This became on account of the guttural *šamē'u*; the *ē* of the second syllable then changed the *a* of the first syllable into *e*, as in *teleqt* for *talēqt*, and *šemē'u* was finally contracted to *šemū*.

(f) While accented *ā* after a preceding *e* becomes *e*, unaccented *ā* becomes *i* under the influence of an *e* in the preceding syllable: e. g. *belit* = *belat*, constr. of *beltu* "lady," *šelibu* "fox" = *šelabu*, III R. 15, 16 b; *eršitu* "earth" = *aršatu*, *erritu* "curse" = *arratu*; *ellitu*, *ebbitu*, *ezzitu*, feminine forms to *ellu* "pure," *ebbu* "clean," *ezzu* "powerful"; *erpitu* "cloud," fem. to *erpu* (cf., on the other hand, *urpatu* in the same meaning, where the *a* remains unchanged), *eklitu* "darkness" = *haklatu*, *rebitu* "broad way" = *rebatu*, *raḥbatu*, *raḥabatu*; *eqil*, *epir* = *ḥaqal*, *apar*, construct states of حَقْل "field" and عَفْر "dust"; *neribu* "straits" = *nerabu*, *naḡrabu*; *metiqu* "march" = *metaqu*, *ma'taqu*; *medilu* "bolt" = *medalu*, *ma'dalu* [cf. μάδαλος]; *mesiru* "band" = *mesaru*, *ma'saru*;

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Praetorius' *Ethiopic Grammar*, §§39-41.

*ešeril* = *ešerat*, 'ašarat, constr. state of עשרה "ten," *tenešit* "man-kind," constr. state of תאנוש.

Cases in which the *a* is preserved like *šelabu* "fox," *belat* "lady," *elamu*, fem. *elamtu* "high," *epartu* (V R. 28, 68c), "garment," *mekaltu* "water reservoir," are relatively rare. In *enah* "he settled" or "it fell to ruins," the preservation of the primitive *a* is due to the following guttural.

I trust that the above statements sufficiently establish the existence of an *e*-vowel in Assyrian, being an *Umlaut* of *a*, and different from both the ordinary *i*, *î* and the diphthongal *î* or *ê*, contracted from *ai*.

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[April, 1887.]

## II.—*QUE, ET, ATQUE* IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC, IN TERENCE, AND IN CATO.

### I. INTRODUCTORY.

In preparing the following paper I have made the inscriptions the central point of investigation, using Terence and Cato chiefly by way of comparison and contrast, as convenient representatives of poetry on the one hand and prose on the other.

Since the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. I, other inscriptions dating from republican times have been discovered and edited in Ritschl's *Supplements*, in the *Hermes*, and in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. It was my original intention to embody the conjunctions *que, et, atque* from all of these in this paper, but I have as yet been able to collect only those from the first volume of the *Corpus* and from the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, the last mentioned presenting only the one instance of which I have spoken in the third division of this paper. The additions which might be made from the other sources are very few, and they could not make any material difference with the results.

In Cato I have found it necessary to refer to pages and lines, instead of chapters and sections, as a section often includes many instances of the conjunctions, and there would be no convenient way of designating which particular one was referred to in each case. In doing this I have used Keil's edition of *de Agri cultura* (Leipzig, 1882), and Jordan's collection of the fragments of Cato (Leipzig, 1862). For Terence I have used the standard edition of Umpfenbach.

This paper is intended to be used side by side with the literature that has hitherto appeared on the copulative conjunctions, and I have, accordingly, introduced but little from other papers into my own. I have quoted them, however, not infrequently, for the purpose of modifying or correcting some of their statements. Where I have adopted the views or statements of others, credit is duly given in the foot-notes or in parentheses.

Throughout the paper C. represents the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

Sentences may be put together in connected discourse in two ways, paratactically or hypotactically. They may be ranged side by side, each occupying a position equally prominent with the others, leaving their connection and relative importance to be inferred from the nature of the thoughts ; or they may be reduced to syntactical unity by grammatical subordination. Again, in the former case they may be left wholly without a connective, or they may be joined together by what have been called the " paratactic conjunctions." The most common form of such parataxis is that of copulation, and it is with the particles which find application here that the present paper has to do. These are *et*, *que*, *atque* (*ac*). Of these three conjunctions *que* is of the most ancient formation, and is the only one found in those inscriptions which are prior to the Second Punic War (comprising the Pars Prior of the first volume of the Corpus), with the exception of " Erinie et . . ." in a fragment (C. 182) and *atque* in one of the Scipio inscriptions (C. 33).

In the inscriptions under consideration *atque* (*ac*) is comparatively rare,<sup>1</sup> though it occurs on earliest and latest monuments alike, and seems to be quite equally distributed over all periods and classes of inscriptions, appearing, for instance, in the epitaph of P. Cornelius Scipio (C. 33), then three times in the S. C. de Bacchanalibus (C. 196, B. C. 186), once in the Lex Agraria (C. 200, B. C. 111), three times in the Lex Rubria (C. 205, B. C. 49), and five times in the tituli.

In all but three instances<sup>2</sup> the word following *atque* begins with a vowel. In the three exceptions it begins with m, p, s, respectively. The contracted form *ac* is not found earlier than the Lex Antonia (C. 204, B. C. 71), and occurs only seven times in all, once before each of the letters d, f, m, n, p, and twice before s.<sup>3</sup>

The examples of *atque* (*ac*) in the inscriptions are not numerous enough to afford sound basis for comparison with the use elsewhere. But it is interesting to note, in this connection, that Cato uses *ac* only three times,<sup>4</sup> once before each of the letters m, v, d, while he uses *atque* (91 times in all) indiscriminately before any letter (vowel or consonant) except u.

<sup>1</sup> *Atque* 13 times, 9 times with copulative force; *ac* 7 times, 6 times with copulative force.

<sup>2</sup> C. 196, 19, *atque mulieres*; 205, I 18, *atque sei*; 1480, *atque propinqueis*.

<sup>3</sup> C. 204, I 20, *ac ne*; 205, II 47, *ac sei*; 1007, 1, *ac pellige*; 1008, 3, *ac finem*; 1008, 9, *ac s.*; 1008, 14, *ac v.*; 1012, 7, *ac m.*

<sup>4</sup> De Agr. cult., ch. 41, 1, *ac malorum*; Fragmenta (Jordan), p. 36, 8, *ac vicissim*; 66, 9, *ac ducentis*.

In contrast with Cato, Terence has a distinct use for each form of this conjunction, viz. *atque* before vowels and before *h*, and *ac* before consonants. Of the 210 instances of *atque* in Terence there are only 7 exceptions to this rule, *atque* being used once before each of the letters *g* and *c*, twice before *l*, and three times before consonantal *u*. Of *ac* there are 66 instances in Terence, occurring, as elsewhere, only before consonants. It is in most cases employed even before the letters just given where *atque* sometimes occurs. Dräger says: Alle übrige Beobachtungen sind werthlos, ausgenommen etwa die, dass Plautus *ac* nicht vor *q* stellt. He might have added that Terence also does not allow *ac* before *q*.

The most common of the copulative conjunctions are *que* and *et*, and between these two the inscriptions present striking differences. In the legal enactments here preserved, *et* is avoided and *que* is used indiscriminately in all connections. This is clearly seen in the Lex Agraria (C. 200), where *que* appears 46 times and *et* only once. Again, in the Lex Agraria Repetundarum (C. 198), *que* is used 39 times and *et* only 9. In the Lex Cornelia (202) *et* does not occur at all, while *que* appears 25 times. In the laws, decrees and legal forms recorded in the inscriptions and comprising in the Corpus Nos. 196 to 198, 200, 202 to 211, there are, in all, 210 instances of *que* and only 43 of *et*. Following is a table showing the number of times that *et* and *que* occur in each of these :

|        |                                   |            |    |           |    |
|--------|-----------------------------------|------------|----|-----------|----|
| C. 196 | De Bacchanalibus . . . . .        | <i>que</i> | 5  | <i>et</i> | 0  |
| 197    | Lex Reperta Bantiae . . . . .     |            | 4  |           | 2  |
| 198    | Lex Acilia Repetundarum . . . . . |            | 39 |           | 9  |
| 200    | Lex Agraria . . . . .             |            | 46 |           | 1  |
| 202    | Lex Cornelia . . . . .            |            | 25 |           | 0  |
| 203    | S. C. de Asclepiade . . . . .     |            | 5  |           | 2  |
| 204    | Lex Antonia . . . . .             |            | 22 |           | 3  |
| 205    | Lex Rubria . . . . .              |            | 23 |           | 7  |
| 206    | Lex Julia Municip. . . . .        |            | 37 |           | 18 |
| 207    | Fragment . . . . .                |            | 1  |           | 1  |
| 208    | " . . . . .                       |            | 2  |           | 0  |
| 209    | " . . . . .                       |            | 1  |           | 0  |

This remarkable preponderance of *que* over *et* led me to suspect that there was an attempt to make *que* the universal copulative conjunction in the laws, and that, where *et*, *atque*, or *ac* occurs, the

use of *que* could not, for some reason, be allowed. With this possibility in view I have examined all the instances of *et*, *atque*, *ac* in the legal enactments recorded in the inscriptions and have found much to favor the hypothesis.

In the Lex Acilia Repetundarum *et* occurs 9 times. In three instances the phrase is *et unde* (lines 26, 27, 28). Here the use of *que* would necessitate appending it to short e, which I have elsewhere shown is not allowed.<sup>1</sup> It would also afford the possibility for confusion with the adverb *undique*. In another case (32) we have *et, quom*, where the clause introduced by *quom* is thrown in parenthetically and the use of *que* would improperly incorporate it into the context. Again (34), *et si*. There was, for some reason, an aversion to appending *que* to *si*.<sup>2</sup> It is never allowed in the inscriptions, *et* and *ac* always being substituted.<sup>3</sup> Again, in 53, *et in*. There was a similar aversion to appending *que* to *in*, as I have further on in this paper pointed out. This may have been because *inque* would have coincided in form with the verb. *Que* could not have been appended to the object of the preposition, as that was of very rare occurrence in early times, and it was not allowed at all in the inscriptions, or in Plautus (Ballas, Gram. Plaut., Spec. I, p. 19). Thus, in six of the nine instances there is evident reason for avoiding *que*.

In the Lex Agraria there is only one *et*,<sup>4</sup> and that is another case where *que* would have made *inque*.

In one of the two cases in the S. C. de Asclepiade we have *et ad*. *Adque* might have been mistaken for the conjunction. There was, too, at all periods an aversion to appending *que* to this preposition (Schmalz, Lat. Synt. §170).

In the Lex Antonia there are three instances of *et*, but two of them connect proper names opposed to each other (lines 19, 21), inter Romanos et Termenses. Here separation and opposition are to be understood and *que* would be manifestly inappropriate. In the other case (29) we have *et, quo*, to distinguish from *quòque, quòque*.

In the Lex Rubria there are seven instances of *et*. Three of them (11, 50, 27) are followed by *sei*, and are used, as above pointed out, to avoid *seique*. Two others (7, 8) are followed by

<sup>1</sup> See third division of this paper, "Words in final *z*."

<sup>2</sup> Possibly because, in the popular pronunciation, *sique* might in some cases have become *sic*; cf. *neque, nec*.

<sup>3</sup> C. 205, I 11, et sei; I 50, et nisei; II 27, et sei; II 47, ac sei; 628, et sel.

<sup>4</sup> C. 200, 30.

the preposition *a, ab*. Dräger (Hist. Synt. II, p. 37) has already pointed out that the language, at all periods, had an aversion for appending *que* to this preposition. In (42) *et municipium*. The language at no period allowed, with any freedom, the appending of *que* to words of five or more syllables.<sup>1</sup> The laws under consideration offer but one such instance.<sup>2</sup> In another case (45) we have *et in*, again to avoid *inque*. This accounts for all of the 7 instances.

The Lex Julia Municipalis offers the large number of 18 instances of *et*. But 4 of them are with relative pronouns which, if *que* had been used, would have given rise to such ambiguous forms as *quaque, quoque*, etc.<sup>3</sup> Then, from analogy with the singular, it is not surprising to find *quorumque* avoided in line 35 (*et quorum*) and *quarumque* in line 60 (*et quarum*). Another is *et quot* (146), to avoid *quotque* (similar to *quodque*). Another (39) would have formed *inque*; another (67) *aque ab(s)que*. Another (15) is followed by a parenthetical clause, which *que* would have bound too closely to the context. Again, in (29) *inter aedem sacram et aedificium locumve publicum*, where the two substantives are opposed to each other. Another similar use of *et* occurs in the same line, but with repetition of the preposition: *inter aedem sacram et inter aedificium privatum*. *Interque* is, moreover, a rare combination, not occurring in the inscriptions or in Caesar, who uses only *atque* with *inter* (Ringe, Zum Sprachgeb. des Caesar, p. 19). In 157 *et* is used adversatively (or where we should more naturally use an adversative conjunction). This accounts for 14 out of the 18 instances.

In S. C. de Bacchanalibus, the Lex Cornelia, and in the fragments numbered 208, 209 in the Corpus, *et* does not occur at all.

*Atque* and *ac* are used only 4 times in the inscriptions recording laws, with copulative force. In two of them (196, 26 and 28) *atque utei* may have been used to avoid confusion with the form of the adverb *utique*,<sup>4</sup> and in 204, I 20, *ac ne locenter*, to avoid the ambiguity arising from *neque*.

To sum up, then, of the 47 instances of *et, atque (ac)* in these legal documents, 33 of them may very probably have been used to avoid the confusion which *que* would have occasioned with other words, and to avoid unusual combinations. The only instances which remain to be accounted for are: (1) *et is, eam, eum*,

<sup>1</sup> Dräger, Hist. Synt. II, p. 37, §3.

<sup>2</sup> C. 200, 93, *possessionesque*.

<sup>3</sup> 5, *et quae*; 14, *et quo*; 36, *et quo*; 35, *et quo*.

<sup>4</sup> *Uti + que* occurs in the same inscription. Despite occasional exceptions there was undoubtedly a general tendency to avoid such ambiguous forms.



eos, in C. 197, 21; 198, 53; 198, 76; 206, 13; 206, 157; 207; (2) et causam, C. 198, 32; (3) et quantum, C. 198, 48; (4) et eidem, C. 197, 19; (5) et de, C. 203, 5; (6) et praetor, C. 206, 10; (7) aed. et IIII vir, C. 206, 50; (8) et rationem, C. 206, 147. A closer study of the language would probably reveal other similar reasons for the use of *et* and reduce still more these 14 remaining cases where *et* seems voluntarily chosen as connective.

So much for those inscriptions which record legal enactments. As soon, however, as we examine the others, there appear important differences in the use of these conjunctions. The tituli, the glandes, the tesserae consulares, in fact all the inscriptions posterior to the Second Punic War, except those recording laws, decrees, etc., show, on the whole, a preference for *et*. These comprise the second, third and fourth sections of the Pars Posterior of the Corpus, or from No. 212 to 1499 inclusive (exc. 627, 628), and show a total of *que* 108 and *et* 158. Some of these, however, are in legal form, or in connection with legal forms, and in such cases there is a distinct return to *que* as the connective. For instance, No. 577 of the Corpus (Lex pariete faciendo) has 16 instances of *que* and only 5 of *et*, one of these (2, 18) being followed by a word ending in *ē*, and another by a word of six syllables (38, et duovirium). No. 603 (Leges aedis Jovis, etc.) has 9 instances of *que* and none at all of *et*.

In general, then, *que* is preferred only in legal forms, while elsewhere *et* is the more common connective. The statement in Harpers' Dict., credited to Dräger, that *que* is preferred in archaic language to *et* is, as far as the inscriptions are concerned, inexact, and should be modified so as to apply only to those inscriptions prior to the Second Punic War and to legal language.

This preference for *que* as connective in legal documents remained in classical times. Cicero, for instance<sup>1</sup> (Phil. 14, 36), in framing a Senatus Consultum, uses *que* 23 times, *et* only 3 times (instead of twice, as Dräger says), and *atque* only once (Dräger says not at all). In two of the instances of *et* the following word ends in *ē*: existimare et iudicare,<sup>2</sup> salute et liberate; and *atque* is followed by *ita* (*ilaque* would be ambiguous); all of which goes to strengthen the hypothesis, above laid down, that *et* was used only where *que* would have been impossible. Elsewhere Cicero shows

<sup>1</sup> Dräger, Hist. Synt. II, §314, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions, infinitives are always joined by *que*. In Cicero's time the final *e* had become fixed as short, and so, as we should naturally expect, *que* is avoided and *et* used in its stead.

a decided preference for *et* (e. g. Pro. Rosc. Am., *et* 269, *que* 121, *atque* 81, *ac* 47). That the same preference for *que* in legal language holds good for imperial times is clearly shown in the Lex regia de Vespiani imperio, in which *que* is continually used in all connections, while *et* and *atque* are not used at all, and *ac* only once.<sup>1</sup>

## II. SIGNIFICATIONS OF *Que*, *Et*, *Atque*.

Hand, in his Tursellinus, opens his treatise on *et* with this sentence: Notiones et sententiae aut coniunguntur simpliciter, aut adiunguntur accessione aut iniunguntur aequatione, applying these words to *et*, *que*, and *atque* respectively. It is, however, impossible, as Spitta remarks,<sup>2</sup> to formulate a rule which will universally hold. Each author has peculiarities of his own in his use of the copulative conjunctions. Plautus, for instance, while in general assigning each particle its peculiar province, still uses them very often indiscriminately.<sup>3</sup> Seneca, who depended for effects not so much upon a well-rounded whole as upon the individual charm of his short incisive sentences, prefers *et* except in comparatively rare cases. Klammer<sup>4</sup> finds that, in his letters, Seneca uses *et* 3500 times, while *que* occurs only 550 times, *ac* 350, *atque* 100. Curtius, on the other hand, seems to have used *et* and *que* with about equal frequency.<sup>5</sup> Legal language offers the other extreme. A law is looked upon as one closely connected whole and its provisions are accordingly linked together with *que*.

There is nothing in the nature of *et* and *que* to force the use of one invariably in a certain connection and the other in a certain other connection. Grammars tell us that *et* connects in the most general way, without any additional signification whatever, while *que* implies that the things belong closely to one another and that the second member completes or extends the first. But there is no reason why the things thus connected by *que* cannot be conceived of each by itself and connected by *et*. Again, if two things are closely related to each other, and are set side by side, the use of *et* cannot interfere with the relation between them; they will be quite as intimately associated as when connected by *que*. When, in C. 547, exemplum a has Atestinos et Patavinos, while exemplum b has Atestinos Patavinosque, we are not conscious of any real difference between the two, and must regard the

<sup>1</sup> Dräger, Hist. Synt. II, §314, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> De Taciti in componendis enuntiatis ratione, pars prior, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ballas, Gram. Plaut. Spec. I, de particulis copulativis, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Animadversiones Annaeanae Grammaticae, Bonn, 1878, p. 2.

choice of connective simply as a matter of taste. With this may be compared the example given by Schmalz<sup>1</sup> from Tac. Ann. 1, 1, Tiberii Gaiique et Claudii ac Neronis, where the connectives seem chosen quite arbitrarily. But in enumerating the parts of a whole, where each is distinct in itself, the associations of *que* would make this particle manifestly inappropriate. So when Varro (Ling. Lat. 8, 1) says: quod est homo ex corpore et anima, he was allowed no choice of connectives.

Many have made the mistake of assigning to each of these particles various meanings. For instance, Ballas (De particulis copulativis, p. 16, 6), commenting on Plaut. Amph. 15: vicit Perduellis et domum laudis compos revenit, says that *et* here has the force of *et ideo*. He has merely compared the parts connected and made *et* responsible for the result. So Dräger (Hist. Synt. II, p. 65, §317) says: *et* so wohl als *atque* dient zur Betonung des Folgenden. This seems to me wholly wrong. The part added may be emphatic, but *et* has nothing to do with making it so. It would be quite as logical to say that, in the English phrase "go and see," "and" means "in order that," because the latter verb expresses the purpose of the former. Take, for instance, Ter. Adelphoe 648, opinor et certo scio, where Dräger and others would assign an emphatic meaning to *et*. Such a meaning is assigned to it only because, in this particular case, the words following *et* are more emphatic than those preceding. If they happened to be less emphatic, one might equally well claim for *et* the opposite meaning. *Et*, in fact, when used to connect words and clauses, never means more than simple *and*. It may be preferred where the parts connected have certain relations to each other, and these relations may often be more clearly brought out in translation by an additional word, but the relation is not expressed by the conjunction itself.<sup>2</sup> The same is true of *que*; though implying a closer union, it by no means expresses any of the varied relations which the added notion may have to the preceding.

### III. *Que* AND WORDS IN FINAL *Ē*.

It is well known that *que*, in classical Latin, is not appended to words ending in short *e*. To this there is, according to Harant

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Synt. §175. Poets and later prose writers allow a free interchange of *et*, *atque*, *que*; cf. Reisig, Lat. Sprachwissenschaft, p. 195, §232 (406c).

<sup>2</sup> Certain phrases may become fixed, and custom may favor the use of but one connective in such phrases, e. g. *senatus populusque Romanus*. But here again the occasional use of *et* shows that no real difference in meaning is felt between them; cf. Cic. Verr. II 90, *senatus et populus Romanus*.

(Revue de Philologie, IV 1, pp. 25-9), no exception in Sallust, Velleius Paterculus, Q. Curtius, Pliny the younger, Florus, Justin, Cicero (orations), nor in Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, Phaedrus, Persius, Juvenal. In Varro the only exceptions are in quotations. In each of the authors Terence, Horace, and Caesar there is one exception; in Columella, two; Propertius, two; Tibullus, three; Cato, four (beneque four times); Nepos, five. The inscriptions, at first sight, seem to violate this rule, but only in the case of the active infinitive of verbs. This seems all the more striking when we consider the aversion elsewhere to attaching it thus to the active infinitive, even in authors who allow it after short e in other classes of words (see Dräger, Hist. Synt. II, p. 43). None of the *prose* writers examined by Harant, above referred to, allow it in this position with the single exception of Cato, and he offers but one instance (de Agri cultura, Keil, p. 98, 1, cenareque); and the poets overstep this rule only in isolated cases.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions, then, presenting as they do the complete reverse of this, are unique in prose writings, as far as research has gone. The only examples they present of *que* appended to short e (or to a long e that afterwards became short) are as follows:

C. 198, 34, (produ)cere proferreque.

199, 29, posidere colereque.

200, 41, gerere habereque.

203, 8, locare mittereque.

203, 9, venire mittereque.

205, XX 17, iudicia dato iudicareque iubeto.

205, XXII 46, proscribereque venireque iubeto.

We observe that out of the 340 instances of *que* it is in no case appended to a word ending in ě, or in ē which afterwards became ě, except when that verb is the active infinitive of a verb. It is interesting to note in this connection that, out of only 213 instances of *et* (a much smaller number than of *que*), the word following the conjunction ends in ě in 4 cases: C. 198, 26, et unde; C. 198, 27, et unde; C. 198, 67; 577, II 15, lita politaque et calce uda dealbata. In this last case, too, we should expect the last member, like the second, to be added by *que*. This is, in fact, the only instance I find in the inscriptions of -- *que et* --, while -- *que-que* is of very common occurrence (see §25). *Ac* occurs only 7 times in the inscriptions, but in two of these is followed by a word ending in

<sup>1</sup> Ter. And. 1, 3, 12; Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 89; Tibullus, 1, 3, 34; Plaut. Trin. 1, 2, 39; Poen. Prol. 3; Most. 3, 2, 104; Trin. 4, 2, 27.

ē: C. 1007, 1, asta ac pellige; C. 1008, 9, in luctu ac solitudine. Again, wherever two words are connected by *que* and one of them ends in ē (or ē, afterward ě), the one in ē is invariably placed first and *que* attached to the other word, e. g. C. 198, 11, quaestione iudicioque; C. 198, 19, De nomine deferendo iudicibusque legundeis; C. 205, XXI 5, sponsione iudicioque; C. 205, XXI 10, sponsione iudicioque. All this clearly shows a tendency to avoid appending *que* to ě (except in the case of infinitives, where it is the only connective used) by using another conjunction, where possible, or by avoiding the order of words.

The exception which the active infinitive forms to this rule is undoubtedly to be accounted for by supposing that its final *e* was long in quantity. But it is surprising that no other case occurs of *que* appended to a word whose final *e* was originally long but afterward became short (e. g. abl. of 3d declen.). Such an anomaly affords opportunity for conjecture. It may signify that the final ē of the active infinitive remained firm in quantity after the ē in other classes of words had begun to waver. If this is the true explanation, we should expect to find *que* appended to the infinitive most frequently in the oldest writers, and this in fact proves to be the case. Plautus has 4 instances; Terence a little later has one; while in the writers of the Augustan age the license had virtually disappeared altogether, the *e* having at last become fixed as short.

The facts above pointed out throw doubt upon a conjectured restoration in C. 198, 78, where the title of a section reads: De provocation—eque danda. Mommsen does not attempt to restore the original reading here in the Corpus, but Bruns (*Fontes Iuris Romani*) has written: De provocation(e immunitat)eque. Wordsworth (*Spec. Early Latin*) also has this reading, following Bruns. This restoration is very improbable. The —eque belongs, clearly enough, to an ablative case, but an ablative of the 5th declen. would be more in accordance with the usage elsewhere.

In the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, I 3 (p. 7) is preserved an inscription in which occurs PLEIB PROP AVLQ, where Henzen thinks probaveq. should be read. To this Willmanns remarks: utrum sit probave(e)qu(e) an probave(t)q(ue) nescimus. The above-mentioned facts favor the latter.

These facts also have an important bearing upon certain emendations which have been made in the text of Plautus. In Pseud.

355 the MSS have: *Égo scelestus nunc argentum promere possum domo*. The editors have deemed it necessary to alter this line, e. g. Lorenz emends to *promere huic*; Ritschl to *domo potis sum promere*, etc. In *Truc.* 2, 4, 74, the MSS have: *Non aúdes aliquod mihi dare munúsculum*. Spengel follows Camerarius and writes *dáre mihi*. The text is also changed by Ritschl, Ribbeck and others, to avoid the ictus on the supposed short *e*. Similar emendations are made, for the same reason, in *Stich.* 513 (*promitteré*), *Trin.* 584 (*daré*), and elsewhere. It may safely be said that all such changes in the text of Plautus are utterly groundless, in so far as they are based on the supposition that the final *e* of the infinitive was short.

#### IV. *Que* WITH PREPOSITIONS.

The rule that *que* is usually appended to a noun rather than to a monosyllabic preposition governing it, unless the preposition is repeated (a rule still given in Harpers' Dictionary), has been modified by recent investigation. Klammer remarks<sup>1</sup> that this rule began to fall into neglect in the time of Livy, and that Seneca never appends *que* to a monosyllabic preposition even when repeated. Similar remarks regarding Livy as marking the time when *que* began to be attached to the preposition, even when it had not gone before, are made by Ringe, *Zum Sprachgebrauch des Caesar*, p. 19; Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* II 314, 1; Kühner, *Ausf. Gr. d. lat. Sprache*, §113. All these statements are misleading. Ante-classical literature, as Dräger remarks, had not been examined in this connection. The inscriptions show that no such rule can hold, for here *que* is always appended to the preposition, whether monosyllabic or not and whether repeated or not. Ballas shows that this is also the case in Plautus.<sup>2</sup> I find, however, that Terence attaches *que* to prepositions only three times, and in each case the same preposition has immediately preceded (*Haut.* 811, *cum—cumque*; *And.* 290, *per—perque*; *And.* 540, *per—perque*). Cato, on the contrary, attaches *que* to prepositions twice, but in neither case is the preposition repeated (*de Agri cultura*, 50, 9, *circumque*; 93, 3, *proque*). In one passage of his orations (Jordan, p. 341, 6) we have: *ad Illiberim adque Ruscionem*, where Jordan is in doubt whether *adque* is the conjunction, or preposition with *que*. Dräger (*Hist. Synt.* p. 35) regards it as the preposition. As there is no

<sup>1</sup> *Animadversiones Annaeanae Grammaticae*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *De particulis copulativis*, p. 19.

other instance in Cato of *que* connecting repeated prepositions, while there are 15 instances of *et* in a similar position and 7 of *atque*, and since Cato uses *atque* to connect proper names with about the same frequency as *et* (see §16), it seems better to take this as the conjunction *atque*. It would, furthermore, be more in accordance with the general rule of Cato, to make a single preposition govern both substantives; cf. Jordan,<sup>1</sup> p. 15, l. 8, cum Iphegenia atque Pylade; 23, 1, a recte consulendo atque intellegendo; 37, 16, inter apparitores atque amicos; 43, 6, in duritia atque industria; 45, 10; 59, 4; 67, 4; 67, 5, etc.

In the inscriptions we notice several marked peculiarities in the use of *et* and *que* with prepositions. The following table shows the prepositions found in connection with conjunctions, the figures representing the number of instances:

|       |              |             |       |              |             |
|-------|--------------|-------------|-------|--------------|-------------|
| In    | <i>que</i> 4 | <i>et</i> 7 | Ex    | <i>que</i> 1 | <i>et</i> 0 |
| Cum   | 1            | 0           | Ad    | 1 (?)        | 1           |
| De    | 8            | 1           | Ab    | 0            | 2           |
| Extra | 6            | 0           | Inter | 0            | 1           |
| Pro   | 2            | 0           |       |              |             |

Notwithstanding the comparative infrequency of *et* (occurring only once to *que* five times), it is still used nearly twice as often as *que* with the preposition *in*, even in the laws, where *que* is so universal.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, *de* and *extra* show a strong preference for *que*. The other prepositions are not of sufficiently frequent occurrence to warrant any conclusion.

In case of a repeated preposition *que* is used 10 times and *et* only 6; when not repeated, *que* 13 and *et* only 4, showing a stronger preference for *que* when the preposition is not repeated than when it is. If the old rule were true we should expect the reverse.

*Atque* (*ac*) is nowhere immediately followed by a preposition.

## V. *Que* WITH RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

I notice that in the inscriptions *que* is commonly appended to the relative pronoun only when a relative has already preceded, e. g. C. 204, I 19, quae—quaeque. Otherwise *et* is more common, e. g. C. 206, 5, ita ut ei—et quae; 199, 3, controversias

<sup>1</sup> Catonis Fragmenta.

<sup>2</sup> All but three of the seven instances of *et* are from the laws, C. 198, 58; 200, 30; 206, 39; 205, XXII 46; 551; 1028; 1418.

composeiverunt, et qua lege—dixserunt. Compare the following table :

|                   | QUE with preceding relative.        | ET with preceding relative. | QUE without preceding relative. | ET without preceding relative. |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| quam              | 202, I 36; 206, 22,                 | 2                           | 0                               | 0                              |
| quae              | { 204, I 15; I 19; II 18,           | 6                           | 0                               | 1                              |
|                   | 200, 14; 206, 62, 64,               |                             |                                 |                                |
| quod              | { 200, 16, 48, 95; 204, I 15, 31,   | 9                           | 0                               | 0                              |
|                   | 204, II 18, 23; 205, XIX 2; XXI 21, |                             |                                 |                                |
| quei <sup>1</sup> | 204, I 1; I 5; 205, XXI 19,         | 3 I 18,                     | 1 206, 145, I 1313; 1418,       | 2                              |
| quo               | 204, II 2,                          | 1 206, 35,                  | 1 204, II 30; 206, 14, 37, 3    | 3                              |
| qua               |                                     | 0 199, 3 (?),               | 1 0 199, 3,                     | 1                              |
| quem              |                                     | 0 199, 38 (4 times),        | 4 0                             | 0                              |
| quoius            | 206, 68,                            | 1                           | 0                               | 0                              |
|                   | 22                                  | 7                           | 1                               | 7                              |

<sup>1</sup> *Quaeque* is used for *quisque* in C. 197. 14; cf. also *quisque*, Plaut. Aul. 4. 10. 45.



It will be noticed that, when a relative has preceded, *que* is used 22 times and *et* only 7. Of these instances of *et*, 4 occur in the same passage, enumerating distinct things; 2 add relatives in different constructions, in which case there would have been greater danger of ambiguity from the use of *que* (e. g. 199, 3, *qua lege* —*et qua* [adv. = "where"]; 206, 35).

On the contrary, when no relative has preceded, *que* is avoided almost entirely, occurring only once, while *et* is used 7 times. This last is more significant when we consider that all but 2 of the 7 instances are from the laws, where *que* so greatly predominates. It is probable, as I have already remarked, that this use of *et* was to avoid the ambiguity arising from such forms as *quamque*, *quaeque*, *quodque*, etc. Of course, where a relative has preceded, there would be but little danger of such ambiguity.<sup>1</sup>

*Atque* (*ac*) is not thus used to add a relative clause.

No comparison can be made with Cato and Terence in this respect, as they prefer *et* in every connection, and it accordingly greatly predominates both where the relative clause is, and where it is not, preceded by another relative.

|           |                          |                     |              |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Cato :    | with preceding relative, | <i>que</i> 2 times, | <i>et</i> 10 |
| "         | no                       | "                   | 0      13    |
| Terence : | with preceding relative, | 3                   | 10           |
| "         | no                       | "                   | 1      20    |

#### VI. A DETAILED CLASSIFICATION OF *Que*, *Et*, *Atque* (*Ac*), IN THE INSCRIPTIONS, IN TERENCE, AND IN CATO.

It is the usual custom in papers of this kind to classify the particles separately, assigning to each one a chapter of its own. Instead of doing this, I have thought best merely to assign one section to each class, bringing together under that section all the instances of all three particles which properly belong there. In doing this I have adopted the following order of treatment : (1) *que*, *et*, *atque* in the inscriptions; (2) *que*, *et*, *atque* in Terence; (3) *que*, *et*, *atque* in Cato. By treating of these three styles of writing thus side by side, I have hoped to bring out more clearly the points of correspondence and of contrast. In consulting the summaries which are given, one should keep constantly in mind the relative frequency

<sup>1</sup> I have included in the table only the *singular number* of the relative. The above remarks hold true for the plural also, perhaps after the analogy of the singular : *quibusque* with preceding relative, C. 201, 3; 204, II 23; 206, 5.

of each particle in the inscriptions, in Terence, and in Cato. As regards the whole number of conjunctions, Terence and Cato are on an equal footing, each having about the same number of instances of *que*, *et*, *atque*. The inscriptions present only about two-thirds as many instances. These are distributed as follows:

|                |                 |                |                                |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| Inscriptions : | <i>que</i> 340, | <i>et</i> 215, | <i>atque</i> ( <i>ac</i> ), 20 |
| Terence :      | 115             | 525            | 276                            |
| Cato :         | 224             | 529            | 94                             |

The classification below does not include all the instances occurring in polysyndeta. Where there is a series of several terms, each united to the preceding by a conjunction, I have not separately classified in every case the conjunction of each couplet, as that would have greatly complicated the classification without materially increasing its usefulness. I have, however, cited even these instances where there was anything especially noteworthy or unusual. If, for any purpose, one wishes to collect and similarly classify the conjunctions in polysyndeta, he will find references to all the instances under §25. I have also omitted the instances of connectives which are used only with the last term of a series, these being used merely to close the series without regard to the ideas connected.

1. One of the most common uses of *que* in the inscriptions is to connect two clauses expressing successive acts. The conjunction may here be translated by "and then," "and thereupon." The inscriptions here have *que* nearly five times as often as both *et* and *atque* together. Cato has about the same number of instances of this use as are found in the inscriptions, but he differs from them in a marked degree by using *et* nearly twice as often as both *que* and *atque* together. Terence has only one-fifth as many instances of this use as the inscriptions, or Cato, and at the same time presents a further contrast by using most frequently *atque*, the particle which, in the inscriptions and in Cato, appears *least* frequently. Compare the following :

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*, Future Imperative: C. 198, 7 [praetor recuperatores n. n. dato]<sup>1</sup> deque eo homine—[iudicare iubeto]; C. 198, 18; 198, 19, in ious educito nomenque eius deferto; C. 198, 20, 59, 64; 200, 39, 78, 84; 202, I 1; 202, II 20 (twice); 209, 6; 577, II 16; 577, III 1; Perf. Indicative: C. 195, 8; 551, 11;

<sup>1</sup> Conjectured restorations are enclosed in brackets. The numbers refer to the first volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

1252, 5; the formula, faciund. coiravit eidemque probavit (with variations of number, etc.), occurs 31 times: C. 566, 567, 576, 591, 594, 600, 605, 802, 1140, 1149, 1161, 1163, 1178, 1187, 1189, 1192, 1216,<sup>1</sup> 1223, 1227, 1245, 1247, 1250, 1251, 1259, 1279, 1341, 1407, 1421, and in 1150, prob. dedicarq.; Subj.: C. 196, 48; 196, 17, 27; 205, XX 21, 52; 205, XXI 24; 208, 3; Inf.: C. 199, 4; 200, 97; 205, XXII 45; Fut. Perf. Ind.: 198, 24; *que* sometimes connects participles that may, not improperly, be classified under this section: C. 198, 18, descriptos habeto eosque propositos, etc.; 198, 38; 577, II 18, lita politaque—facito (shall have them smeared over and then polished); 577, III 15. *Et*, Fut. Imp.: 197, 17, 21; 198, 53, 58; 577, II 10; Perf. Ind.: 199, 1; 551, 1028, 1135, 1258; Subj.: 203, 21 (the only instance). [in integram restitu]antur et de integro iudicium—fiat; Fut. Perf. Ind.: 198, 32, 76; Gerundives: 1196. *Atque*, thus used but once: 196, 28.

TERENCE. *Que* occurs but once in this use: Hec. 508, deliberet renuntietque. *Et*, Perf. Ind.: Phorm. 1006, uxorem duxit et inde filiam suscepit; Hec. 376; Subj.: Adelph. 316, 446; Inf.: Phorm. 150; Pres. Ind.: Haut. 651. *Atque*, Perf. Ind.: Haut. 111, Hec. 169, Haut. 144 (*ac*); Subj.: Phorm. 586; Inf.: Phorm. 414; Fut. Ind.: Adelph. 181; Gerundives: Haut. 509; Pres. Imperat.: And. 725.

CATO. Cato's de Agri cultura is, as far as the form of composition is concerned, very similar to legal documents—that is, it consists largely of directions as to what shall and what shall not be done. There are, accordingly, a large number of future imperatives, as in the inscriptions. Cato, however, more commonly connects by *et*. *Que* occurs as follows: de Agr. cult. p. 31, 20;<sup>1</sup> 36, 11; 38, 8; 38, 18; 39, 1; 41, 2, 4 (twice); 44, 12; 48, 6; 50, 10; 51, 13; 52, 12, 20; 60, 5, 18 (twice); 61, 1, 13, 15; 66, 13, 16; 67, 1; 81, 12; 82, 5, 8; 95, 17; Perf. Ind.: Fragm. p. 56, 3;<sup>1</sup> Subj.: de Agr. cult. p. 65, 2; 98, 15; Inf.: de Agr. cult. p. 53, 9; Participles: Fragm. p. 21, 7, proelium factum depugnatumque. *Et*, Fut. Imp.: de Agr. cult. p. 18, 9, 10; 36, 7; 41, 6; 43, 11; 48, 19; 53, 6; 53, 18; 59, 5; 61, 1; 62, 6; 65, 9; 66, 10; 68, 5; 71, 17; 73, 1; 74, 2, 4; 75, 1, 10; 76, 3; 77, 9, 13; 78, 7; 79, 4; 80, 7, 10; 98, 2; 104, 20; 105, 7; 107, 11; Perf. Ind. not found; Subj.: p. 34, 12; 60, 5; 76, 11; Inf.: p. 15, 12; 53, 10; 84, 6; 96, 2; 104, 3; Pres. Ind.: p. 19, 13; 52, 17; Fut. Ind.: p. 76, 5; 108,

<sup>1</sup> The pages refer to Keil's edition of de Agri cultura (Leipzig, 1882), and to Jordan's edition of the fragments (Leipzig, 1862).

3; Fut. Pf.: p. 37, 1; 74, 2; Gerundives: p. 91, 5, 7; Fragm. p. 43, 8; Pres. Imperat.: de Agr. cult. p. 44, 7; 107, 1. *Atque*, only once: Fragm. p. 25, 10, exercitum—eduxit foras atque instruxit.

2. Rarely the act expressed by the second clause refers to time *prior* to that of the preceding.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 201, 5, ea senatus animum advortit ita ut ei aequom fuit. nosque ea ita audiveramus, ut vos deisistis; 206, 35, eam viam—tuendam locato. isque aedilis—propositum habeto quam viam tuendam et quo die locaturus sit; 206, 19; 206, 97, 107, 125, 140; 207; 1409, 5. *Et* and *atque* not found.

TERENCE. Only once: And. 836, facta atque incepta omnia.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 37, 2, facito uti servetur—facitoque studeas bene percoctum siccumque legere. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 29, 4; Fragm. p. 72, 1.

3. *Que* and *et*, and, in a few passages in Terence, *atque*, are used to subjoin a clause more accurately defining or explaining what has gone before. Sometimes the added clause merely specializes or adds a less comprehensive notion. Terence presents the largest number of instances of this use, having considerably more than both the inscriptions and Cato combined.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 204, 34, ea omnia—utei sunt fuerunt, ita sunt itemque iis ea omnia habere possidere uutei frueique liceto (everything shall be as it was, namely, they shall be allowed, etc.); 205, XXI 15; 205, XXII 45, 47; 206, 146, colonorum—censum agito eorumque nomina prænomena patres—accipito; 577, I 7; 1422; 195, 11; 201, 3. *Et*: 199, 3, controsvias composeverunt et qua lege agrum possiderent—dixserunt; 1009, 13.

TERENCE. *Que*: And. 556, 649; Phorm. 549; Hec. 207, 478, 579, 755; And. 935. *Et*, used much more frequently: And. 22; Eun. 1087; Haut. 159, 424, 735, 962, 1034; Phorm. 54, 381; Hec. 25, 268, 315; Adelph. 272, 694; And. 97; Phorm. 290; Hec. 117, 376; Adelph. 2. *Atque*: And. 15, 627; Adelph. 217, 846, 980; Eun. 385. *Ac*: Haut. 728; Eun. 92.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 52, 2, depurgato herbasque malas omnis radicitus effodito; 22, 3; 50, 16; 62, 11; 93, 3; Fragm. p. 19, 13. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 40, 8; 101, 19; 28, 8; 29, 1; 41, 9; 57, 8; 102, 1; Fragm. p. 77, 8. *Atque*, only twice, both times in the Fragments, p. 20, 2; 88, 2.

4. Opposed to the examples in the preceding section is a class in which the added clause is of a generalizing character, or expresses a notion which includes that of the preceding clause. The conjunction may often be translated by "and in general." There is but one example of this use in the inscriptions. It is not uncommon in Terence and in Cato, the former using *et* or *atque* (*que* only once); the latter, only *que* and *et*.

INSCRIPTIONS: C. 206, 78, *scaenam pulpitum—in loco publico ponere statuere eisque diebus—loco publico utei liceat*. Here the using of the place includes the erection of the scaena, etc.

TERENCE. *Que*: Hec. 604. *Et*: Haut. 7, *novam esse ostendi et quae esset*; Phorm. 512, 759; Adelph. 429. *Atque*: Adelph. 33, 794, 880. *Ac*: Hec. 654.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 13, 10, *quo modo fundus cultus siet operaque quae facta infectaque sunt*; p. 47, 11; 83, 5; 89, 2. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 28, 3, *materiem et quae opus sunt*; 40, 7; 82, 17.

5. A copulative particle is sometimes used to connect clauses of which the second bears an adversative relation to the preceding. In such cases we should be more likely in English to use an adversative conjunction and, in translating, we may accordingly render by "but," "and still." *Et* is by far the most common particle in this connection. In the inscriptions *et* is thus used three times, *que* once, *atque* not at all. In Terence, on the other hand, *atque* is thus used with equal freedom (*et* 29, *atque* 23, *que* 2). Cato, again, uses *et* almost exclusively (*et* 15, *atque* 3, *que* 1). I may note here, in passing, that Schmalz is wrong when he says (Lateinische Grammatik, §166) that Cicero was the first to use *neque* in this adversative sense. It has that force distinctly in C. 205, XXI 15, *qui ita quid confessus erit neque id solvet* (who shall have confessed his debt, but shall not pay it); also Terence, Hec. 641, Haut. 982, and elsewhere.

(a) First to be noticed under this section is a class in which the added clause is negated by *non*, *nunquam*, or the like.

INSCRIPTIONS. There is, strictly speaking, no example of this use in the inscriptions, but the following may be cited as having virtually, in the second clause, a negative force: C. 692, *esureis et me celas* (you are hungry, but will not tell me so); 199, 45 (where *abstineant* really expresses a negative idea).

TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Eun. 76, Haut. 387, Phorm.

521, pollicitantem et nihil ferentem. *Atque* not thus used, but in the following passage the added clause expresses a negative notion: And. 299. *Ac*: Eun. 451, And. 873.

CATO. *Et* is here the only connective employed: de Agr. cult. p. 12, 2; 75, 4; 105, 5.

(b) Sometimes the *first* clause is negated and the second adds an affirmative notion adversative to it. The most common case of this kind is where both clauses are imperatives.

INSCRIPTIONS. Only once: C. 205, XIX 2 (*que*).

TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Eun. 78, And. 59, Eun. 16, ne erret moveo et desinat lacescere; Eun. 965, 1075; Haut. 49, 176; Hec. 50, 220, 487, 561; negative in force: Phorm. 857. *Atque*: Haut. 84, And. 225, 614; Eun. 51; first clause with negative force: Adelph. 185, 335, 755.

CATO. Only *et* used: de Agr. cult. p. 67, 16, scabrae non fient et multo feraciores erunt; p. 15, 14; 69, 5; 80, 12; 101, 20.

(c) Again, the particle may join two affirmative clauses which seem inconsistent with each other, or even opposed to each other. In the inscriptions and in Cato this use is very rare and the connective is invariably *et*; in Terence there are numerous examples, the connective here also being generally *et*, sometimes *que* or *atque*.

INSCRIPTIONS. Only once: C. 206, 157, qui pluribus in municipiis—domicilium habebit et is Romae census erit.

TERENCE. *Que*: Hec. 56, 199. *Et*: Eun. 2, Haut. 663, 696, abis et Bacchidem hic relinquis; Haut. 867; Phorm. 1053, Hec. 344, 347, 401, 610, 792; Eun. 481. *Atque*: And. 339, Hec. 844.

CATO. Only *et*: de Agr. cult. p. 44, 7; 103, 9.

(d) Often in Terence *atque* is used to introduce a clause which is adversative to a remark just made by another character, or to some reflection of the speaker himself. Sometimes it merely introduces something wholly unexpected and is followed by *eccum*. There is no example of this use in the inscriptions or in Cato. Ballas finds that Plautus uses both *atque* and *et* with *eccum*. Terence has only *atque*.

TERENCE. *Atque*: And. 350, 607, ubi illic est? scelus qui me hodie—atque hoc confiteor iure mihi optigisse; And. 640, 977; Eun. 480, Haut. 187, 686; Adelph. 362. *Ac*: Phorm. 232, Adelph. 626, And. 370. *Atque eccum* (generally said at the unexpected appearance of some person): And. 532, 579, evocate huc Davoni. *Atque eccum* video ipsum foras exire; And. 579, 957; Eun. 455, 1005; Hec. 246, 352, 523.

(e) *Et* and *atque* (never *que*) are used in Terence and Cato to add a notion which is true, in spite of a preceding statement with which it seems inconsistent. It may be rendered, in translating, by "and still," "but still." Often this relation is *expressed* by the addition of *tamen*.

INSCRIPTIONS. No example.

TERENCE. *Et*: Eun. 72, Adelph. 596, 726, scis et patere? *Et tamen*: And. 633, timent et tamen res premit; Eun. 24, Haut. 567, 933; Hec. 465. *Atque*: Haut. 195, Phorm. 389, Adelph. 40. *Atque tamen*: Haut. 205.

CATO, only in the Fragments. *Et*: p. 24, 13. *Et tamen*: p. 105, 1; 107, 2. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 24, 12. *Atque tamen*: p. 23, 12.

(f) In two passages in Cato the added clause constitutes an exception to the preceding. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 52, 11. *Et*: p. 102, 13.

6. Two clauses of similar meaning are often joined for judicial fullness, or to fill out and round off a single complete notion. A marked difference is to be noted here in the use of the conjunctions. In the inscriptions such clauses are almost invariably joined by *que* (*que* 19, *et* 2, *atque* 0). In Terence, on the other hand, *et* is by far the most frequent (*et* 12, *que* 3, *atque* 3, *ac* 2); while in Cato the three conjunctions are used indiscriminately in this connection (*que* 8, *et* 5, *atque* 5).

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 203, 8; 206, 26, 30, 52; 1008; 198, 26, 29, 69; 199, 24, possidere fruique; 199, 30, 44, mittei lerberaireque; 200, 16, 24, 28, 87, 89; 202, II 25; 603, 7; 1027, 1408. *Et*: C. 1097, 17; 1408.

TERENCE. *Que*: Eun. 84, Hec. 388, tecta tacitaque apud omnes sient; Adelph. 392. *Et*: And. 296, 648; Eun. 103, 886; Haut. 260, 418, 425, 926, 966; Adelph. 68, 994. *Atque*: Hec. 297, 686; And. 809. *Ac*: And. 62.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 49, 10; 85, 9; 87, 10, 18; 88, 12; 89, 4; 100, 15; 101, 1. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 28, 3; 35, 9; 100, 5; 106, 10; Fragm. p. 9, 10. *Atque*, only in the Fragments: p. 22, 1, 2; 36, 1; 55, 8; 73, 2, uti atque frui.

7. *Que* and *atque* are sometimes, and *et* very often, used to add a clause, the relation of which to the preceding may be expressed in translation by "and so," "and for that reason." This

use is especially frequent in Terence; in Cato it is comparatively rare, and in the inscriptions still less frequent.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 198, 9; 205, XIX 2; 206, 127. *Et*: C. 1006, bene rem geras et valeas dormias sine qura; 1202; 1253; 201, 9; 1192.

TERENCE. *Que*: And. 488, quandoquidem ipsest ingenio bono cumque huic est veritus optumae adulescenti facere iniuriam (of a good disposition and so shrank from injuring, etc.); And. 585, Haut. 1059, Phorm. 843, Hec. 203, 386, 396. Often an additional word or phrase is used to bring out the relation between the clauses: *itaque*: And. 550, Eun. 317, 945; Phorm. 870, Hec. 201, 802; Adelph. 258, 710; *propterea*: And. 693; *que* with *ob eam rem*: Hec. 749. *Et*: And. 51, 577; Eun. 7, 54, 72, 260, 384, 464; Haut. 197, 244, 434, 504, 703, 1031; Phorm. 2, 69, 127, 316, 405, 452, 456, 886; Hec. 55, 264, 748; Adelph. 107, 138, 380, 680, 729, 886; *et propterea*: And. 653; Eun. 879; Hec. 871; *et ob eam rem*: Adelph. 895; *et ea gratia*: And. 433. *Atque*: And. 525; Haut. 535, 860, 1026; Phorm. 746, 894; Adelph. 283. *Ac*: Adelph. 624; *atque ita*: Phorm. 716.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 61, 11; 87, 15; 98, 3; Fragm. p. 19, 10. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 102, 2; 103, 18; Fragm. p. 77, 7. *Atque*: de Agr. cult. p. 35, 1; 23, 1; 51, 1.

8. Sometimes the added clause expresses the cause of, or the reason for, the statement in the preceding clause. The relation between such clauses may, accordingly, often be brought out by translating "for the reason that," "inasmuch as." This use occurs only once in the inscriptions, and is rare in Cato; but instances of it in Terence are not uncommon. The connective is generally *et*.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Et*: C. 1009, 19, reliqui fletum nata genitori meo et antecessi leti diem.

TERENCE. *Que*: Eun. 333; Haut. 168, 445; Phorm. 480. *Et*: Haut. 105, 116, 259, 381; Phorm. 721; Adelph. 64, 121, 580. *Atque*: Eun. 198; Haut. 734; Phorm. 323. *Ac*: Phorm. 648.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 99, 14. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 69, 7; 79, 1.

9. *Et* is often used in Terence in the sense of "and too," "and likewise." It is most frequently found in connection with the pronouns *tu* and *ego*, and generally introduces a reply to the remark



of some other person. Sometimes it is combined with a word like *quoque*, *etiam*, *item*, etc. *Que* and *atque* both occur in this use, but are very rare. Only two instances have been noted in the inscriptions, and only five or six in Cato (counting all three particles).

INSCRIPTIONS. Only *que*, and only in connection with *item*: C. 198, 52; 204, I 34.

TERENCE. Only *et* thus used: Eun. 191, in hoc biduom Thais vale—mi Phaedria, et tu; And. 347; Haut. 167, 739; Phorm. 209; Hec. 83, 194, 197, 606; Adelph. 129, 751, 972, gaudeo—et ego; with *item*: Adelph. 230; *una*: Haut. 191; Adelph. 753; *simul*: Haut. 803, 943; Hec. 792. *Atque* occurs nowhere alone, but with *quoque* in Phorm. 877; and with *etiam* in Adelph. 209.

CATO. The only examples noticed are in connection with the particles *item* and *simul*; *itemque*: de Agr. cult. p. 63, 11; *et item*: de Agr. cult. 11, 5; 64, 1; 98, 2; 100, 11; *et simul*: p. 68, 5.

It may not be out of place here to call attention to an error of Schmalz. In his Lateinische Syntax, §169, he cites Adelph. 129 (*curae est mihi—et mihi curae est*) as an instance where Terence uses *et* in the sense of "also." This use of *et* is, however, quite distinct from that with which Schmalz wishes to identify it, as, for instance, in the example cited by him: *addito et oleum*. It is exactly parallel to our "and too" (e. g. "and me too"), *et* here acting the part of an introductory and transitional particle, in addition to its function of adding.<sup>1</sup> There is no instance in Terence where *et* is used in the sense of "also," pure and simple, and the paragraph in Schmalz should be corrected accordingly.

10. *Que* and *et* in Terence and *et* in Cato are often used in making a transition to a new subject or thought. Sometimes a transitional word or clause is added to foreshadow the nature of what follows. *Que* alone is thus used in the inscriptions, and but twice. *Que* and *atque* are also found in a few passages in Cato.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 196, 23; 201, 12, *quomque de eieis rebus senatuei purgati estis, credimus*, etc.

TERENCE. *Que*: Haut. 383, 525, 585; Phorm. 763, 898; Hec. 208, 490, 858; with *si*-clause: Hec. 471; with *quod*: Hec. 581.

<sup>1</sup> This remark is not inconsistent with the views expressed under the second division of this paper, as I have there restricted my remarks to particular uses.

*Et*: Haut. 239, 248, 556, 705, 775, 786, 854; Phorm. 471; Hec. 523; with *quod*: Haut. 204; Eun. 64; with *quia*: Eun. 586; And. 122; with *quantum*: Haut. 984; Hec. 460; *et nunc*: And. 157. *Atque*: Adelph. 850. *Ac*: Haut. 948.

CATO. *Que*: Fragm. p. 42, 9; 55, 8. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 22, 7; 70, 3; 100, 11, 13; with *quom*: p. 11, 8; with *uli*: p. 50, 7; with *si*: p. 67, 11, et idem hoc si facies ad arbores feraces, eae quoque meliores fient; p. 69, 4; 70, 3; 99, 10; 101, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16; 102, 3; 103, 10, 17; 104, 13, 15, 19; 105, 16. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 23, 4, 7; 62, 3; 63, 6; 77, 4.

11. *Et* and, less frequently, *que* and *atque* serve to unite two clauses of which the second *corrects* the first, either by the use of a more suitable expression, or by adding a more emphatic or surprisingly comprehensive notion. In such cases the relation between the clauses may be brought out by translating the connective by "or rather," "or perhaps I should say," "and what is more." This use does not occur with any freedom except in Terence. The connective is usually *et*.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 198, 18 [permittito potestatem]que scribundi, quei volet, facito (shall permit him to write and, what is more, shall provide the means). *Et*: C. 205, XX 11. *Atque*: C. 1008, 12, oro atque obsecro.

TERENCE. *Que*: Phorm. 866; And. 592. *Et*: Eun. 72, 744; Haut. Prol. 19; Phorm. 1006; Hec. 166, 241, 615; Adelph. 207, 389, 521, 648, ut opinor et certo scio; Adelph. 964. *Atque*: And. 823.<sup>1</sup>

CATO. *Que*: Fragm. p. 23, 2. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 11, 2; 75, 5; 104, 7; 67, 14; 103, 11. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 36, 15.

12. Not infrequently in Latin a clause is added to express the *purpose* of an act just specified. This is especially frequent with clauses of command, where the verbs are in the imperative mood, e. g. abi atque eum require. Ordinarily such imperatives stand without any connective (Dräger, Hist. Synt. II, p. 27), and Schmalz (Lat. Synt. §163 Anm.) claims that this was, without doubt, the original construction. If this be true, we would naturally expect the vest instances of a connective in the oldest writings, and in writings which represent the language of the lower classes; for it is among

<sup>1</sup> For a similar use of *atque* with adjectives and adverbs, see under §§22, 23.

the lower classes that primitive expressions and constructions are longest preserved. We are, however, confronted by the fact that the comic poets, who introduce so much from the *sermo vulgaris*, are just the ones to employ the connective freely, while most of the later writers, with more polished diction, regularly have asyndeton, e. g. Livy and Vergil, while Horace, Ovid, Martial, and Seneca use the connective only when it is accompanied by *nunc* (Schmalz, Lat. Synt. p. 301). Ballas cites a large number of instances of a connective from Plautus (Gram. Plaut. I, p. 15 ff.). I have collected below numerous instances from Terence. In the inscriptions, as far as I have noticed, such imperatives always have a connective (*et* or *ac*). Perhaps these observations are not sufficiently extended to warrant my contradicting the statement of Schmalz that, historically, *abi require* preceded *abi et require*. But there is certainly nothing in Plautus, Terence, or the inscriptions to justify such a statement; on the contrary, there is much to favor the view that the use of a connective with such imperatives lays claim to equally remote antiquity as asyndeton.

With respect to the conjunctions employed to add a purpose clause, the inscriptions, Terence, and Cato differ in a marked degree. The inscriptions almost invariably use *et*. Terence, with but very few exceptions, uses *atque* (*ac*); and Cato, with still fewer exceptions, uses *que*.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*, Imperatives: no example; Subjunct.: C. 199, 34, *materiam sumant utanturque*; 206, 153; Infin.: 198, 34. *Et*, Imperat.: 1009, 4, *morare gressum et titulum nostrum perlege*; 1027; 1306; Subjunct.: 819; Perf. Ind.: 1009, 8. *Ac*, Imperat.: 1007, 1.

TERENCE. *Que*, Imperatives: no example; Subjunct. and Inf.: no example; Pres. Indic.: Hec. 145; Gerund: Hec. 92, *abeundi vosque videndi*. *Et*, Imperat. after *abi*: Phorm. 564; Adelph. 917; after *i*: Hec. 611; Adelph. 854; Subjunct.: Eun. 808, 1026; And. 639; Inf.: Eun. 467; Phorm. 252, *adire et blandi adloqui*; Pres. Ind.: Haut. 1048; Hec. 430; Fut. Ind.: Adelph. 591 (?). *Atque*, Imperat. after *abi*: Eun. 763; Haut. 619; Phorm. 309; Adelph. 351. *Ac*: And. 255; Hec. 314; Adelph. 168, 699; other verbs: And. 727; Phorm. 921; Hec. 359. *Ac*: Haut. 831; Subjunct.: And. 542; Phorm. 881; Hec. 754; Adelph. 300, 599, 453, 786; Infin.: And. 14; Adelph. 416; Pres. Ind.: Phorm. 845. *Ac*: Adelph. 916; Fut. Ind.: And. 599; Eun. 206, 216, 557, 922; Phorm. 312; Adelph. 513, 590; Hec. 515. *Ac*: Adelph. 510.

In Hec. 285 the infinitive after *atque* expresses rather the result: redire atque resciscere (return, only to find).

CATO. *Que*, Fut. Imperat.: only *que* used and that, too, when *et* greatly predominates in Cato: de Agr. cult. p. 36, 15; 51, 5; 61, 17, 18; 83, 5, 6; Subjunct.: p. 89, 1; 98, 16. *Et*, Subjunct.: de Agr. cult. p. 80, 6; Inf.: 97, 8. *Atque*, Inf.: Fragm. p. 54, 8.

13. There is sometimes a union of two clauses between which no special relation suggests itself. They are simply distinct, co-ordinate statements. *Et* is naturally most frequent here except in the inscriptions, where *que* greatly predominates.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 200, 8, 46, manceps praevides praediaque soluti sunt; eaque nomina—in tableis [publiceis scripta habeto; 200, 66; 202, I 11; 202, II 10; 203, 8; 204, I 8 (twice); 204, I 19; 206, 35, 44; 571; 1008, 6; 195, 5; 551, 12; 1474. *Et*: C. 551, 9; 565; 1012; 1019, 7; 1246, 5. *Atque*: C. 196, 26. Sometimes the clauses are not merely distinct, but contrasted as well. *Que*: C. 197, 21; 198, 21; 202, I 6; 205, XXII 51; 206, 21; 1166, 15. *Et*: C. 1251.

TERENCE. *Que*: Hec. 146. *Et*: And. 42, 66, 175, 498, 515, 684; Eun. 69, 133, 160, 203, 215, 419, 492, 513, 572, 795, 1094; Haut. 304, 306, 1040, 1067; Phorm. 189, 1000, 1055; Hec. 88, 225, 599; Adelph. 43, 258, 879. *Atque*: And. 268; Eun. 10, 461, 588; Haut. 900; Adelph. 154. *Ac*: Haut. 633. Contrasted. *Que*: And. 777. *Et*: Haut. 152; Phorm. 126; Adelph. 352, 571. *Ac*: Haut. 927.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 12, 9; 40, 6; 49, 10; 58, 12; 63, 3; 87, 14; 98, 1. *Et*: p. 15, 13; 17, 21; 19, 3, 13; 40, 12; 41, 6; 45, 6; 52, 4; 70, 2; 75, 9; 99, 7; 101, 5; Fragm. p. 22, 5. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 35, 4, 10; 58, 1. Contrasted. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 100, 4. *Et*: p. 17, 18; 39, 10; 52, 5; 66, 4; 83, 7; 96, 14. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 42, 2.

14. *Que* in the inscriptions, *et* in Terence, and both *et* and *que* in Cato, are often used to add a notion that is merely accessory to the preceding or modificatory of it. The connective may be translated by "and that too."

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 197, 12, sei quis magistratus multam inrogare voiet, liceto eique omnium rerum siremps lexs esto (it shall be allowed him, and that too under the same conditions of law, etc.); 202, I 39; 205, XXII 47; sometimes a pronoun is used

referring to the preceding clause : C. 205, XX 9, ab eo quei ibei iure deicundo [praerit] postulaverit *idque* non kalumniae kaussa, etc. ; 202 I 4, 32 ; 204, I 23 ; 206, 37 ; 1230. *Et* : 204, II 30.

TERENCE. *Que* : Haut. 368. *Et* : And. 511 ; Haut. 114, 302, 726 ; Phorm. 716, 739 ; Hec. 239, 402, 692 ; Adelph. 30, 811, 842, 888, 897 ; with pronoun expressed : Haut. 934 ; Hec. 111. In the following, translate by "*and not, either*," the negative of "*and that too*" : Haut. 248, vesperascit, et non noverunt viam (it is getting late *and* they do *not* know the way *either*) ; Phorm. 104 ; Adelph. 43, 122. *Atque* : Eun. 956. *Ac* : Phorm. 275 ; pronoun expressed : Haut. 461 ; Phorm. 197 ; And. 692 ; "*and not either*" (*ac*) : Haut. 999.

15. Sometimes the parts connected have to each other the relation of alternatives, which we should be more likely to connect with "*or*," "*or, as the case may be*." *Que* is, with the exception of one passage, the only connective thus used in the inscriptions ; *et* is the regular connective in Cato ; I have noted but one example of this use in Terence.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que* : C. 200, 84 ; 203, 27, legatos venire mittereque liceret (to come themselves as ambassadors, or to send others in that capacity—whichever they might choose) ; 202, II 35 ; 199, 5, 36 ; Substantives : C. 202, I 3, ei scribae scribeisque heredive eius solvito ; 206, 11, 68, 72 ; Pronouns : 206, 38. *Et* : 198, 34.

TERENCE. *Que* : And. 214. *Et* : Eun. 258.

CATO. *Que*, only twice and with adjectives : de Agr. cult. p. 77, 4, 5. *Et* : de Agr. cult. p. 40, 10 ; 69, 15 ; 79, 9 ; 102, 3 ; Substantives : p. 15, 15 (cf. p. 57, 10) ; 69, 14 ; 101, 15 ; Prep. phrases : 57, 4 ; "*or, in other words*" : p. 49, 1. *Atque* : de Agr. cult. p. 57, 18 (cf. p. 57, 14).

16. The foregoing sections have occupied themselves chiefly with clauses. We come now to the use of the copulative conjunctions with *substantives*. And under this head let us consider them, first, as connecting two species of a single genus, where a third term is at once suggested which comprehends them both. For instance, when we read *ursi et leones*, we have suggested to us at once a third term, *animal*.

(a) In general. INSCRIPTIONS. *Que* : C. 198, 73, praetori quaestorique ; 199, 34 ; 200, 95 ; 202, 30, 35 ; 577, II 16 ; 635 ;

1158; 1291. *Et*: 577, II 10; 804; 1008, 12; 1089; 1413; 206, 10, 50. *Atque*: 196, 19; 542. *Ac*: 1012, 7.

TERENCE. *Que* only once (cf. inscriptions, where it is the most common connective in such cases): And. 161. *Et*: Eun. 26, 111, 112, 518, 840; Adelph. 747, 905. *Atque*: Haut. 223; Hec. 815; Eun. 746.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 13, 17; 18, 8; 37, 2; 40, 5; 43, 8; 52, 3, 13; 88, 6; 89, 7; Fragm. p. 30, 1. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 19, 7, 8, 10; 27, 10; 42, 6; 44, 6, 7; 45, 8; 47, 14; 48, 9, 16; 49, 2; 54, 8; 55, 3; 58, 18; 61, 5; 66, 1, 9; 71, 8; 72, 4; 76, 13; 79, 5; 80, 10; 81, 10, 15; 85, 1, 3, 5 (twice), 8; 88, 3; 90, 3; 93, 1; 94, 12; 105, 12; 109, 8; Fragm. p. 64, 2. *Atque*: de Agr. cult. p. 39, 15; Fragm. p. 37, 16; 45, 10; 56, 1; 81, 10. *Ac*: de Agr. cult. p. 47, 13.

(b) According to Dräger (Hist. Synt. II 44), the masculine form of the plural of a substantive is connected with the feminine form of the same substantive generally by *que*. Ballas (Gram. Plaut. I, p. 25) cites 24 instances of this use from Plautus, of which all but one have the connective *que*. The inscriptions, on the contrary, have only *et*, never *que*.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Et*: C. 1059, liberteis et libertabus; 1063; 1253.

TERENCE. *Que*: Phorm. 976; Hec. 102; Eun. 302 (in each case di deaque). *Et* not used. *Atque* not used, though senex atque anus occurs in Hec. 621.

CATO has no examples of this.

(c) Proper names. INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 32, Corsica Aleriaque; 197, 17, 25; 199, 33; 547. *Et*: 199, 1, 14, 23; 204, 15 (twice); 1010; 1199 (twice); 1313 (twice); 547; 548; 549; 567; 569; 589; 619; 776b; 1024; 1432; 1034; 1036; 1055; 1183; 1217; 1241; 1479; Personal Pronouns and proper name: 1276; 1433.

TERENCE. Only *et* used: Haut. 498; Eun. 25, 732; second name preceded by *tu*: Hec. 664, Laches et tu Pamphile; Eun. 1086; only one of the substantives a proper name: And. 552, 924; Phorm. 218, 1036; Hec. 449.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 87, 9. *Et*: p. 55, 2; 83, 9, 11; Fragm. p. 11, 17. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 15, 8; 15, 7; 34, 6.

17. In the following the words connected do not suggest a common class, but, rather, different classes. The most common connective is, in each case, *et*.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 196, 22; 198, 19, de nomine deferendo indicibusque legundeis; 198, 78 (?); 551; 1071; 1161. *Et*: 205, XX 42, ea nomina et municipium; 541; 577, I 15; 592; 1199; 1418; 564; 570; 1140; 1181; 1307; 1421.

TERENCE. *Que*: Phorm. 890; Hec. 404; Eun. 236. *Et*: Haut. 479, 486; Phorm. 1012; Hec. 75; Adelph. 57, 230, 495, 585, 847; And. 34, 288, 369; Eun. 265, 375, 778, 941. *Atque*: Haut. 452, 778; Phorm. 1024; And. 72, 286, 855, 880.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 12, 14; 38, 12; 60, 16; 87, 16; 92, 14; Fragm. p. 25, 6; 28, 13; 35, 8. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 12, 15; 24, 12; 27, 13; 30, 7; 31, 8, 13, 15, 17; 34, 8, 11, 17; 35, 5; 37, 2; 47, 1; 57, 14, 20; 58, 1; 61, 12; 64, 12; 68, 3, 7, 11; 79, 7; 83, 8; 85, 2, 3, 7; 89, 16; 92, 7; 94, 1, 17; 98, 12; 99, 7, 8; 102, 12; 104, 10; 108, 14; Fragm. p. 39, 11. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 59, 4; 67, 4, 5.

18. Often the conjunction adds something that belongs to the preceding or accompanies it. The second member, accordingly, generally has the genitive of a pronoun depending upon it and referring to the first member.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 198, 60, eiei iudicei consilioque eius; 204, 6; 1195; 1418; 203, 9; 1059; 1065. *Et*: 206, 43, the only instance. It is, however, the only particle used to add the possessive pronoun to the personal: C. 1023, sibi et sueis; 1042; 1070; 1180; 1208; 1244 (twice); 1271; 1460; 1429; Substantive expressed: 1056, sibi et suis liberteis; 1207; 1223; 1242. A strange combination of *et—que* is found in C. 1041, sibi *et* sueisque; also 1229. *Atque* not found.

TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Haut. 961; Phorm. 217; And. 538. *Atque*: Haut. 455.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 82, 16, 18. *Et*: p. 89, 15. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 35, 10.

19. Substantives of cognate meaning are sometimes joined to fill out and complete a single comprehensive notion. The particles seem to be used here indiscriminately.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 198, 11, quaestione iudicioque publico; 202, I 35; II 1; 547; 548; 549. *Et*: 577, III 5; 566; 567; 568; 1220. *Ac*: 1008, 9.

TERENCE. *Que*: Hec. 48, fautrix adiutrixque; And. 114; Eun. 300, 815. *Et*: Haut. 710, 945; Phorm. 441, 473; Hec. 2, 43, 797;

Adelph. 391; Eun. 932. 1048. *Atque*: Haut. 417, 490; Hec. 165, 123, 860; Adelph. 297, 829, 869; And. 880, 200, 831; Eun. 234. *Ac*: Adelph. 602. In the following the two substantives are different terms for the same person or thing: *Et*: Phorm. 35; And. 571, 813. *Atque*: Hec. 334.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 11, 10; 13, 18; 32, 8; 58, 9; 87, 16; 95, 9; 99, 1; Fragn. p. 87, 13. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 43, 13; 45, 9; 46, 8; 79, 1, 10; 83, 8; 90, 18; 101, 11; Fragn. p. 48, 15; 49, 2. *Atque*: Fragn. p. 22, 1; 23, 6; 33, 5; 41, 7, 8; 54, 1; 65, 6; 74, 3; 83, 7.

20. In this section are included instances of two substantives united, of which one is a special and the other a general term. In the inscriptions the common particle used for adding the *general* to the *special* is *que*; in Cato the usual particle is *et*; in Terence but few instances occur. To add the *special* to the general, both the inscriptions and Cato commonly have *que*, while Terence never uses *que*, but nearly always *et*. In view of this fact, the following statement from Reisig (Lat. Sprachwissenschaft, §233, p. 197) becomes incomprehensible: Da nun das *que* überall einen vermehrenden Sinn in sich schliesst, so folgt daraus, dass in der Kopulation mit *que* nicht Dinge verbunden werden können, wovon das zweite schon in dem ersten enthalten ist.

(a) General added to special. INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 34, magna sapientia multasque virtutes; 195; 198, 50, 79; 200, 93; 206, 69; 1008, 15, ameiceis noteisque; 1418. *Et*: 1155; 1253. *Atque*: 1480.

TERENCE. *Que*: Haut. 386. *Et*: Adelph. 19. *Atque*: Adelph. 89; Hec. 396.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 40, 16. *Et*: p. 28, 14; 42, 2; 86, 4; 93, 5. *Atque*: Fragn. p. 41, 9; 55, 9.

(b) Special added to general. INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 195, 77, aera stipendiaque; 200, 91, bona agrumque; 1425. Neither *et* nor *atque* is thus used unless C. 1010 may be so considered: in dies et horas.

TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Haut. 112; Phorm. 1049; Adelph. 971; And. 119, 558. *Atque*: Eun. 238; Phorm. 34. *Ac*: Adelph. 442.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 17, 24; 18, 14, pabulum lupinumque; 82, 16, 18; 97, 6; 100, 1; 101, 1. *Et*: p. 18, 3, 4; 58, 1. *Atque* not used.



21. Substantives are sometimes united, of which one is, in meaning, directly opposed to the other. Both extremes are thus included. Cato uses only *et*; inscriptions only *atque* (only once); Terence uses all three, but chiefly *et* and *atque*.

INSCRIPTIONS. Only *atque*: C. 1008, 7, *commoda atque incommoda*.

TERENCE. *Que*: Eun. 193, *dies noctesque*. *Et*: Eun. 1079; Adelph. 957, *animo et corpore*. *Atque*, regularly with *deus* and *homo*: Haut. 61; Hec. 198; And. 246; Phorm. 764. In the following the substantives are not necessarily opposed in meaning, but are merely contrasted by the author: Phorm. 34, *actoris virtus—bonitasque vestra*; Hec. 818. *Et*: Haut. 189; Phorm. 199; Adelph. 340; And. 540; Pronouns contrasted: Phorm. 442, *me et se*; Hec. 338; Adelph. 340, 558, 566; And. 868; Phorm. 167. *Atque*, only with contrasted pronouns: Haut. 653, *te atque illam*; Haut. 1030; Phorm. 368; Hec. 384; Adelph. 493; And. 233, 689.

CATO. Only *et* used: de Agr. cult. p. 51, 9; 73, 1; 94, 13.

22. The uses of the copulative conjunctions with adjectives may conveniently be considered under a single section. We are met at the outset by the singular fact that, in the whole body of inscriptions, only three instances are found of *que*, *et*, or *atque* connecting two adjectives, though in two other cases one word is an adjective. In Terence and Cato, on the other hand, adjectives thus connected are very common, and in both writers the connective most frequently used is *et*. The two authors differ, however, in this respect, viz. Terence is particularly fond of joining adjectives of *cognate meaning*, while Cato is fondest of combining adjectives of contrasted, or at least wholly different, meaning.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que*: C. 200, 29, *Latino peregrinoque*; 199, 66, *privatus vectigalisque*; 200, 49, *privatus vectigalisque*; one word an adjective: C. 205, XXI 20, *id ius ratumque esto*. *Ac*: 1008, 14, *incunda ac voluptatei fuei*.

(a) Adjectives of cognate meaning. TERENCE. *Que*: Eun. 136, 419, *perditum miserumque*; Eun. 487; Phorm. 164; Hec. 761, 848. *Et*: And. 36, 132, 229, 619, 956; Eun. 318, 682, 1011; Haut. 297, 327, 521, 580, 707, 797; Hec. 161, 472 (twice), 841; Adelph. 930, 986. *Atque*: And. 137, 274; Eun. 643, *scelerosum atque inpium*; Haut. 122, 123, 633; Phorm. 239, 339, 499; Hec. 457; Adelph. 375. *Ac*: And. 123; Hec. 152; Adelph. 95, 756.

CATO. *Que*: Fragm. p. 82, 3, celeris properaque. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 11, 12, periculosum et calamitosum; 18, 16; Fragm. p. 21, 6; 54, 2. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 14, 7; 19, 13; 38, 9; 39, 3.

(b) Of contrasted meaning. TERENCE. *Que*: Phorm. 376, te indignas seque dignas; Adelph. 73, praesens absensque. *Et* not used. *Atque*: Hec. 380, 769. Not contrasted, but of wholly different meaning. *Que*: Phorm. 957, animo virili praesentique; Eun. 73. *Et*: Haut. 120, 609. *Atque*: And. 811; Eun. 709; Phorm. 324, fortis atque amicus.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 13, 10, facta infectaque; p. 44, 1; 87, 12; 94, 1; 107, 8. *Et*: p. 20, 8; 27, 6, maioris et minoris; 29, 13, 16; 38, 1; 81, 15; 93, 10; 104, 18; Fragm. p. 85, 4. *Atque* not used except with numerals: Fragm. p. 11, 1, terna et quaterna; 36, 5. Of wholly different meaning. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 11, 14; 15, 18; 41, 17; Fragm. p. 85, 6. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 18, 18; 19, 4; 20, 8, 12; 21, 5, 8, 9; 23, 14; 27, 17; 42, 9; 44, 20; 46, 9; 50, 6; 53, 14, 15; 54, 6; 78, 9; 85, 10; 103, 1. *Atque*: de Agr. cult. p. 51, 1; Fragm. p. 28, 4; 42, 3.

(c) General added to special. TERENCE. *Que*: Haut. 788, aequi bonique; Phorm. 637. *Et*: Haut. 649; Phorm. 451, 1008; Adelph. 987. *Atque* (*ac*): Haut. 839, iniusta ac prava.

CATO. Only *et*: de Agr. cult. p. 15, 14, viridius et melius; 15, 16; 71, 2.

(d) Special added to general. TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Eun. 926; Haut. 523; Phorm. 228, 767. *Atque*: Haut. 642, bonum atque aequom; Haut. 704; Phorm. 131, 497. Sometimes the second adjective is, rather, explanatory of the first. *Et*: Phorm. 623, erus liberalis et fugitans litium; Adelph. 251. *Atque*: Eun. 938.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 12, 10; 15, 18. *Et*: p. 60, 14, bonam liquidam. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 39, 4, 7; 43, 3. Explanatory: *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 80, 15; 11, 11; 52, 68. *Et*: 19, 17; Fragm. p. 77, 3.

(e) Adding cause or reason. TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Haut. 438, leui et victo animo (*leui* because *victo*). *Atque*: Hec. 377, incredibili re atque atroci (because so atrocious).

CATO. No example.

(f) Adding result. TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: And. 953, magis ex sese et maius (more closely connected with himself and so of greater importance). *Atque*: Adelph. 849.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 37, 3, percoctum siccumque. *Et*: p. 29, 15; 42, 5; 72, 17.

(g) Adding accessory notion. TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Haut. 704; Hec. 464. *Atque*: Hec. 457; Adelph. 403. *Ac*: And. 337, 591.

CATO. *Que* not used. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 57, 9, 10. *Atque*: Fragn. p. 55, 10.

(h) Adding adversative notion. TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Eun. 430, imprudenti et libero. *Atque*: Adelph. 155.

CATO. Only one example: de Agr. cult. p. 12, 17.

23. As the preceding section was devoted to adjectives, so this is devoted to adverbs. And as in that place we noticed the absence of examples from inscriptions, so here we notice the same peculiarity in a still more marked degree. I have noticed in the whole body of inscriptions but a single instance of the union of two adverbs. This occurs in C. 1011, 11, plus *superaque*. An adverb is joined to a substantive in two instances: C. 206, 3, item *isdemque* diebus; 206, 5, item *eademque* omnia. In Terence, too, adverbs joined by *et*, *que*, or *atque* are of comparatively rare occurrence. In Cato adverbs thus joined are of still less frequent occurrence.

(a) Of cognate meaning. TERENCE. *Que*: Haut. 1046, nimis graviter nimisque inhumane; Adelph. 663, duriter inmisericorditerque; Haut. 594; Eun. 507. *Et*: Phorm. 344, 1047; Haut. 870. *Atque*: Eun. 56. *Ac*: And. 74; Haut. 957; Adelph. 45.

CATO. Only *que*: de Agr. cult. p. 58, 3; Fragn. 68, 4.

(b) Of contrasted meaning. TERENCE. Only *atque*: Eun. 105, hac atque illac (hither and thither); Haut. 578.

CATO. Only *que*: de Agr. cult. p. 40, 19; Fragn. 23, 17. Not contrasted, but wholly different. *Et*: de Agr. cult. p. 56, 6; 73, 18. *Atque*: Fragn. p. 69, 4.

(c) Special added to general. TERENCE. Only *et*: Haut. 226, bene et pudice; And. 274; Eun. 416; Hec. 857; Adelph. 953.

CATO. Only once: de Agr. cult. p. 62, 4, bene et otiose.

(d) Adding a notion that is logically subordinate. Only once: Haut. 58, ut te audacter moneam et familiariter (as a friend would do). Not in CATO.

(e) Adding accessory notion. TERENCE. *Que* not used. *Et*: Haut. 114, saepe eadem et graviter audiendo; Hec. 240. *Ac*: Eun. 175, 915; Haut. 344; Hec. 552.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 89, 12. *Et*: p. 16, 7; 56, 3; Fragn. p. 9, 13.

24. "Hendiadys," says Gildersleeve (Lat. Gram. 695), "consists in giving an analysis instead of a complex, in putting two substantives connected by a copulative conjunction, instead of one substantive and an adjective, or attributive genitive." I find a few instances of this, mostly in Terence and Cato.

INSCRIPTIONS. *Que* not used. *Et*: C. 1050, 5, ob fidelitate et officeis (faithful services). *Atque*: C. 33, gloria atque ingenium.

TERENCE. *Que*: Hec. 226, 406, vita solitudoque (lonely life). *Et*: And. 560; Eun. 1039, 1090; Phorm. 5; Adelph. 263, 837. *Atque*: Eun. 327; And. 843; Hec. 23, 225; Adelph. 42. *Ac*: And. 12, 75. The following, though not so clearly answering the above definition of hendiadys, still have one notion logically subordinate to the other: *Que*: Eun. 383, nos nostramque adulescentiam habent despiciatam (despise us on account of our youth). *Et*: Haut. 626, meministin me esse gravidam et mihi te edicere (when I was pregnant, etc.); And. 71; Eun. 425; Phorm. 7, 212, 500, 593, 943; Hec. 123; Adelph. 280, 675. *Atque*: Haut. 190; Hec. 123; Adelph. 280.

CATO. *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 13, 2; Fragm. p. 85, 3. *Et*: 28, 20; 72, 6; 79, 3; 91, 1. *Atque*: Fragm. p. 19, 11; 42, 6; 43, 6; 58, 9. Less evident examples: *Que*: de Agr. cult. p. 37, 10; 39, 7; 62, 16; 63, 2. *Et*: p. 28, 20; 29, 4; 93, 3; Fragm. p. 64, 5, famosus et suspiciosus (notoriously suspected).

25. In the preceding sections we have considered the conjunctions with respect to the character of the notions joined. It may not be uninteresting here to examine these passages again with a view solely to the number of members which these conjunctions connect and the combinations in which they occur.

(a) Three members. INSCRIPTIONS. When a series consists of three words, the first two are most frequently left without a connective and the third is attached by *que*.<sup>1</sup> I find only 5 instances (out of 27 in all) where the first two also have a connective.<sup>2</sup> *x x que x que*: C. 195, 12; 204, II 15, 20; 603, 5. *x et x x que*: 206, 5. *x et x et x*: C. 623; 1147, 3; 1180; 1253, 4; 1260; 1429; 1432. Next in point of frequency are cases where the series consists of three clauses. Here exactly the opposite holds true, that *each couplet* has its connective. The first couplet is here without a connective only 4 times out of 25: -- *que - que* most common:

<sup>1</sup> See §26 (a).

<sup>2</sup> Single words are represented thus: *x x*; whole clauses, thus: --.

C. 197, 10; 198, 15, 18, 52; 200, 8, 98; 203, 25; 204, 1, 7, 20; 206, 15; 577, II 5; 202, 28; 206, 15, 79; 1268; 205, II 47. *-et--que*: 198, 68; 201, 10; 577, II 16. *-et-et-*: 206, 10; 199, 3. *--que et-*: 197, 21. *-et--* (no connective with last two).

TERENCE. *x x que x que*: Only Eun. 801. *x et x et x*: Haut. 845, 875, 941; Phorm. 1047; Hec. 210, 472, 592, 837. *x x que atque x*: Adelp. 603. *x atque x et x*: Haut. 704. *x atque x atque x*: Hec. 457. *x ac x atque x*: Haut. 855. *-et--que*: Hec. 748. *-et-et-*: Haut. 244; Hec. 599; Adelp. 285, 994. *-atque-et-*: Adelp. 590. *-atque-atque-*: Phorm. 322.

CATO. *x x que x que*: de Agr. cult. p. 11, 14; 15, 18. *--que-que*: p. 11, 13; 44, 5; 49, 14; 52, 15; 63, 2; 89, 2; 92, 16; 96, 9. *--que et-*: p. 38, 14; 51, 19; 53, 10; 109, 4. *x et x et x*: p. 20, 8; 22, 1; 42, 13; 47, 13; 63, 15; 74, 11, 13; 75, 11; 79, 12; 81, 1; 90, 2; 99, 13, 17; 109, 5; Fragm. p. 68, 10. *-et-et-*: de Agr. cult. p. 17, 19, 21; 19, 5, 13; 38, 4; 40, 8; 44, 7; 56, 7; 66, 10; 68, 5; 69, 12; 70, 5, 14; 72, 8, 11; 74, 10; 75, 15; 76, 12; 79, 8, 14; 101, 20; 108, 5, 7. *-et--que*: p. 38, 16; 45, 15; 60, 5; 61, 10; 65, 14; 93, 3. *x atque x atque x*: Fragm. p. 21, 8; 36, 12; 42, 9; 55, 10.

(b) Four members. INSCRIPTIONS. *--que-que-que*: C. 205, 15; 206, 10; 202, 1, 36. *x x atque x x que* (first two without connective): C. 33.

TERENCE. No example.

CATO. *x et x et x et x*: de Agr. cult. p. 42, 3; 50, 5; 60, 12; 68, 18; 69, 2; 73, 2; 103, 6. *-et-et-et-*: p. 29, 6; 75, 3. *--que-que-que*: p. 50, 12. *-atque-atque-atque-*: Fragm. p. 33, 1.

(c) Five members. INSCRIPTIONS. *--que atque--que atque-*: C. 196, 23. *--que [et]--que-que*: 198, 77. *-et-et-et-et-*: 199, 38. *x et x et x et x et x*: 199, 39; 569. *x et x et x et x x que*: 1059, 3. *x et x et x x que et x*: 1065, 4.

TERENCE. No example.

CATO. *x et x et x et x et x*: de Agr. cult. p. 100, 4. *-et-et-et-et-*: p. 102, 3.

(d) Six or more members. INSCRIPTIONS. *--que-que-que-que-que*: C. 202, 10. *--que-que-que-que-que-que*: C. 195.

TERENCE. No example.

CATO. *--que--que-que-que* (connective omitted between 2d and 3d member): Fragm. p. 19, 10. *-et-et-et-et-et-et-*: de Agr. cult. p. 101, 7.

In classical Latin this heaping up of *que*, as shown under (4), was unknown (Dräger, Hist. Synt. II, p. 37, 5), *et* being the regular connective in polysyndeta. It will be observed that Cato is particularly fond of polysyndeton, as Terence is particularly averse to it. For other peculiarities see §26.

26. Sometimes a connective is used only with the last term of a series. In the inscriptions this connective is almost invariably *que*.

(a) Series of three. INSCRIPTIONS. *x x x que*: C. 33; 200, 86; 46; 206, 110; 589; 541; 198, 4, 6, 14 (twice); 200, 85, 100; 203, 23, 27; 206, 145; 551; 577, III 1; 1270; 1555. --- *que*: 198, 44; 199, 44; 200, 82; 205, XXI 7; XXII 46; 542, 5; 577, II 1; 603, 8. *x x atque x*: perhaps 1008, 15, vobeis, viro atque ameiceis.

TERENCE. *x x x que*: Hec. 92. *x x et x*: And. 24; Eun. 921; Adelph. 988; *x x atque x*: Haut. 526; 893. *x x ac x*: Adelph. 846. --- *atque* -: And. 594; Phorm. 309.

CATO. *x x x que*: de Agr. cult. p. 13, 13; 81, 14; 87, 11, 17, 18; 88, 4; 52, 13; 77, 4. *x x et x*: p. 46, 16; 64, 7; 101, 18. --- *que*: p. 41, 11, 13; 48, 5, 7; 53, 4; 59, 15; 62, 2; 63, 11; 87, 4, 16; 88, 12; 95, 1; 97, 11, 15; Fragm. p. 107, 16. --- *et* -: de Agr. cult. p. 36, 7; 51, 18; 56, 5; 62, 4; 66, 17; 71, 14; 75, 11; 76, 8; 106, 6. Cato is also fond of connecting each of the *last two couplets* of a series—a peculiarity which I have not noticed elsewhere. *x x x que x que*: de Agr. cult. p. 81, 15. *x x et x - que*: 43, 6. --- *que et* -: 50, 8. --- *que - que*: 51, 20; 65, 1. --- *et - et* -: 74, 2; also, *- et - - et* -: 72, 3.

(b) Series of four. INSCRIPTIONS. *x x x x que*: C. 205, XXI 10 (twice); 1230; --- *que*: C. 198, 52; 200, 10, 41; 204, 15, 35; 577, II 11; III 1.

TERENCE. *x x x et x*: Adelph. 263. *x x x atque x*: Adelph. 944. --- *et* -: Phorm. 86.

CATO. *x x x x que*: de Agr. cult. p. 87, 15; 39, 15. --- *que*: 46, 4; 48, 12. --- *et* -: 67, 5; 97, 7.

(c) Series of five or more. INSCRIPTIONS. *x x x x x et - et x*: C. 206, 146 (?). *x et x x x x x que*: 1065, 3 (?). There is no certain example in the inscriptions of *et* adding the last term.

TERENCE. --- *et* -: Adelph. 319.

CATO. --- *et* -: de Agr. cult. p. 13, 12; 74, 14; *x x x x x et x et x et x et x*: p. 89, 17. *x x x x x x que*: Fragm. p. 19, 18. *x x x x x x x et x*: p. 15, 1. *x x x x x x et x*: p. 105, 2. See §28 (h).

27. It seems somewhat remarkable that but two instances of the *correlative* use (both—and) of the copulative conjunctions are to be found in the inscriptions. In Terence such examples are numerous, the most common particles being *et—et* (17 times); then comes *que—et* (6 times. This is an unusual combination in other authors. See Schmalz, Lat. Sprachw. §178); least common, *que—que* (twice). Cato has but few examples and he always uses *et—et*.

INSCRIPTIONS. C. 205, 7; 1220 (both times *et—et*).

TERENCE. *et x et x*: Eun. 258; Haut. 115, 351, 936; And. 642; Phorm. 94, 340; Hec. 161, 249, 263, 531, 585; Adelph. 609, 819, 902, 910, 925. *et—et—*: And. 536; Eun. 71, 723, 750, 1078; Haut. 265, 387, 983; Haut. 218; Phorm. 118; Hec. 64, 642; Adelph. 602. *et x et x et x*: And. 49; Haut. 351; Adelph. 692, 819. *x que et x*: And. 676; Adelph. 64. *—que et—*: Eun. 876; Phorm. 1051. *—que et—et—*: Hec. 488. *x que x que*: Eun. 748. *x que x que x que*: Adelph. 301.

CATO. *et x et x*: de Agr. cult. p. 11, 13; 20, 5; 21, 14; Fragm. p. 19, 9. *et x et x et x*: de Agr. cult. p. 15, 9. *et—et—et—*: p. 67, 16. *et—et—*: p. 70, 9; 79, 1. *neque—et—et—*: p. 68, 15. *neque—et non*: p. 80, 8.

28. In this, the last section, are grouped such sporadic uses of the conjunctions as are not of sufficient importance to form separate sections.

(a) *Et* in the sense of “also” is not found in the inscriptions or in Terence. The following instances occur in Cato: de Agr. cult. p. 49, 3; 65, 2, 20; 66, 6; 92, 21; Fragm. p. 8, 5. Dräger is, therefore, incorrect, when, in Hist. Synt. II, §312, he allows only two instances of this use in Cato. There are six such instances. In the sense of “even,” *et* occurs: de Agr. cult. p. 61, 14.

(b) *Atque* in sense of “as.” INSCRIPTIONS. C. 205, I 18, proinde atque; 205, 2, 10, siremps atque; 205, 2, 40. *Ac*: 205, 2, 47, ac sei.

TERENCE. And. 702; Phorm. 581, aequae atque; Phorm. 31, simili atque; Phorm. 1028, tali atque; Phorm. 94, aequae ac; Haut. 265, idem ac; Hec. 279, 288 (both ac si).

CATO. Only once: de Agr. cult. p. 63, 11, eodem modo atque.

(c) *Atque* in sense of “than.” INSCRIPTIONS. C. 200, 72, aliter atque. TERENCE, aliter atque: Haut. 264; Adelph. 597; alium atque: And. 545; magis atque: And. 694; aliorum atque:

Eun. 82; alius *ac*: Hec. 366, 375; Phorm. 684; *ac* interest ("differ from"): Adelp. 76. CATO. Only once: de Agr. cult. p. 34, 18, plus *atque*.

(*d*) In Terence *et* and *atque* are used to introduce a question. *Et*: Eun. 708 (twice): Haut. 543, et nunc quid, etc. ?; Haut. 606. *Atque*: Eun. 964; And. 864. *Ac*: And. 9, 13.

(*e*) In one case in Terence *et* is used to connect premises in a syllogism: Phorm. 1000, quando nihil times, et hoc nihil est quod dico, tu narra.

(*f*) *Et*, in Terence, introduces an incredible or unexpected statement: Eun. 975, et certe ipse est; Haut. 833; And. 841; Adelp. 78.

(*g*) *Atque* (*ac*) and *et* are used in Cato to connect the parts of numerical expressions: Fragm. p. 66, 9, duobus *ac* ducentis; p. 20, 12, quatuor *et* viginti.

(*h*) A striking characteristic of Cato's style in the de Agr. cult. consists in his using a connective only with the first two terms of a series, allowing the other terms to remain without connectives: p. 52, 20, inpleto calcatoque bene in arbore relinquo; 61, 15; 82, 5; 98, 5; four terms: 82, 8, vitem in quasillum propagato terraque bene operito, anno post praecidito, cum qualo serito; six terms: 62, 16. *Et* thus used three times: p. 53, 18; 80, 11; 84, 6.

The fragmentary character of some of the inscriptions has made it impossible to classify the connectives in the following passages: C. 198, 46; 200, 90, 98, 100; 1074; 1098; 1462.

H. C. ELMER.



### III.—THE ARTICULAR INFINITIVE AGAIN.

Since I wrote my paper On the Articular Infinitive (Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878), which was followed up by some observations on the articular inf. in Xenophon and Plato, published in the third volume of this Journal (1882), the subject has not been allowed to sleep, although, if I may judge by the silence of those who have succeeded me in the same field, all the Cisatlantic work has been ignored by German investigators. This is all the more strange as my articles did not escape the keen eye of Professor Hübner, who has recorded them in his 'Grundriss,' and one of them was translated into Greek shortly after its appearance.<sup>1</sup> Having followed in my two papers the growth of the construction from the beginning to the time when it became a common organon of speech, having given a statistic—occasionally somewhat detailed—of the use in the leading classic authors, having shown that, while its development was gradual, the employment of it, when once it had gained a footing, was a matter of individuality, of style, at all events not merely a matter of chronology, I left my details for others to correct and the organon for others to apply.<sup>2</sup> In other fields I had found that men endowed with a much greater gift of ἀκριβεία had improved on my statistics, even when they brought no new principle to illumine the dry figures, and I am content that the faithful counter shall have all the credit, such as it is. Of the recent literature I have taken some notice in the case of Weiske, whose labors are mentioned in this Journal, IV 241. Stix (Zum Gebrauch des Inf. mit Artikel bei Demosthenes, Rottweil, 1881) is a thoughtful piece of work, and gives useful categories, but does not go into statistics. Goelzel's Beiträge zur Syntax des Verbums und zur Satzbildung bei dem Redner Antiphon, Passau, 1883, I have not seen. Of

ἔτ. κή, Νό. 10, p. 158. See Calvary's Bibliotheca . 288.

anything, they mean that the use of the articular is a matter of period, but a matter of individual character J. P. III 197.

Behrendt's dissertation, 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitivs mit Artikel bei Thukydides,' I have seen an abstract in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for 1886, Sp. 1552, according to which Behrendt has only told us what we knew before, that the proper *nidus* of the articular infinitive is to be found in the argumentative part, in the speeches and not in the narrative.<sup>1</sup> According to Forssmann's list (*Curtius Studien*, VI, pp. 81-3) there are 274 articular infinitives in all Thukydides, giving an average of .45 per Teubner page.<sup>2</sup> If we accept Wagner's count of 134 for the speeches, and put the speeches, as we may, at 23 per cent.<sup>3</sup> of the whole, this would make the average for the narrative part about .30, while the speeches would mount up nearly to 1. Comparing Dr. Nicolassen's averages in the several works of Xenophon (l. c.), some of which he has since verified, we notice an advance of Xenophon on Thukydides in certain of his writings. The *Anabasis*, which is often cited for its ἀφελεια, is the lowest in its average, .36, while the *Hellenika*, which is under the influence of Thukydides to some extent, rises to .49, and the philosophical discourses vie with the highest averages. διὰ τό with inf., according to Dr. Nicolassen's count, occurs 200 times in the Xenophontean corpus, and thus justifies Weiske's remark as to Xenophon's fondness for that combination, in which he goes even beyond Thukydides, and does not fall below him, as Dr. Nicolassen has it (l. c.).

Having, therefore, done my share in calling attention to the subject, at least within the range of Anglo-American scholarship, I turned to other parts of the syntactic field that need similar exploration; for while statistics are not everything, statistics are of great utility in making those feel who cannot be approached in any other way. True, it may be said, without too much exaggeration, that those who find out anything by statistics are those who have found out in advance of statistics; but statistics are not to be despised for all that, and it is safe to maintain that a dozen grammatico-stylistic categories kept steadily in view are worth more to

<sup>1</sup> 'Low down stands Lysias . . . in whom ἥθος reigns, and in whom narrative is the great thing.' *Transactions*, l. c. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> And not .98, as Dr. Nicolassen has it, by a strange lapse (*A. J. P.* III 200), an error which should have been detected at the time.

<sup>3</sup> After Meierotto (*Mémoire sur Thucydide*), as cited by Vischer, *Kl. Schriften* I 432. Meierotto counts by lines and shows a somewhat larger proportion for the speeches than two independent counts showed by pages.

the thoughtful student than volumes of exclamatory admiration of the Hellenism of the Hellenes. It is, in fact, for the patient hunting down of the secrets of Greek idiom that these seemingly arid studies are to be valued, and, having relinquished the quest myself, I was glad to find that another scholar had attacked the problem of the stylistic effect of the articular infinitive, with the help of statistics, and that the results of my research were here confirmed and there corrected by Dr. Wagner's programme, which the author kindly sent me in response to a personal request.<sup>1</sup>

In the introduction he says that it is well known that the articular inf. was a favorite construction with Demosthenes, and that the frequency of its use was matched by its freedom and boldness, but that no one had yet made an accurate comparison of the usage of Demosthenes with that of the other orators. Thinking, as he did, that this construction mirrors the genius and style of each orator, as well as the development of oratory itself as a whole, his curiosity was aroused, as mine had been more than eight years before, and we have in this small pamphlet the results of long and patient work. The points of inquiry are the relative frequency of use, the structure of the articular infinitive, the management of the construction with reference to periodology, and he takes up incidentally a consideration of the question as to the variation of occurrences in different periods in the life of an orator and in different classes of oratory. His treatment is thoughtful, it is clear, and, a thing for which every one will be grateful, it is compact.

In counting he counts, as I had done, by articles and not by infinitives, and leaves out such constructions as *τὸ νῦν εἶναι*, as well he might, and the orations that Blass considers spurious, except Dem. 29. He leaves out also the Demosthenean *prooemia*. Following the example of Sigg, he takes the § as his standard, and not the Teubner page as I had done.<sup>2</sup> Of course, in this plan Thukydides had to be estimated, and the Thukydidean § is put at half the oratorical. I reproduce Dr. Wagner's table, changing the order, however, into the order of frequency, and adding the decimal expression of his figures together with my average per page as previously published (Trans. l. c. p. 11; A. J. P. III 197.)

<sup>1</sup> R. Wagner. De infinitivo apud oratores Atticos cum articulo coniuncto. Schwerin, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> This method does not seem to be so accurate as that of the Teubner page. The fluctuation is so great that small differences are effaced wholly.

|             | <i>No. of Occurrences.</i> | <i>§§.</i> | <i>Average.</i> | <i>Per §.</i> | <i>Per Teubner p.</i> |
|-------------|----------------------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Demosthenes | 832                        | 2672       | 1 : 3           | .31 +         | 1.25 <sup>1</sup>     |
| Thukydides  | 134                        | 676        | 1 : 5           | .20 —         | [1.]                  |
| Deinarchos  | 33[34]                     | 162        | 1 : 5           | .21 —         | .80 <sup>2</sup>      |
| Lykurgos    | 26                         | 150        | 1 : 6           | .17 +         | .60                   |
| Isokrates   | 288                        | 2064       | 1 : 7-8         | .14 —         | .60 <sup>3</sup>      |
| Antiphon    | 38                         | 295        | 1 : 8           | .13 —         | .50 <sup>3</sup>      |
| Aischines   | 61                         | 640        | 1 : 10          | .09 +         | .30                   |
| Andokides   | 16                         | 219        | 1 : 13          | .07 +         | .20 <sup>3</sup>      |
| Isaios      | 37                         | 521        | 1 : 14          | .07 +         | .25                   |
| Lysias      | 38                         | 970        | 1 : 25          | .04 —         | .12 <sup>3</sup>      |

It will be observed that the only discrepancies as to the order between the two lists are not formidable and do not affect the general result. Hypereides, who had been excluded from my count, goes beyond the Demosthenean standard, according to Wagner's count, with 39 examples in 100 §§.<sup>4</sup>

One important point that Dr. Wagner makes in his investigation is the difference in the usage of Isokrates at different periods and in different spheres. For Isokrates Wagner distinguishes between the early period of work for the courts and the late period of epideictic discourses, and these latter again show a double strain. In the six forensic speeches (18, 21, 20, 16, 17, 19) he counts but five, in the earliest (21) there is none, in the others one apiece. To the first epideictic stage belong 13, 11, 10, 4, 14,

<sup>1</sup> Public speeches. Private speeches .80.

<sup>2</sup> Antiphon, Andokides and Deinarchos, not having the uniform Teubner page, had to be estimated. Hence, perhaps, the slight variation from Wagner.

<sup>3</sup> My statistics for Lysias and Isokrates did not undertake to be exhaustive.

<sup>4</sup> As to the actual count of instances, I find on referring to the documents on which my paper was based that my list of articular inf. in Lykurgos amounts to 26, and so does Dr. Wagner's, but one of these occurs in the oath, §81, and might be excluded. There is the same coincidence in Antiphon. In Andokides W. has one less (16), which may be due to the silent omission of No. 4, in which my assistant counted only one articular inf. In Deinarchos my assistant counted one more than Wagner, making 34 instead of 33. In Aischines Wagner has found 4 more and in Isaios one more than the students to whom the work was intrusted. Such differences, however undesirable, do not, as has just been said, invalidate the general result, and in their slightness form a marked contrast to Sigg's researches, who, according to Wagner, left out no less than 24 of the 44 articular infinitives in the Apollodorean speeches.

2, 9, 3, Ep. 1 with 72 examples in 602 §§, one out of eight. To the last, 6, 8, 7, 15, 5, 12, and the remainder of the epistles, 211 examples in 1193 §§, about one out of six.

The youthful Demosthenean speeches are separated by Wagner from the later speeches,<sup>1</sup> and he distinguishes these later speeches according as they pertain to private suits,<sup>2</sup> public cases, or deliberative measures. Of the youthful class, 27, 28, 30, 31 contain 23 examples in 146 §§. 'If we add 42,'<sup>3</sup> he continues, 'and 55, which contain none, and the doubtful 51, which contains seven, we shall have one to eight.' The later private orations show 103 examples in 393 §§, one to four; the public orations 699 examples in 2046 §§, or one to three. What are we to do with the spurious speeches? The trouble is that the rhetoricians who imitated Demosthenes imitated the articular infinitives as well, and 10, 11, 13, 25, 26, 29, 60, 61 have one art. inf. to 3 §§. Of the other supposititious speeches, Hegesippos' oration, *ὑπὲρ Ἀλωνήσου* (No. 7), has only one example and 17 has 8. The Apollodorean speeches (52, 53, 49, 50, 47, 46, 59) have one in ten, all the others one in six §§.

We now pass over to the consideration of the stylistic effect of the articular inf. As compared with the anarthrous inf., the articular inf. comes much nearer to the abstract noun, and the abstract noun was a recognized means of *σεμνότης*. Dionysios of Halikarnasos emphasizes the use of the abstract noun as a characteristic of Thukydides, who was eminently *σεμνός*.<sup>4</sup> And the articular inf. is of the same order, though perhaps not of the same degree. Sigg, in a well-known paper (*Neue Jahrb., Suppl. Band VI, 1873, p. 397 foll.*), made use of the articular inf. in the matter of the Apollodorean orations, though not very carefully, as we have seen, and

<sup>1</sup> 'In the earlier speeches the average is lower than in the later. So the first speech against Aphobos goes as low as .26.' Trans. l. c. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 'I separated the public orations from the private, as it was to be expected that the difference of theme would show a difference in the number of occurrences.' Trans. l. c. 16.

<sup>3</sup> 42 is a slip for 41, on which I remarked (l. c.): 'In the speech against Spudias [XLI], which, to be sure, is questioned, there is no occurrence, nor any in the speech against Callicles [LV], in which Demosthenes approaches nearer to Lysianic *ῥθος* than in any other.' And yet Dr. Wagner says '*nemo adhuc accuratius Demosthenis usum cum ceteris oratoribus comparavit.*'

<sup>4</sup> *De iis quae Thuc. propria sunt*, c. 5 (p. 795 R.). See Dr. E. G. Sihler, *On the Verbal Abstract Nouns in -σις in Thucydides*. (*Transactions Amer. Philol. Assoc. 1881, p. 96.*) See also Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, III 226 (Walz.)

Blass has thrown out a hint here and there, so that the articles which I wrote on the subject were written with this characteristic in view, though I reserved, and still purposely reserve, what I have to say on this subject for a connected exhibition of the influence of syntax on style. But although the subject was lightly touched, the lines there drawn were sufficient to mark out the field for future explorers, and I am glad to see that Dr. Wagner's independent work has given me so little occasion to change what I had said before. 'The articular infinitive,' says Dr. Wagner in substance, 'is used more frequently by Thukydides, by Demosthenes and the rhetoricians who ape him, by Hypereides. Deinarchos is not far off. In Lykurgus and Isokrates' third period it is by half less frequent, still less frequent in Isokrates' second period and in Antiphon. All these outstrip Aischines, as Aischines does Andokides, as Andokides does Isaios. Lowest of all are Lysias, and Isokrates in his first period.'<sup>1</sup>

Chronological syntax—it seems that we cannot repeat this too often—is not historical syntax any more than chronology is history, and the general advance in the freedom with which the articular inf. could be used is crossed by the artistic bent, by the demands of the theme. Antiphon and Thukydides, the earlier prose writers, belong to the *σεμνὸν γένος*, and use the articular inf. out of proportion to their time. Andokides, the unprofessional speaker, whose very freedom from the school ought to have made him precious to the student of Attic idiom—Andokides, the contemporary of Antiphon and Thukydides, makes but little use of the articular inf. The position of Lysias has already been insisted on, and Wagner pauses to notice, as I paused to notice,<sup>2</sup> the extraordinary proportion in 31, which he considers an evidence of spuriousness, thus reducing the occurrences still further. But it is not needful to translate in detail what Dr. Wagner says of the characteristics of the several orators as mirrored in the use of the articular infinitive, nor his reinforcement of the difference between the different periods and the different speeches. It is all welcome but it is not all new. In the

<sup>1</sup> 'The nearest approach to [Demosthenes] is made by Dinarchus—the home-spun Demosthenes, the rustic Demosthenes, the *κρίθινος Δημοσθένης* of the ancients. Bookish Lykurgos, umbratic Isocrates come next, then Antiphon. . . . Low down stand Aischines, Isaios, Andocides, Lysias—Aischines, the man of mere native cleverness; Isaios, the man of practical business talent; Andocides, by no means a *littérateur*, and Lysias, in whom *ἥθος* reigns and in whom the narrative is the great thing.' Trans. l. c. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Trans. p. 13.

case of Antiphon he lays stress on the absence of the articular inf. in 6, with its easier style, and this reminds me of a note which one of my students of 1876-7,<sup>1</sup> whose count coincides with Wagner's, made on this very oration: 'In VI, which amounts to more than one-sixth of all we have of Antiphon, there is no case of the inf. with the article. In V, which amounts to not quite one-third of the whole, nearly two-thirds of the examples of infinitive with article are to be found. But only two of the ten cases in which the infinitive is governed by a preposition are in this speech. This speech, furthermore, contains all the examples of the inf. with art. in the nominative case, seven in number, and all the examples of the dative, four in number. Of the seven examples of *ἀνά* governing the acc. of inf. with art. four are in the reasoning about a single point. Having hit upon a form of expression he uses it as long as he remembers it.' The articular inf. was in an experimental stage and the new toy was a delight to the player.

In respect to Demosthenes Dr. Wagner emphasizes the difference of age rather than the difference of sphere, though he admits that both of these elements are to be considered. In the case of Isokrates difference of theme crosses the difference of age and prevails over it. The 'vehemence' of Deinarchos, which gives him the *faux air* of a rough diamond Demosthenes, suggests a 'wie er sich räuspert' imitation of his great contemporary.

In my first paper (p. 3) I pointed out what seemed to be the popular use of the articular inf.,<sup>2</sup> out of which were developed the wonderful resources of the construction; *τὸ φάγειν, τὸ πίνειν* must have been common in daily speech before they found their way into poetry. The contemptuous use of the article—more conspicuous in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad* (Jebb's *Homer*, p. 188; Monro's *H. G.* §261, 2), simply on account of the sphere—must also have helped it forward.<sup>3</sup> But lyric poetry did not admit any cases except nominative and acc., as Krüger observed long ago (*Gr.* §50, 6), and the dramatic poets were very slow to adopt what must have seemed to them the vulgarism of the preposition with

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Wheeler, d. October 10, 1887, after this article was in type.

<sup>2</sup> Ready enough, perhaps too ready, to admit the influence of Greek on Latin, I must differ with the eminent investigator who has recently derived the substantival use of the Latin inf. from the Greek (see Wölfflin in *Archiv für latein. Lexikographie u. Grammatik*, as reported in this *Journal* VIII 103), and can only repeat my note on *Persius* 1, 9, reinforced by my first article, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Pindar*, O 2, 107.

the articular inf. How chary the Latin language was in combining the preposition with the gerund, not to mention the inf. (A. J. P. VI 103),<sup>1</sup> we all know; but Greek breaks through, and certain prepositional combinations become very common. So *διὰ τό*, in which Thukydides and Xenophon riot, cannot have been strange to popular speech, and this Wagner recognizes. Indeed, all that he has to say on the gradual introduction of the more elaborate constructions is not without its interest as a confirmation of what has already been advanced, or as giving more exact particulars. So he notes that the *διὰ* with the accusative of the art. inf. occurs in 23 out of 134 art. inf.'s in the orations of Thukydides,<sup>2</sup> eight times in Antiphon, twice in Andokides, nine times in Isaios, twice apiece in Lykurgos and Hypereides, never in Deinarchos—the last being an accident which should be a caution against statistical rabies. In Lysias it occurs only twice (14, 18 and 17, 1), except in the remarkable 31, where it occurs five times, to the enhancement of Wagner's doubts as to the genuineness of that remarkable oration.<sup>3</sup>

As *διὰ* with acc. of articular inf. became common, *ἐνίπ* with the gen. became more *recherché*, in Wagner's opinion, and Demosthenes was imitated even in the minutiae of his usage in respect of these two by the rhetorical falsifiers.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wölfflin's example from Cic. de Fin. 2, 23 does not count. See my Gr. §426 R.

<sup>2</sup> This leaves 47 for the remaining 140, if we may trust Forssmann's list, and shows that the construction had penetrated freely into narrative.

<sup>3</sup> See Trans. l. c. p. 13: 'Lysias . . . crowds an extraordinary proportion into the speech against Philon (XXXI).'

<sup>4</sup> These rhetorical falsifiers must have been much keener observers of syntactical usage than modern scholars were until recent years. Witness how admirably they imitated Demosthenean usage in another direction—the final sentence (A. J. P. VI 58). Of course the athetizers will claim that the more Demosthenean these men are in minute externals the less Demosthenean they show themselves in other respects. Be it so. In any case we must wonder at the close observation of the rhetoricians, just as we wonder at the close observation of the Greek sculptors, even if we have to leave aside the question whether these studied anatomy and those syntax. One lesson, however, we must not fail to draw from all this, the great importance of any native hint at the stylistic effect of grammatical phrasings. À propos of the whole question of apéry, I have had the curiosity to examine the usage of Aristides in his speech against Leptines, which is nearly as long as the corresponding speech of Demosthenes (96 per cent.). Aristides seems to be fully aware of Demosthenes' fondness for the construction, but he overdoes it, as was to be expected, and he has some 106 articular inf.'s to Demosthenes' 71, thus carrying up the average into the neighborhood of Demosthenes'



Nothing seems to be plainer than that the articular inf. started with the accusative case and advanced to the nominative so far as a neuter can become a nominative, but as Pindar's articular infinitives are all nominatives except one (Intro. E. cviii), it is hardly worth while to put so much significance as Dr. Wagner does into the shifting use of the nom. infin. It had been safely born into literature more than a hundred years before Demosthenes. More interesting is the way in which the article tightens its hold on greater and greater complexes. We expect at first, and we find at first, a naked infinitive, but even in Pindar's time it could take a modifier in the shape of preposition and substantive, e. g. *τὸ καυχᾶσθαι παρὰ καιρὸν* (O 9, 41), and when it takes an object as N 8, 44: *τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίζει*, it is fairly started on its way to the grand complexes which find their climax in Demosthenes.<sup>1</sup>

And here I drop the subject, with the earnest hope that whoever takes up the thread of this investigation may take it up as well as Dr. Wagner has done, and present his results as compactly. In the two papers that I have written on this theme there are doubtless other statistics to be corrected, other points to be developed or to be nipped, as the case may be.<sup>2</sup>

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extreme, which is found in the First Olynthiac, whereas Demosthenes' Leptinea is in the neighborhood of the mean, although above it. Nor do we find anywhere in Demosthenes' Leptinea such a cumulation of art. inf.'s as we find in Aristeides. (See II 668. 678. 706, Dind.). This excess of the articular infinitive, unrelieved by any of the charms that have made the Leptinea of Demosthenes one of the favorite orations in modern times as in antiquity, contributes unquestionably to the cumbrousness and unreadableness of Aristeides' fabrication, which, in spite of all the evident pains he has taken, betrays to the grammatical eye the syntactical weaknesses of the age in which it was manufactured.

<sup>1</sup> In lyric poetry grand complexes are made by the rush and the roll of the rhythm (see my Pind. I. E. cxv). In the great articular infin. complexes of the orators we feel intellectual grasp, not emotional sweep.

<sup>2</sup> The behavior of the articular inf. in later Greek is full of interest for those who are working in that almost untilled field. Note, for instance, how *πρὶν* with inf. gives way to *πρὶν ἢ* with inf., thus half satisfying the mechanical demand for some kind of grammar, and then *πρὶν ἢ* with inf. gives way to *πρὸ τοῦ* with inf., and *πρὸ τοῦ* with inf. starts its yoke-fellow *μετὰ τὸ* with inf., and *μετὰ τὸ* with inf. gets into narrative instead of the aor. part., e. g. Acts 20, 1: *μετὰ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν θόρυβον* instead of *παραμένον τοῦ θορύβου*. But of this more in another paper in which I purpose to consider the use of the participle in Greek.

#### IV.—SPEECH MIXTURE IN FRENCH CANADA.

##### SUPPLEMENTARY.

Since I wrote "Speech Mixture in French Canada," which appeared in the last number of this Journal, I have had the opportunity of examining, in the National Library at Paris, some works on Indian speech which were inaccessible to me while engaged on this article. I will, therefore, add in the following remarks a few points of general interest and of particular etymological bearing that may serve to supplement the material already presented.

P. 147. To the general list of Indian words used in French add *otoka*, *ouache*, *sagamos*, *succotash*.

P. 154. To Romance words used in Indian should be added, class 1: *anotch*, *eskwanior*, *sotar*, *wentkaso*; class 2: *napatak*, *rawension* (*rawensie*), *acanilewi* (from *acanite*: according to French pronunciation, *achanité*).

Under the first heading I have the following observations to make:

OTOKA. Huron *tokware* vel *aiok*, *atoca*, canneberge, airelle coussinette. Ang. cranberry.<sup>1</sup> In the "Supplément aux Racines," p. 61, this author remarks: *Aiok* vel *tokware*, airelle à gros fruits, *atoca*, *vaccinium macrocarpum*.

OUACHE. La *ouache* du Castor (*amikwac*) est la cavité, le creux fait horizontalement sous la terre, le conduit souterrain qui aboutit à la *ouiche*, à la cabane (*amikwic*). *Wac* et *wic* ont passé dans la langue française du Canada, sans éprouver d'autre modification que celle de l'orthographe (*ouache*, *ouiche*).<sup>2</sup>

SAGAMOS. Chief of an Indian tribe. English *Sagamore*.

SUCCOTASH. Green corn and beans boiled together. According to Webster's English Dictionary, this word comes from the Narraganset dialect form *msickquatash*.

For the Romance words that are to be added, we have under class 1, *anotch*,<sup>3</sup> "aujourd'hui," from the Spanish *anoche* (for

<sup>1</sup> Cuoq, Lexique algonquin, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cuoq, Lexique algonquin, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Lacombe, Cri Grammar (p. 143 et 295), contained in his *Dictionnaire de la langue des Cris*, Montréal, 1874.

example, *isko anotch*, "jusqu' aujourd'hui"); *eskwanior*, "Espagnol," *eskwaniorenya*, "en Espagnol"; *sotar*, "soldat"; *wentkaso*, "vingt-quatre sous"; NIIO, which Cuq would regard as the French word "Dieu iroquoisé"; under class 2, *napatok*, "patate," the term used in French Canada for the ordinary *pomme de terre* (for example, *napatakwa misâwa*, "les patates sont grosses");<sup>1</sup> *rawension* (*rawensie*), monsieur, un monsieur, un bourgeois. Mot tiré du Français; il se féminise: *kawension*, madame, *konension*, mesdames;<sup>2</sup> *acaniteui* (Algonkin), demander la charité.<sup>3</sup> "Demander l'aumône, la charité, était chose inconnue pour les Iroquois qui ne mendiaient jamais; pour rendre cette idée, ils adoptèrent simplement le mot français *la charité*, travestie à leur manière: *tekatsarites*."<sup>4</sup>

P. 145. TOMAHAWK. Lacombe (p. 711) assigns this word to the special Cri dialect form *otomahuk*, assomez-le, ou, *otâmahwaw*, il est assommé.

MOCCASIN. Sauteux for *Makkasin*, soulier.<sup>5</sup>

P. 146. WIGWAM. Lacombe (p. 711) transcribes the word thus: *wigwâm*, and refers it to the Cri *wikiwâk*, dans leurs demeures.

P. 149. OURAGON. (Sauteux) plat, vase, de *onâgan*. Les Cris des bois disent *orâgan*, les autres *oyâgan*.<sup>6</sup>

P. 149. PETUN. Cri verb: *pittwaw*, *ok*, fumer. Ibidem, p. 156. M. Cuq remarks on this word: "On m'a demandé plus d'une fois si ces vieux mots *petun*, *petunoir*, *petuner*, *petuneux*, n'auraient pas tiré leur origine de quelque langue sauvage. J'ai toujours répondu que je les croyais venus en droite ligne, de notre langue française, et sortis de la même racine qui a produit les dérivés *pétard*, *pétarade*, *pétiller*, *pétillant*, etc. . . . Pour peu que leur tabac soit mouillé, les fumeurs comprendront aisément l'étymologie française du verbe *petuner*, sans qu'il soit besoin de recourir à je ne sais quel mot de la langue des Cris, ainsi que quelqu'un le prétendait naguère avec chaleur. Il ne faisait pas

<sup>1</sup> Ibidem, pp. 137-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cuq, *Lexique algonquin*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, sub voce.

<sup>4</sup> Étude bibliographique par M. L'Abbé Nantel sur le *Lexique de la Langue algonquine*, added to Cuq's *Lexique*, pp. 230-31. This article was originally published in the *Annales térsiennes*, Décembre, 1882.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 708.

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionnaire de la langue des Cris* par le Rev. Père Alb. Lacombe, Ptre. Montréal, 1874, p. 703.

réflexion que bien longtemps avant de connaître les Cris, les premiers missionnaires et les premiers voyageurs n'employaient pas d'autre terme pour exprimer l'idée de *fumer la pipe* que celui de *petuner*. Des idées préconçues, et aussi quelquefois, un peu trop de suffisance, ont donné lieu à des anachronismes encore plus sérieux et sur des points beaucoup plus importants. Si l'on me disait que *petun* est un mot péruvien ou brésilien . . . j'aurais beaucoup moins de peine à l'admettre, qu'à faire remonter notre vieux verbe *petuner* à la langue des Cris, nation que les Français n'ont connue que plus tard, alors que déjà depuis longtemps, en France comme au Canada, *fumeur*, *fumeuse* se disaient *petuneux*, *petuneuse*; *pipe* s'appelait *petunoir* ou *machine à petun*, et *fumer la pipe* ou *le calumet*, ne s'exprimait pas autrement que par *petuner*."<sup>1</sup>

PICHOU. Lacombe writes *pichoux*, which he would take directly from the Cri *pisew*, loup cervier, lynx.

PICOUILLE. Does this word possibly have some relation to the Cri root *piku* (*pikw*), *briser*, *casser*, *fracasser*?

P. 150. SAGAMITÉ. Lacombe remarks (p. 708), (Cris) pour: *kistagamilew*, c'est un liquide chaud; c'est l'adjectif inanimé. Cuoq gives the following particulars as to the origin of this term: *Sagamité*, mot pris dans la langue algonquine, mais pris à contresens, et de plus défiguré. . . . Ce mot ne doit son origine qu'à une méprise, à un mal-entendu, il vient de *kijamité*, le potage est chaud: le premier Français qui a entendu cette expression, l'a prise pour le nom même du potage. De là est sortie la fameuse *sagamité*. Mais dans aucun cas, les Algonquins ne donnent à leur ragout, le prétendu nom du *sagamité*.<sup>2</sup>

SACAQUA (SACAQUÉ). Lacombe gives *sisiquoi*, which is evidently the same word: petit siflet en os des sauvages. The word *sisikwan* he defines: petit sac de parchemin bandé, dans lequel sont renfermées de petites pierres; instrument qu'on secoue avec cadence, dans les conjurations.<sup>3</sup>

P. 153. In certain parts of the Indian speech-territory, the correct vowel pronunciation (*u*) has evidently been preserved in certain expressions as *bon jour*, etc. A recent traveller . . . le vieux chef se trouvait là (Lac des Bois); il nous salue . . . *Bon!* qui est évidemment l'abréviation de notre

<sup>1</sup> *Lexique algonquin*, pp. 171-2, under *Notes Supplémentaires*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lexique algonquin*, pp. 133 et 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Lexique algonquin*, p. 596.

<sup>4</sup> H. de Lacépède, *Algonquins chez les Français d'Amérique*, p. 246.

P. 149. Contrary to the opinion here expressed by Parkman, much and varied testimony might be cited from the writings both of officials of the Canadian government and of modern travellers in Canada. M. Dénonville, Governor of Canada, wrote: "On a cru longtemps qu'il falloit approcher les sauvages de nous pour les franciser; on a tout lieu de reconnoître qu'on se trompoit. Ceux qui se sont approchés de nous ne se sont pas rendus François, et les François qui les ont hantés sont devenus sauvages."<sup>1</sup> Again: "Ils (the Indians) ne s'allient pas avec leurs voisins, mais entretiennent avec eux les meilleurs rapports."<sup>2</sup>

P. 151. In 1862, M. Dussieux noted particularly a settlement of these *métis* to the north of Lake Superior: Il existe au nord-ouest du Lac Supérieur une peuplade nombreuse qu'on appelle les Bois-Brûlés; elle se compose de *métis* issus de Canadiens-Français et d'Indiens et descendent des anciens coureurs de bois. Ces Français demi-sauvages se sont donné le nom de Bois-Brûlés, à cause de leur couleur hâlée. Ils sont aujourd'hui à la solde de la grande compagnie anglaise des pelleteries de la baie d'Hudson; ils chassent la grosse et la petite bête, mais surtout le bison, et poursuivent les troupes innombrables dans les herbageries qui recouvrent les hautes plaines baignées par le Missouri supérieur et la Nebraska, dans lesquelles le bison s'est réfugié.<sup>3</sup>

P. 162. Add: *Wiske* shorihwane (Michel De la Grand-affaire), *Siwen* shotsitsiowane (Simon De la Grand-fleur), *Srensue* shotowane (François Du Grand-fumier).<sup>4</sup>

P. 150. It is not only Indian words, adopted bodily by the French, that have enriched the vocabulary of the latter, but occasionally the use of a French vocable in a new sense, as the representative of its equivalent in the savage idiom, has crept in, and then came the natural changes in form that would result to it from the rapid and inaccurate pronunciation of ordinary speech. The following is a characteristic example of this usage: Il est probable que les sauvages n'avaient aucune expression pour le prix, la valeur d'une chose, avant d'avoir vu les Blancs. Dans leurs marchés et conventions, tout se faisait par des échanges. C'est alors qu'ils

<sup>1</sup> Le Canada sous la domination française, par L. Dussieux, 2me édition, Paris, Lecoffre, 1862, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Allard (Christophe), Promenade au Canada, Paris, 1878, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Le Canada sous la domination française, par L. Dussieux, 2me édition, Paris, 1862, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Cuoq, Lexique algonquin, p. 120.

ont commencé à se servir du mot *allây*, pelletrie, fourrure, qui ne prend jamais le pluriel, quand on s'en sert pour compter, estimer la valeur d'une chose, v. g., *peyakwattây*, un *plus*, ou *pelu*, équivalent ordinairement à deux chelins, *mistwattây ni tîphan eoko*, j'ai payé cela trois *plus*. Ce mot *plus* a été inventé par les Canadiens du Nord-Ouest pour répondre à l'expression indienne *allây*, pelletrie. Les Anglais se servent du mot *skin*, v. g., give me that, I'll give you two skin (*sic* !), *eoko miyin ekusi nij' wattây ki ka miyitin*, donnez-moi cela, et je te donnerai deux *plus*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lacombe, Grammaire, p. 141.

## NOTES.

### VARIA.

#### I. *Thukydides and Geometry.*

Cantor, in his *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, p. 146, says: "Wir haben auch die Nothwendigkeit betont, den Flächeninhalt einer Figur aus den dieselbe bildenden Seiten in *richtiger* Weise finden zu können. Unsern mathematischen Lesern dürfte diese Betonung überflüssig erscheinen, aber sie ist es nicht so ganz. Bei einem Volke von überwiegend geometrischer Begabung, wie es unstreitig das griechische war, konnte um das Jahr 400 v. Chr., also zur Zeit Platons, einer der geistreichsten, tiefsten Geschichtsschreiber aller Jahrhunderte, konnte noch ein *Thukydides* so wenig Bescheid wissen, dass er Inhalt und Umfang als proportional dachte, dass er in Folge dessen die Fläche der Insel nach der zum Umfahren nöthigen Zeit abschätzte. *Thukydides* VI 1 (ed. Rothe), p. 95." Now this is a grave charge, preferred seriously and with seeming deliberation, and we have a right to demand convincing proof. Let us examine the one passage cited: *Σικελίας γὰρ περίπλους μὲν ἐστὶν ὀκτάδι οὐ πολλῶ τινι ἑλασσον ἢ ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν, καὶ τοσαύτη οὖσα ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίων μάλιστα μέτρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἡπειρος εἶναι.* That is, "the circumnavigation of Sicily with a merchantman requires not much less than eight days," etc. And that is all. There is not the slightest ground even for suspecting that *Thukydides* supposed the area to be in proportion to the periphery rather than its square. The worst that could possibly be charged (and that would be an unjustifiable charge) would be that he supposed the *shape* made no difference. This charge was preferred long ago. Cf. Quint. Instit. Or. I 10, 40 "plurimum refert cuius sit formae ille circuitus; reprehensique a geometris sunt historici qui magnitudines insularum satis significari navigationis ambitu crediderunt. Nam ut quaeque forma perfectissima, ita capacissima est." But there is no evidence in the passage of *Thukydides* that he was ignorant even of this fact. He could assume that his intelligent readers (and he wrote for such only) had some conception of the shape of the island. That

maps in those days were far from being unknown is shown by the fact that Aristophanes in the *Clouds* amuses the people with a scene in which an old peasant fails to comprehend a chart of the world. So the possible charge against Thukydides narrows itself down to the vagueness of the unit of measure. Strabo quotes Ephoros and others as making the periphery a voyage of five days and five nights. He gives the shape of the island and its periphery in stadia. But he too could be charged with the error ascribed by Cantor to Thukydides with just the same propriety, for he does not give the area. He supposed his readers could estimate it; so did Thukydides; and I really believe his statement was as satisfactory for his purpose as would have been the case if he had said "it contains about ninety myriads of square stadia." If Thukydides has elsewhere said anything exposing ignorance of geometry, I do not remember to have seen it. It certainly ought to have been cited if it exists.

## II. *Some Errors in Liddell and Scott.*

1. Under *ὀμφαλόεις* we find "*οἰμωγὰς ὀμφαλόεσσας (a joke παρὰ προσδοκίαν) Ar. Pax, 1278.*" Any joke should contain something *contrary to expectation*, or at least *unexpected* (*ἀπροσδόκητον*), but by *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* is meant a different kind of surprise from that in the example cited. The fictitious peace is to be celebrated. A boy begins a song, the burden of which is *war*. He is interrupted by Trygaios with a rebuke. He begins again:

*Boy*: οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,  
σύν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥίνους τε καὶ ἀσπίδας ὀμφαλόεσσας.

*Tryg.*: ἀσπίδας; οὐ παύσει μεμνημένον ἀσπίδος ἡμῖν;

*Boy*: ἔνθα δ' ἄμ' οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχολή πέλεν ἀνδρῶν.

*Tryg.*: ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή; κλαύσει νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον,  
οἰμωγὰς ῥέδον, καὶ ταύτας ὀμφαλόεσσας.

Of course, Trygaios merely transferred the adjective, through mental confusion, from *ἀσπίδας* to *οἰμωγὰς*. For something analogous cf. Nub. 233 ff.

2. Under *γαμέω*, "Medea speaks contemptuously of Jason, as if *she* were the husband, *μὲν γαμοῦσα . . . σέ*; Eur. Med. 606." By no means. She is just here playing the poor, helpless, wronged female. She uses the active (τί δρῶσα; *μὲν γαμοῦσα καὶ προδοῦσά σε*;) in her ironical question because she refers to Jason's having married and betrayed *her*.



3. Under *χρήσιμον*: "c. inf. *useful for* doing, Ar. Nub. 202 : *χρήσιμόν ἐστι*, c. inf. id. Av. 382." The first example is as follows : ΣΤΡ. τοῦτ' οὖν τί ἐστι χρήσιμον ; ΜΑΘ. γῆν ἀναμετρεῖσθαι. Here the inf. takes the place of loose *τί* = *eis τί* of the question, and it may well be doubted whether this alone would justify the inf. directly with *χρήσιμος*—though, of course, this objection is not intended as an argument against the possibility of that construction. The other example cited by L. and S. is simply no example at all: *ἐστι μὲν λόγων ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον, ὡς ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, χρήσιμον*, where it is *ἀκοῦσαι* that is *χρήσιμον*.

4. Under *ῶπ*: "a cry of the *κελευστής* to make the rowers stop pulling, *avast!* Ar. Ran. 180, 208." Now, in the second passage cited the boat is about to *start*, and Dionysos says *κατακέλευε δῆ*. Hereupon Charon says *ῶπ ῶπ*. Under *κατακελεύω* we read: "2. of the *κελευστής*, to give the time in rowing, Ar. Ran. 208,"—the correct explanation—for this passage at least, where *ῶπ ῶπ* gives the time. It is certainly not the signal to stop, as stated under *ῶπ*.<sup>1</sup>

5. Under *ἤλεκτρον*, *ἤλεκτρος*, in the third line we find "masc. in Soph. Ant. 1038 and late prose," but ten lines lower down: "Soph. also (Ant. 1038) speaks of *τὰπὸ Σάρδεων ἤλεκτρον*."

### III. Some Errors in Harpers' Latin Dictionary.

1. *Asbestos* is put = "*ἄσβεστος* (incombustible)." That meaning for *ἄσβεστος* would be convenient, but is it true? It seems to mean "inextinguishable."

2. Under *conor* the constructions are thus enumerated: "constr. with *acc.*, *inf.*, rarely with *abl.* of the gerund., or *absol.*" How construed with *abl.* of the gerundive or gerund? Let the example cited answer: "(γ) With *abl.* gerundii: *ne frustra dehortando impedire conemini*, *that you attempt not vainly to dissuade*, Nep. Att. 21, 6." But what becomes of *impedire*? This oversight is all the more remarkable as the example is marked with an asterisk to show that it is the only one known. And yet the detection of the error was due to its reproduction in a Latin exercise.

3. Of minor errors (such as the misprint "*pers. pron.*" for "*poss. pron.*" under *vicis*, B, II 2, a, or the insertion of a *subjunctive* example under "*quippe*, 5, a, with *indic.*") there is one that is

<sup>1</sup> It would be worth while to follow up modern equivalents. Here is one: "Lastique glissait sous la quille des rouleaux de bois graissés, puis, reprenant sa place, modulait d'une voix traînante son interminable 'ohée hop,' qui devait régler l'effort commun." G. de Maupassant, *Une Vie*, p. 40.—B. L. G.

worthy of attention. Under "*quis*, II, A, 2. With *gen. part.*" occurs the example "*hoc enim, quis homo sit, ostendere est, non quid homo sit dicere.*" The insertion of this in the wrong place is unimportant; but there ought to be a place provided for such examples. In spite of the fact that it is very common, there are some teachers who might be benefited by examples of the formula "*quid est animus?*" "*quid est homo?*" "*quid est deus?*"

4. Under "*examino*, II, A, 1. *Act., to weigh*" is this example: "*(aër) tamquam paribus examinatus ponderibus, Cic. Tusc. 1, 19, 43.*" The subject is not *aër*, but *animus*, and *examinatus* means *poised, held in equilibrium*, according to definition 2, which is illustrated by one example from Vitruvius and is marked with the asterisk as being without other examples.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

α δ' ἄμ' οἰμωγῇ  
 ὦν οἰμωγή; κλαύσει  
 ἄδον, καὶ ταύτας ὁ

is merely transferred  
 in ἀσπίδας το οἰμωγάς. 1

Medea speaks contemptuo  
 , μῶν γαμοῦσα . . . σέ; Eur.  
 t here playing the poor, he  
 active (τί δρῶσα; μῶν γαμοῦ.  
 estion because she refers to J.  
 her.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, in three parallel texts, together with Richard the Redeless. By WILLIAM LANGLAND (about 1362-1399 A. D.). Edited from numerous manuscripts, with Preface, Notes, and a Glossary, by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., LL. D. Vol. I: Text, pp. viii, 628. Vol. II: Preface, Notes, and Glossary, pp. xciii, 484. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1886.

The publication of this work complete marks an era in the history of English literature and philology. Scholars have long been familiar with Professor Skeat's twenty years' work upon the poem, and the gradual publication of the three different texts, which are so many successive revisions, and of the preface, notes, and glossary, in the five-volume edition of the Early English Text Society, completed in 1884. But in the above-mentioned work Professor Skeat has given us the three texts on parallel pages, text A occupying the upper part of each page, text B the lower left hand, and text C the lower right hand page, so that the student has at a glance the three forms of each portion of the text, with various readings at the foot of the page. The second volume contains the preface, notes, and glossary in condensed form. This is emphatically a students' edition, and Professor Skeat is to be congratulated upon its publication in such a useful and convenient form. It will, too, tend to introduce the poem to a wider public, who would never have seen it in the E. E. T. S.'s edition. But the suggestion may be permitted that, if one text, say text C, as the latest and fullest, together with the preface, notes, and glossary, all three still further condensed, were published in one handy volume, it would be in a still more popular form, to say nothing of the diminished price, which is an important consideration.

The preface contains full information with respect to the different texts and manuscripts, all of which are described, a life of the author, criticisms of the poem by I. D'Israeli, Dr. Whitaker, Thos. Wright, Hon. Geo. P. Marsh, and Dean Milman, descriptions of the printed editions, and an argument. From a careful study of the forty-five existing MSS and Crowley's text (the MS from which it was printed being lost), Professor Skeat has detected not less than *ten* varieties of form (p. xxii) in the MSS, but they may be reduced to *five*: A-text, ten MSS; B-text, fourteen; C-text, fifteen; mixed A and C, four; mixed C and B, three (p. lxii). The three forms of the text are well defined, and from internal evidence are assigned respectively to the years 1362-3, 1377, and 1393, the last form being later than Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and contemporary with Gower's Confessio Amantis. Text A contains a prologue and twelve passus, or cantos, 2572 lines; text B, a prologue and twenty passus, 7241 lines; and text C, twenty-three passus, 7355 lines. While C does not differ much in length from B, it shows considerable revision, and is evidently

the final form of the poem. A table, giving the number of passus and lines in each, and the correspondences, would have been a convenience to the student.

The work was first printed by Robert Crowley in 1550, in three impressions, the third of which was reprinted by Owen Rogers in 1561, but very carelessly, and it "is almost worthless" (p. lxxvi). This edition is of the so-called B text, but the MS from which it was printed has been lost. Both imprints are now very rare. In 1813 Dr. Thos. D. Whitaker first printed the C text, in black letter, at great expense, and preceded by a lengthy introductory discourse, of which Professor Skeat says, "there is not much that is still of value" in it. In 1842 the late Thos. Wright printed a very useful edition of the B text in two volumes (second edition, 1856), and in 1869 Professor Skeat printed at the Clarendon Press a very handy little volume containing the prologue and seven passus of the B text, which reached its third edition in 1879. The A text was never printed until Professor Skeat took the poem in hand, except a few extracts in Dr. Morris's "Specimens of Early English" (1867), which were not then recognized as a separate form of the poem.

It would consume too much space to give even a summary of the argument, and it may suffice to state that "the poem is distinctly divisible into two parts, the 'Vision of Piers the Plowman,' from which it takes its name, and the separate "Visions of Do-well, Do-bet, and Do-best" (p. lxxxvi). There are, however, no less than *eleven* visions altogether, viz. (1) of the Field Full of Folk, of Holy Church, and of Lady Meed; (2) of the Seven Deadly Sins, and of Piers the Plowman; (3) of Wit, Study, Clergy, and Scripture; (4) of Fortune, Nature, Recklessness, and Reason; (5) of Imaginative; (6) of Conscience, Patience, and Activa-Vita; (7) of Free Will, and of the Tree of Charity; (8) of Faith, Hope, and Charity; (9) of the Triumph of Piers the Plowman; (10) of Grace; and (11) of Antichrist. The ninth vision (Passus XXI, C text) contains the life of our Lord—who here represents Piers the Plowman, although the allegory is not consistent in this respect—from the entrance into Jerusalem to the resurrection, including, of course, the descent into hell after the manner of the Miracle plays, so popular in that day. Professor Skeat calls it "the finest passus in the whole poem." Christ is represented as clad in the armor of a knight coming to joust. Faith cries from a window (*fenestre*), "*a! All David!*" and

" Olde Iewes of Ierusalem \* for loye thei songen,  
*Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.*"

The seer inquires of Faith "who sholde louste in Iherusalem," and learns that

" This Iesus of his gentrice \* wole luste in Piers armes,"

shall destroy death, bind Lucifer, and within three days

" Fecche fro the fende \* Piers fruit the Plowman."

" Thanne cam Pilatus with moche peple \* *and he was for to brennen*;"

the Jews charge "this Iesus" with saying that he would destroy "oure Iewes temple" in one day, and in three days after "edifie it eft newe." One cries "he sayeth so," another, "Noli, noli!" He is finally nailed naked to the cross

with three nails, the two thieves are crucified with him, their legs are "craked" and their arms after,

"Ac was no boy so bolde · goddes body to touche."

A blind knight, however, "hiȝte *Longeus*, as the lettre telleth," came forth and pierced him through the heart, when

"The blode spronge down by the spere · and vnspered the kniȝtes eyen,"

so the knight falls on his knees and cries for mercy. The dreamer now withdraws into darkness, "to *decendit ad inferna*," when he sees Mercy and Truth approaching. Truth wishes to know "what this wonder meneth." Mercy explains, but Truth is incredulous, calls it "a tale of Waltrot" [an idle tale], and refuses to believe that Adam, Eve, Abraham, and the patriarchs and prophets, can ever come out of hell:

"For that is ones in helle · out cometh it neuere :

Iob the prophete, patriarke · reproueth thi sawes,

*Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio.*"

Peace comes, "in pacience yclothed," and confirms what her sister Mercy has said. Righteousness sides with Truth, but Peace explains how it shall be done. The Book, too, narrates the particulars attending the birth of Christ, and confirms the statements of Mercy and Peace. Truth hears and sees

"How a spirit speketh to helle · and bit vnspere the ȝatis ;

*Attollite portas, etc.*"

Satan and Lucifer—for they are separate personages—know what the light betokens, and lament it, but at the command of the light, who is "*Rex glorie*," the gates of hell open wide :

"Patriarkes and prophetes · *populus in tenebris*,

Songen seynt Iohanes songe · *ecce agnus dei.*"

The Lord takes into his light those whom he loved, and, after rebuking Lucifer at length, binds him in chains,

"Astaroth and al the route · hidden hem in hernes" [corners];

he leads forth what he pleases, and

"Many hundreth of angeles · harpeden and songen,

*Culpat caro, purgat caro ; regnat deus dei caro.*"

Truth and Righteousness are convinced, kiss Peace, and Love sings, "*Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum, etc.*"

It is necessary to read but this passus (B text 431 lines, C text 479) in order to appreciate the art, wit, and learning with which Langland has treated his lofty theme. Besides the Gospel narratives, Professor Skeat identifies as sources of the subject-matter Bishop Grostête's Castel of Love and the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, which furnished so many mediaeval writers with the prototype for the legend of the Descent into Hell. The Coventry, and other Mysteries, and the recently published York Plays, are also referred to in the notes. The active dialogue constantly recalls the dramatic repre-

sentations of the Mysteries, with which the author was evidently very familiar. He seems to have had the Vulgate at his fingers' ends, quotes a Latin hymn in the Breviary, and

"Thanne piped Pees · of poysye a note,  
*Clarior est solito post maxima nebula* [*? nubila*] *phebus*,  
*Post inimicitias clarior est et amor*,"

an elegiac couplet which Professor Skeat has not been able to identify, though he states that one of the lines is quoted by Matthew Paris, and he gives several references for the sentiment. This passus, too, supplies us with some rare expressions, as "a tale of *Waltrot*" (b. 142), quoted above, and "what *denes* man" (b. 298, not in c.) = a man of what make, what kind of man; "*brasene gonnas*" are mentioned in c. 293 (not in b.), and other engines of war with which Satan attempts to keep out Christ.

At the close of the passus William awakes and calls his wife Kitte and his daughter Calote (b. 427-31):

"Ariseth and reuerenceth · goddes resurrexioun,  
 And crepeth to the crosse on knees · and kisseth it for a Iuwel!  
 For goddes blissed body · it bar for owre bote,  
 And it afereth the fende · for suche is the myzte,  
 May no grysly gost · glyde there it shadweth!"

After "Iuwel" the C text inserts a line:

"And ryghtfullokest a relyk · non riccher on erthe,"

which illustrates the way the author has revised his poem, adding sometimes one and sometimes several lines, omitting, transposing, and replacing lines and words, and often merely changing the order of words in the line. In the notes to this passus, "And lenede me til lenten" is paraphrased "And leant about (idled about) till Lent time," though the editor adds "The phrase is not very clear." The meaning given in the glossary, "reposed," suits the passage better; but can it mean "I made myself lean, I fasted," for the author says that he slept until Palm Sunday, when his vision began? The adjective *lene*, lean, occurs in b. prol. 123, and twice in Richard the Redeless (2. 119; 3. 59), but is not given in the glossary. On line 448, in the quotation from O. E. Homilies, 3 seems to have dropped out from the second 3e; and on line 461, "to lauhynge ne brouhte," should be "did not turn [bring] it to laughter," more exactly, rather than "could turn."

To refer again to the Introduction—where so much is given it seems hypercritical to wish for more, but the sections on the dialect and the metre of the poem (pp. lvii-lxi) seem very meagre. Professor Skeat contents himself with referring to the grammar prefixed to Böddeker's "Altenglische Dichtungen des MS Harl. 2253," and to "William Langland, a Grammatical Treatise, by E. Bernard, Bonn, 1874, where the grammatical forms are collected"; and for the metre, to Rosenthal's article, "Die alliterierende englische Langzeile im XIV Jahrhundert, Halle, 1877." It is much to be wished that English scholars would imitate the labor and painstaking of German scholars, and provide all their editions of Old and Middle English works with careful grammatical

synopses, for the student needs them and cannot be expected to provide himself with them elsewhere. The grammar of Chaucer will not suffice for Langland, and for a study of M. E. grammar and philology Langland's great work is much more valuable than the works of Chaucer; hence the importance of giving us in English, and especially in an edition of Langland, a full and accurate synopsis of all grammatical forms occurring in the poem.

Professor Skeat is perhaps right in saying that "There can be little doubt that the true dialect of the author is best represented by MSS of the B text, and that this dialect was mainly Midland, with occasional introduction of Southern forms"; for the Midland dialect was prevalent in London, and probably the B text was written there, but the remarkable prevalence of Southern forms, of the pronouns especially, in the C text, would warrant the conjecture that the author may have returned to Worcestershire before he subjected his work to its final revision. No one of the MSS printed is, however, consistent in its use of forms, and here too we are met with the difficulty of knowing what to attribute to the scribe and what to the author. The A text (Vernon MS) is manifestly the oldest in its forms, as we infer from its phonology especially, but all three of the texts show mixture in pronouns, and in the endings of nouns and of verbs.

A careful reading of the first three and of the last three passus, and of Richard the Redeless, has given the following results in the main, though exceptions may, perhaps, be found on more careful examination; if so, it will simply confirm the statement that no one of the MSS printed is without mixture in its forms. But a few out of many examples noted are given, and no attempt is made to note *all* forms: In *nouns* we find for *gen. sing.* a. 1, 89 *Lucus*, b. *Lukes*, c. *Lukys*; b. prol. 197 *mannus*, c. *mannys*; b. 19, 120 *moder*, c. *modres*; *nom. and acc. pl.* c. 1, 18 *spiritus*; a. prol. 46 *pilgrimes*, b. *-es*, c. *-is*; a. b. c. *palmeris*; a. prol. 47 *seintes*, b. *-es*, c. *-ys*; cf. R. 2, 144 *chekonys*; a. prol. 55 *freres*, b. *-is*, c. *-us*; a. prol. 35 *children*, b. *chylderen* (*childer* has not been found); a. prol. 72 *eizen*, b. *eyes*, c. *eyen*; a. prol. 75, a. b. *eres*, c. *eren*; a. 1, 28 *douhtren*, b. *douhtres*, c. *douhtres*; a. 2, 185 *feeres*, c. *feren*, but b. has *felawes*; cf. R. 2, 147 *ffeedrin*; 148 *ffedris*; R. 3, 42 *eiren*, 50 *eyren* [eggs]; for *gen. pl.* we find, a. 1, 65 *Iewes*, b. *Iurwen*, c. *Iewene*; c. 2, 95 *lordene*; a. b. 2, 103 *kingene*, so b. c. 19, 77; b. 18, 370 *mennes*, c. *menne*, so 20, 54 and 186; cf. R. 1, 65 *elderne*. In *adjectives* we find for *plural*, b. c. 19, 269 *cardinales vertues*, but b. c. 19, 313 *cardinale vertues*; b. c. 20, 60 *alle hise*, *hise* used absolutely; for *gen. pl.* b. 19, 468 *ailen*, c. *alre*; *compar. with the*, a. b. c. prol. 31 *the bettre*; c. 1, 104 *the wors*; c. 1, 117 *the wrother . . . the rathere*; b. 19, 415 *the curseder*, c. *the corsedour*; cf. R. 4, 86 *the mo*; *double compar.* c. 19, 24 *more worthiere*; cf. R. prol. 60 *more better*; R. 2, 101 *more myztier*; *superl.* c. 1, 131 *most vertuose et al.*; b. 18, 158 *furste*, c. *formest*; b. c. 19, 116 *furste and formest*. The greatest variety of forms is shown in the *pronouns*: in the *personal pronouns* we find for *first person sing.* in a. both *I* and *ich*, though *y* occasionally, as in 4, 119; 8, 126 (these references from glossary); in b. *I* prevails, though *ich* is found, and glossary gives *ik* once, 5, 228, in the phrase, *so the ik* [= "so may I thrive"]; in c. *ich* prevails, and *I* is rare, so also is *y*; in 20, 102 we have *y*, 104, *ich*, 105, *I*, glossary gives also *y* in 4, 370; for *second person sing.* we find in a. 1, 58 *the*, b. *þow*; *possess.* a. 1, 41 *this*, b. *þoure*, c. *þoure*; so R. 2, 117-18; for *third person*





*pl. a. prol. 40 coden, b. zede, c. zoden.* The forms of the verb *to be* show the greatest variety in *present plural*: *b. prol. 200 be, c. buth*; *a. 1, 129 are, b. arne, c. aren*; *a. 1, 164 ben, b. arne, c. aren*; *a. 1, 165 beo, b. c. aren*; *a. 1, 165 beoth, b. c. ben*; *a. 1, 198 beth, b. ben, c. aren*; *b. 18, 108 ar, c. beoth*; *b. 18, 133 ben, c. beoth*; *b. 18, 275 ben, c. beon*; *b. 18, 276 ben, c. beth*; *b. 20, 233 arn, c. aren*; *b. 20, 332 ar, c. aren*; *b. 20, 363 ben, c. aren*, so no text is consistent. *Infinitives* occur with and without *n*, as *b. prol. 168 to bugge, c. to byggen*; *b. 170 hangen, c. honge*; also in *y, ye, and te, c. 1, 36 swery*; *b. prol. 105 to close, c. to cloyse*; *c. 1, 110 rebukie*; *b. prol. 174 shomye*; *a. 1, 131 for to loue, b. c. for to louye*; for use of *to* with *infin.* note in next line, *c. 2, 144 and deye rather than to do, and cf. R. prol. 77 I shulde to be.* In *present participles* we have *a. b. c. prol. 19 worching and wondringe*, and so usually, but *b. prol. 104 cloyng, c. cloynde*, used adjectively; in *b. c. 18, 11* occurs *cam pryke*, but usually the participle, as *b. c. 18, 114 cam walkyng, 163 come rennyng, 166 cometh pleyng*; *19, 147 come knelyng*; *b. 20, 99 cam dryuende, c. cam dryuyng*; in *c. 23, 218* we find *passend*, and *c. 21, 291* the rare French form *boilaunt*, and *breunnyng* in same line; so *b. 1, 155 persant, c. pershaunt*, as *adj.* In *past participles* we have *a. b. prol. 53 knowen, c. knowe*; *a. prol. 68 I-broken, b. y-broken, c. to-broke*; *a. 1, 60 born, b. borne, c. bore*; *b. 19, 340 worth broke, c. worth to-broke*; in *18, 203* we find *b. c. wist*, and *b. knowen, c. knowe*, in same line. As examples of variation in *strong and weak preterites* may be noted *b. 20, 304 shope, c. shupte*; so *b. c. 20, 138 shupte*; and in *b. 20, 166 shifte, c. shrof, shifte* may be an error for *shrifte*, for the editor's explanation "moved" does not make as good sense.

But it would prolong this notice to too great length to comment on many other points of interest that suggest themselves, particularly in use of words. Many old words and expressions are still preserved which were soon to die out forever, and many new words are introduced. The vocabulary of Langland will repay careful study. While the language of Chaucer, being the speech of the educated classes, is nearer the language of the present day, that of Langland, representing more nearly the speech current in the mouths of the people at large, preserves many words not found in Chaucer; and, as may be seen from the few illustrations given above, his grammar is much more varied and shows a closer connection with the older language. Professor Skeat well says: "A thorough investigation of the dialect would fill a small volume," especially if we include an accurate analysis of the grammatical forms. It is scarcely accurate to include the use of *she* and *aren* as at this time "traces of Northern influence," any more than the use of *they*. While originally Northern in origin, they were now regular Midland forms, and we have seen above that *a. heo, b. she, c. huc*, were, in the main, characteristics of the three texts, and that *aren, ben*, and *beoth*, with alternative forms, were used in all three texts. The unique use of *sheo* and *thaym* in *c.* (see above) does point in that direction, as well as the traces of Old Norse influence on the vocabulary, and the use of Northern *a* in some words. The Southern character of the language in *c.* is evident from the examples given above, so that I should prefer to say that the dialect is Midland with a very strong infusion, instead of "occasional introduction," of Southern forms, especially in text *c.*, which was to be expected from Langland's residence in the West.

It is to be hoped that Professor Skeat will crown his great work by giving us a complete grammar of the language, based on all three texts, and we can then see how far the author changed his dialect to suit his residence.

I have no space to notice the metre; it may be seen from the quotations given above. The older rules for alliteration are not observed; sometimes alliteration is lacking and sometimes it is superabundant; also an unaccented word often begins with the alliterative letter, and in some lines the rhythm is very rough, so that we may agree with Professor Skeat that "Langland was not very particular about his metre." Still we have many such fine lines as (b. prol. 25):

"In prayers and in penance ' putten hem manye,"

and (b. prol. 36):

"Feynen hem fantasies' and foles hem maketh,"

which show that Langland could write rhythmically when he chose.

In addition to the *errata* given the following may be noted in the portion read: Vol. I, p. 11, c. 1, 110 *chased* for *chasted*, latter given in glossarial reference; p. 614, R. 2, 156 [*of their*] should be [*of her*], for *their* does not occur and is inserted by the editor; so in foot-note; p. 616, R. 3, 26 *clergie* should be *clerlie*, according to notes in Vol. II, but no foot-note here. The following have been noted in Vol. II: Introduction, p. viii, foot-note, 1509 should be 1409; p. ix, foot-note, *cira* for *circa*, and *erupt* for *erupit*; p. lxxiv, quotation, line 2, should not *shrobbes* be *shroudes*, for the former occurs only in c. and Crowley is quoting b., as *shepe* shows? p. lxxxiv, line 1, *Sept.* has dropped out *ab initio*; p. lxxxvi, line 15, *dele the* before *Piers*; p. xci, line 25, *enered* for *entered*; Notes, p. 16, line 19, *br.* for *b.*; p. 279, line 5 from bottom, *Yyue* for *yyue*; in Glossary, under *Bonched*, *Bunchip* is referred to, but it is omitted, as are also the following, though it may not have been intended to include all words whose meaning is plain: *badde*, b. 10, 281; *benche*, R. 4, 69; *bryyle*, b. 19, 431; *cheriche*, c. 2, 144, R. 3, 203; *chylderen*, b. pr. 35; *colers*, b. pr. 203, c. 1, 208; *lene*, b. pr. 123, R. 2, 119, 3, 59; *mad*, R. 1, 22; *madde*, R. 2, 184; under *mot* we find "*most*, *must*, 21, 415," which should be under *must*, for this is the noun, not the verb; *queene*, a. 2, 14, though *queyne* is given; *sallere*, R. 4, 46; under *spille*, b. 19, 298 might have come under "punish," as *correcte* occurs in text in the following line; *waste*, b. 1, 163; and *whedir*, R. pr. 28.

In a few cases in the Notes exception might be taken, perhaps, to Professor Skeat's interpretation, but it is not worth while to prolong this notice in order to point them out.

Professor Skeat has done well to add the poem of Richard the Redeless, already printed by Mr. Wright for the Camden Society, 1838, and in "Political Poems and Songs," 1859, and by Professor Skeat for the E. E. T. Society in 1873. The MS is unique, No. XIX of the Piers Plowman MSS, and is in the Cambridge University Library. Internal evidence settles the date of the poem as September, 1399, just before the deposition of Richard II. Professor Skeat does not hesitate to ascribe the poem to Langland, but appeals here only to "the evidence of originality in the poem," with a reference to certain passages, of which he says: "The supposition of such passages being written by a poet of less power than William is like supposing that there may have been two

Shakespeares." This may be conclusive, but we should have liked to see the question more fully investigated, especially on the grounds of similarity of language and metre. An argument of this poem is also given; it takes Richard severely to task for his lack of Rede.

I cannot close this notice without again emphasizing the debt that scholars and the public owe to Professor Skeat for this work. From a literary point of view it helps to make better known the second great poet of that age, a man who wrote not for amusement, but because he could not help writing; a man whose soul was filled with a deep sense of the corruption of the times in both religion and government; who, like the prophet Isaiah or John the Baptist, was a voice in the wilderness, uttering a righteous indignation upon all forms of vice and sin. He was not a doctrinal reformer, and so cannot be compared with his greater contemporary, Wyclif, but he was a most earnest moral reformer, denouncing monk, friar, and layman with his withering curse. Still, it is from a philological point of view that the work is most valuable to the student of the English language, and one who has merely read Chaucer as the representative of the language of this period, will have much to learn, and will rise from the perusal of Langland with a deeper and sounder knowledge of the history and formation of English.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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The New English. By T. L. KINGTON-OLIPHANT. 2 Vols. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1886. I. pp. 625. II. pp. 527.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Kington-Oliphant's "Old and Middle English" (1878) have looked with interest for this work, hoping that it would make a real contribution to our knowledge of the formation of English. The work shows extensive reading and great labor. It covers a period of five hundred years (1300-1800), and is divided into six chapters: I, 1300-1362; II, Chaucer's English, 1362-1474; III, Caxton's English, 1474-1586; IV, Shakspeare's English, 1586-1660; V, Dryden's English, 1660-1750; VI, Dr. Johnson's English, 1750-1886, but the last chapter ends with 1810 and Dr. Johnson figures to only a small extent in it. Chapter VII is an appendix of but ten pages containing short extracts from Wickliffe, Pecoock, Lever, Cowley, Gibbon, and William Morris, which might well have been increased and extended. More than half of the second volume is taken up with the index, which must have required much labor and will be very useful, if complete. The plan pursued is the same as that followed in the author's "Old and Middle English," but it lacks the illustrative extracts which form one of the most valuable features of that work. We might well have spared many of the minor works that the author has so laboriously read and culled from—several being very briefly analyzed—for the sake of extracts from the more important ones, that the reader might have the real English of the day before him rather than Mr. Kington-Oliphant's selection of words and phrases. His plan is, after some very brief remarks on the phonetic changes noticed in the particular work, to select what the author regards as *new* words and phrases, in the order of the several parts of speech, and then to give a list of the words from other than native sources, chiefly Romance, but including also Keltic, Dutch, and Scandinavian words. To these are added the proverbs occurring and the old words

that have survived. It will thus be seen that the work is far from being a history of the English language; it is but a huge collection of materials for such history, a sort of *omnium gatherum* that will serve as a quarry for the future historian. It is, therefore, tedious reading, about as interesting as reading a dictionary, but without the scientific interest aroused in reading each article of Dr. Murray's New English Dictionary. Hence it does not come up to our expectations, but perhaps our expectations may have been raised too high, and it would be wrong to hold Mr. Kington-Oliphant responsible for what he did not try to do. Our only regret is that he did not try to make a genuine history of the English language. One who has read so extensively English works covering a period of a thousand years might give us a more systematic treatise than a simple list of words and phrases that strike him as new or "curious"—a word of which the author is very fond—selected from a multitude of works whose only bond of connection is a chronological sequence. Still we are thankful for what we have, and now look to the author, or some one else, to turn it to good account. The value of such a work depends upon the accuracy with which it has been made. Of this I cannot pretend to judge without following the author over the ground traversed, and this has not been possible. After carefully reading the work from beginning to end, I have noticed but few oversights or inconsistencies. An occasional omission from the index has been observed, but this was to be expected where so many words were to be recorded.

Dr. Fitzedward Hall has already replied through *The Nation* to the criticism of him in note to II 188, and shown that the origin of our progressive passive does not turn on the union of *being* with a past participle, for there are many early examples of the absolute construction, but on the union of that combination with the parts of the verb *to be*, thus forming the passive tenses, which idiom is *new*, *pace* the author. (See *The Nation*, Nos. 1143 and 1164, "Is being built.") But there is another combination of *being* which Mr. Kington-Oliphant notes in the index as "Being, followed by active participle, I 246; II 58." Turning to the first reference, we find: "We have seen *being* set before a passive participle; another step is made in p. 491 ['Rolls,' Vol. V, 1435-37], *the Court beyng sitting*"; and for the second reference we find: "Still more curious (!) is a *patent being drawing* (in drawing), p. 177" [Letters in "Court and Times of James I," 1603-15]. Is either *sitting* or *drawing* here the "active participle"? Is it not rather the *verbal noun*, as appears from the author's own explanation of the second passage, with the preposition omitted? Again, in II 160 we find: "One more curious (!) instance of the confusion between the verbal noun and the participle is in III 121 ["Lives of the Norths," 1730]: "He feared *the being made* infamous"; why "confusion," when the combination is manifestly the verbal noun? Also, in I 245, we find: "There is a fresh idiom in p. 498 [*op. cit. supra*], *the trespass done by Richard takyng her*; Richard is not in the genitive, and therefore *takyng* may not perhaps be a verbal noun." But we sometimes find the *possessive s* dropped after proper names, and so it may be here, where *takyng* must be a verbal noun.

The common modern blunder of the ellipsis of the *possessive s* before the verbal noun should not obscure the character of this part of speech, even if our English grammars often make mistakes about it. It is a fruitful

source of error, but if we substitute the possessive pronoun for the noun, all becomes plain enough except to the illiterate, who so frequently put the objective in place of the possessive pronoun with the verbal noun. The idiom needs a thorough historical investigation, but this will not help matters so long as participles, verbal nouns, and gerunds in *-ing* are confused in their modern usage. Further, in I 273, the author says: "We know the disputes that have arisen about the confusion of the infinitive and the verbal noun; in p. 32 [Letters of John Shillingford, 1447-48] the infinitive *mistrusten* is altered by the Mayor into *mystrustyng*." This is simply a confusion of *sound*, not of parts of speech, as in *beholdyng*, so often found for *beholden*, and even *cusyng* for *cousin*, analogous to the modern *captng* for *captain*. Also, in I 274 [same Letters]: "We hear of the *justices of peas now beyng* or (in) *tyme to comynge*; in the last word the confusion between the infinitive and verbal noun reappears." Not at all; here *to* should be joined to *comynge* as the intensive prefix so common in Old English (Anglo-Saxon), and both *beyng* and *to-comynge* are present participles, not verbal nouns (cf. also I 131 *ad init.*). There seems to be some confusion in Mr. Kington-Oliphant's ideas of participles and verbal nouns; but in I 272 he very rightly says: "The *tyme of serwyce doyng* preserves a very old English idiom, for here the accusative is placed before the verbal noun."

But I cannot dwell longer on this subject. It would be interesting to trace the origin of many of our idioms, for which this work supplies materials. Other expressions occurring in these Letters, as *mony of youris, they and alle theyris, my lord of Excetre is* [not *his*] *tenantis, Kyng Harey is tyme the Thirdde*, open up wide and interesting inquiries; these may, however, be started on almost every page of the work, but they need careful, thorough, and systematic development.

Mr. Kington-Oliphant is, as may be seen from his former works, a great stickler for a pure Teutonic vocabulary, and never tires of anathematizing Johnson and Gibbon, but even Homer sometimes nods. In II 175 we find: "Johnson was in his lifetime revered by a tasteless generation as the greatest of all masters of English; his disciples, more especially Gibbon, have still further Latinized our tongue"; but on p. 213 we read: "Gibbon was equally careful [i. e. with Macaulay], admirable French scholar as he was, to write English alone in his text; he will have nothing to say to the scores of French words that had been hovering round our doors, in the vain hope of naturalization, for a hundred years before his time." For the sake of consistency this should have read "a Latinized English," for on p. 233 we find again: "We live in better times; we see clearly enough the misdeeds of Hume and Wyatt; ought not our eyes to be equally open to the sins of Johnson and Gibbon? For these last writers the store that had served their betters was not enough; disliking the words in vogue at the beginning of their century, they gave us a most unbecoming proportion of tawdry Latinisms, which are to this day the joy of penny-a-liners."

I must concur with Mr. Kington-Oliphant in his preference for Macaulay as a model in vocabulary to Johnson and Gibbon, but there is danger, in the exaltation of a pure Teutonic vocabulary, of going too far. Whatever is good current English, whether Teutonic or Romance, is open to use by every writer.

The well known estimate of the late Hon. Geo. P. Marsh that English prose, as represented by Macaulay, Webster, and Channing, contains about seventy-five per cent of Anglo-Saxon words, and English poetry, as represented by Tennyson and Longfellow, contains from eighty-seven to eighty-nine per cent, may well be taken as the proportion current in modern standard English prose and poetry. We need not follow Mr. Freeman and strike out every Romance word if we can possibly find an Anglo-Saxon word that may supply its place. The wealth of the English vocabulary should not be so restricted; but Mr. Kington-Oliphant's protest against the penny-a-liners is not superfluous and should not go unheeded.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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Bartsch's *La Langue et la Littérature Françaises depuis le IXème Siècle jusqu'au XIVème Siècle. Textes et Glossaire* par KARL BARTSCH, précédés d'une Grammaire de l'Ancien Français par ADOLF HORNING. Paris, Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, éditeurs. 1887.

Just twenty-one years ago, in July, 1866, at Rostock, Karl Bartsch put forth the first edition of his now well known work, or rather series of works, on Old French. Deriving his inspiration from Diez, who had derived his from Goethe, Bartsch perpetuated an admirable tradition, and carried into new places, along deeper lines, the currents started high up toward the beginning of the century. This "*Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français*" (1866) was the first scientific collection of its kind; it was hesitatingly put forth, and its preface breathed the timid hope that it might emerge from the purely "academic circle" and contribute to the stimulation of study in the domain of the Romance languages. That this hope has been richly fulfilled may be gathered from the volume before us, which presents the example of a work that has attained its literary majority, and that has grown and perfected itself with increasing years. All readers of Dryden, of Wordsworth, of the German school of pedant-philologists, know how interesting it is to compare prefaces—to flash mirrors upon the face of a man—and deduce thence the genesis of an intellectual undertaking, the autobiography of an idea, the elaboration of a plan. In his preface are all the *confessions intimes* of the scholar, his trembling ambitions, his flickering hopes, his *pupa* state before he has emerged into the audacious day of untrembling scholarship. Bartsch, studied in this way, reveals a singularly interesting self-glimpse. In the three prefaces through which one is admitted to his modest intimacy, one sees the gelatinous psychological condition in which a first edition naturally discloses the true but timid savant hardening into bolder form, assuming a firmer outline, gathering the definition and clearness of a concentrated intention wrought on and out with delicate care, till, in the one and twenty years of its elaboration, the inspiration assumes its final shape and shows its cherisher in the light of one who no longer trembles.

The astounding fertility of Old French literature made it very difficult for Bartsch in his first volume to present a complete *tableau* of the period 842-1400, more particularly as then few Old French texts had been critically edited. His wise plan was to represent as fully as possible in the original spelling, with dialect *nuances* and variant reading, the diverse tendencies and varied

aspects of each period. Special preponderance was accorded the literary monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as centuries luxuriating in all the fullness of mediæval intellectual product. Original sources were constantly studied; the co-operation of such scholars as Ebert, P. Meyer, Michelant, Mussafia, Pfeiffer, Strehlke, Manefeld, and Gaston Paris, was invoked, and there resulted a noble volume of double-column *Sprachproben*, with grammar and glossary, such as before French literature had not dreamed of. The same line of thought, research, and publication was pursued for the Provençal, and culminated in the "Chrestomathie Provençale" (second ed., Rostock, 1867), by the same author.

Such was the condition of Old French learning in 1866 that Bartsch's first edition "renounced" phonetics and intentionally ignored the distinction of dialects in the grammar work!—two fundamental branches of the study twenty years later. The second edition (1871) made a valiant effort to disengage from the accidents and caprices to which the MSS of the Middle Ages had been subjected the true language and *nuance dialectale* of each poet in the anthology. The good results of this critical method are now everywhere apparent, nowhere more so than in the book before us. In this book we have new evidences of indefatigable scholarship, original, untarnished—not simply old work hiding itself under the convenient terms "revision," "correction," "augmentation." Though this, too, is a chrestomathy, and its plan is analogous to that of the book of 1866, it looks from a loftier perch and has another aim in view. The work of 1866 was intended for beginners; this of 1887 is intended for maturer students. There is a richer critical apparatus added to the texts, complete even for a large number of selections. The centuries of limitation chosen are the ninth and fourteenth instead of the eighth and fifteenth, as in the book of 1866; but, though the new work eliminates two centuries, its range is really more extensive. The author has consciously avoided the reproduction of "morceaux" identical with those contained in the first chrestomathy, while he has made new selections from works deemed indispensable to both. He has also inserted a variety of hitherto unedited texts. In the glossary he has carefully noted citations of the different forms and acceptations of a word; forms are referred to each other; the words are, as far as possible, noted according to the forms they assume in the dialect of central France; and the glossary is exhaustive. Is it a concession to 1870–71 that, for patriotism, or reminiscence' sake, the German equivalents of the definitions are no longer given? The grammatical part of the present work is a great advance on the technical part of the workmanship of the other book. The "phonétique," so much dreaded in 1866, is here in full force, and covers 37 quarto pages. It is a contribution from the pen or the portfolio of Adolf Horning, and concerns itself (as the Grammar does, too) with a sketch of the Isle-de-France or *Francien* system of sounds and inflections. Students will find it a valuable, if not an infallible résumé of the scientific results attained by the arc of scholars stretching from Diez to Tobler. It disclaims personal research except in a few cases connected with the Lorraine *patois*, which have been verified by Horning.

The book begins with the Oaths of Strasburg and ends with the "dits" of Watrquet de Couvin, containing in all about 666 pp., arranged as before in double columns, with "foot-hills" of foot-notes. As the growth of an idea,

as an invaluable contribution to the philology of the Old French, as an evidence of scholarly convictions wrought out with admirable tenacity, as a token of "true love" and lasting constancy to an ambition, as a souvenir of German affection for France, "*La Langue et la Littérature Françaises*" is at once a text and an autobiography, a confession and a life-work, an inspiration and an heirloom.

J. A. H.

Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum edita curante CAROLO SCHENKL.

Cornelii Taciti opera quae supersunt. Recensuit IOANNES MÜLLER. Vol. I. Libros ab excessu divi Augusti continens. Vol. II. Historias et opera minora continens. Lipsiae, 1884 and 1887, G. Freytag.

M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutiones Oratoriae Libri Duodecim. Edidit FERDINANDUS MEISTER. Vol. I. Lib. I-VI. Vol. II. Lib. VII-XII. Lipsiae, 1886 and 1887, G. Freytag.

The critical apparatus of this edition is conveniently given at the bottom of the page. While not so full as that of Halm, it occasionally traces an emendation to a source earlier than that given by Halm, and in so far is more correct. The text in the main is that of Halm, with enough variations to show the editor's independence and acuteness. Here and there one sees evidence of his careful study of the style of the Elder Pliny. In the *Libri ab excessu Augusti*, I 57, 14, he keeps neque *victa*, where Ruperti and Halm read *evicta*. *Victa* is also kept in XII 68, 5. In I 79, 12, *sodaliciorum* is suggested as a possible reading for *sociorum*. In II 43, 20, *sociam* is added after *insectandi*. In II 47, 5, aut *qui* Macedones is read and supported by a reference to Pliny, N. H. 18, 95. In II 61, 7, *spatis* is ingeniously suggested for *spatiis*, without, however, being inserted in the text. So also in III 37, 6, *equitationibus* is suggested for *aedificationibus*, with a reference to Horace, A. P. 162, and Juvenal, I 59 ff. In IV 15, 1, the historical present *adficit* is kept (as also in IV 45, 1), against Ritter and Halm, who read *adfecit*. IV 50, 10, a new reading, *properus in finem*, is proposed, making very good sense. In IV 69, 13, *sui legens* is proposed, after the analogy of *sui oblegens*. *Haud multum* is kept in V 3, 6 and XII 4, 4 for *multo*, and supported by analogies from Pliny. In XI 16, 1, *expetivit* is very plausibly suggested for *petivit*, as *intra* for *ita* in XII 22, 10. A very bold conjecture is *stomacho* for *domo* in XV 50, 21, which is supported by Pliny, N. H. 21, 130, *stomacho ardenti*. Passing over to the Histories, in I 3, 5, *ipsa nex conscita* is certainly a clever conjecture for *necessitas*, and finds some warrant in Pliny, N. H. 36, 107. A very interesting example of chiasmic arrangement is furnished by the reading proposed in I 67, 1: *Plus praedae ac sanguinis plus Caecina hausit*, which, if we compare *omne dehinc caelum et mare omne*, Ann. 2, 23, seems quite possible for Tacitus, although in Ann. 2, 26, *satis iam eventuum, satis casuum*, the chance for a similar chiasmus is not improved. In I 85, 1, where Halm reads *apta ad*, Müller reads for the MS *per od, perinde ad*. The construction seems harsh, but is perhaps defensible; cf. Ann. 16, 13, 7. Space forbids our quoting further changes that have either been made in the text or proposed in the foot-notes. Enough have been given to show that the edition contains much that is new and stimulating, and must find a place in the library of every student of Tacitus.



It is nearly twenty years since Halm's large critical edition of Quintilian was given to the world. The edition before us will not supersede it, inasmuch as the critical apparatus does not pretend to the same fullness. Many variants deemed unimportant are omitted. On the other hand, readings not found in Halm are given from the Notre Dame MS of the tenth century, of which a collation was first published by Émile Chatelain et Jules le Coultre, Paris, 1875, and account has been taken of the emendations of more recent date proposed by Becher, Claussen, Gertz, Iwan Müller, Birt, Kiderlin, Schoell, and other scholars. Much pains has been taken to trace back emendations to their originators and to put the credit where it belongs. The cases are numerous where scholars have anticipated by conjecture readings actually found in certain MSS. Meister has removed from the text certain conjectures accepted by Halm, and restored to honor some found in the early editions. In many cases, too, where Halm has accepted the reading of the Ambrosianus he follows the Bernensis and vice versa, both of these MSS having about equal worth. A table of the readings differing from Halm is given at the end of the second volume. They cover twelve closely printed pages, and are most numerous in Books V, VI, VIII and X. There is also an Index Personarum et Rerum, and an index of the authors quoted by Quintilian. The edition marks a distinct advance, is very convenient in form, and very clearly and correctly printed.

M. W.

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Dr. C. P. CASPARI's Arabische Grammatik. Fünfte Auflage, bearbeitet von AUGUST MÜLLER. Halle, 1887.

The appearance of five German and two English editions of Caspari's grammar within the space of a generation attests the value which has been placed on it by scholars, and may be taken as a guarantee of its excellence. The work in its present form is too well known to call for detailed criticism, especially as this edition, issued to supply the current demand, is speedily to be followed by another. Caspari is to Arabic grammar what Gesenius is to Hebrew—a judicious selection and arrangement of the material needed by the beginner and by every student till he has learned to depend for his facts chiefly on his own reading of Arabic authors. In this regard it has the advantage over Ewald, as well as in the fact that it is written in German (with Wright's admirable edition in English) instead of in Latin. It is superior in arrangement to Palmer's grammar, and fuller than the excellent manuals of Socin and Lansing. In scientific precision of statement it leaves much to be desired; its account of the nature and origin of forms is sometimes crude; its syntax, modeled after native writers, while generous in rules and examples, is often mechanical and unclear. Still, it is the best grammar that can be put into the hands of the student after he has conquered the first difficulties of the language, and he will find it useful for a long time. It is very desirable that such a grammar should be subjected to frequent revisions, which shall bring it into accordance with the generally accepted views of the best scholars without sacrificing its excellences as a textbook. Successive editions of Caspari have, in fact, introduced new improvements, though the latest German issues are hardly equal to Wright's English *bearbeitung*.

The book has now been committed by the publishers to the care of Professor August Müller, to whom they give *carte blanche* to make such changes as he

may think proper. Circumstances, as he explains in the preface, have made it impossible for him at present to undertake the thorough revision which he looks on as necessary. A new issue was required immediately, and he therefore sends out this fifth edition, differing from the fourth only in a few corrections and rearrangements. He announces, however, his purpose to begin work straightway on a sixth edition, which shall be conformed to modern linguistic methods, especially in the exacter treatment of the phonology. Professor Müller's name is guarantee that the announced revision will be performed in a satisfactory manner.

Since the present edition differs hardly at all from its predecessor, only a word of description will be necessary. The paragraphing is excellent, each paragraph being clearly numbered and separated from the others by a good space, thus facilitating references to the grammar. The type employed is large and clear; it is a pleasure to look at the beautifully printed pages. It is a pity, however, that the tables of paradigms are not printed in the same large type which is used in most of the Arabic words occurring in the body of the book: this would have made the acquisition of the forms easier for beginners. The proof-reading has been very carefully done. One slight slip I have

noted in the glossary, where قرآن occurs instead of قرآن, as it is correctly printed elsewhere in the book. It is to be hoped that the next edition will contain a full treatment of the prosody, which is almost entirely lacking in this, only a table of the metres being given. Three indexes and a table of corrections conclude the work. All Arabic students will look with eagerness for the new edition which the editor promises.

J. R. JEWETT.

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A Handbook to Dante. By GIOVANNI A. SCARTAZZINI. Translated from the Italian, with Notes and Additions, by THOMAS DAVIDSON. 12mo, 315 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1887.

Mr. Davidson, who is already known as the translator and expositor of the Philosophical System of Rosmini, and as the author of various works on art and archaeology, has here selected for translation what appeared to him the best existing handbook to Dante. His purpose is to afford an introductory elucidation of the great poet to English-speaking students who may be in need of such an assistance in their own language, or who may not have conveniently at their disposition the latest critical works on the subject in German, Italian, and French. The book thus chosen for presentation in English dress is Scartazzini's *Manuale Dantesco*, which, as the translator rather curiously neglects to inform his readers, appeared at Milan in 1883. While speaking of Dr. Scartazzini as "one of the best Dante scholars of our time," Mr. Davidson does not hesitate to contest at almost every step, in carefully considered foot-notes, the positions and conclusions of the work he has in hand. Moreover, in the body of the text, and apart from any indication of editorial manipulation, we read, not without (under the circumstances) a gentle fillip of surprise, yet with no disposition to dispute the statement (p. 13): "Even in the much-lauded German works of Wegele and Scartazzini we find very little that deserves to be considered the result of new researches."

H. A. T.

## REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Vierter Jahrgang.

Heft 1.

Pp. 1-13. Die dissimilation der littera canina. Eduard Wölfflin. The aversion felt in Latin to a succession of *r*'s in close proximity is well known. An attempt is made in this article to trace out more fully the consequences of this aversion, which showed itself more plainly in the vulgar than in the literary idiom. 1. Genitives in *-rarum*, *-rorum*. Examples of *barbarum* for *barbarorum* are given from Nepos, Phaedrus, and Tacitus. Cicero and Livy seem, however, to have tolerated the longer form with its three *r*'s. The shorter forms, *triarium*, *adversarium*, *virum* (so regularly *duumvirum*, *triumvirum*), *fabrum*, *inferum*, *procurum*, *patricium* (cf. Festus, p. 249M.), illustrate the tendency in question. Cicero, in the orations down to his praetorship, uses *liberum*, but afterward only *liberorum*, following, probably, the strict rule of the schools rather than popular usage. *Plerorumque* is avoided by good classical writers, *plurimorum* and other expressions being used instead; but Vitruvius uses *plerarumque*. Martial uses *sacrum* twice.

2. Comparatives in *-rior*. Not much attention has been paid to the comparison of adjectives ending in *arus*, *erus*, *irus*, *orus*, *urus*. Perhaps a form like *purior* gave less offence, as the *r*'s were separated by two vowels, and one closed while the other began a syllable. The comparative *proprior* was avoided. Seneca used *rariores* and Ovid *barbariora*. *Gnarior* occurs first in Augustine, *ferocior* is commonly used for *ferior*; *serior* is found in Martial; *verior* is common, but the periphrasis with *magis* not less so. Plautus for *miriora* uses, Amph. 1107, *magis mira*; *decentior* forms a convenient comparative for *decorus*, as *sanctior* for *sacer*; and Quintilian has, 10, 1, 94, *tersior ac purus magis*, which is certainly significant. In *avarior* the succession of *r*'s was tolerated both by Plautus and Cicero, so that no fixed rule can be established. *Pluriores*, preserved in French *plusieurs*, is a product of late Latinity.

3. Conjugation. The syncopated forms *ferre* and *ferrem* are thus most naturally accounted for. In *gero* the *r* stands for *s*, and hence the different treatment. In some forms there was no escape from the repeated *r*. Cicero even uses *quod vererere*. Perhaps the old infinitives *amarier*, *moverier*, etc., yielded sooner by reason of this tendency, which may also explain the avoidance of the gen. pl. of future participles, although Ovid has *venturorum*. A reduplicated form like *rerupi* is inconceivable.

4. Word-formation, derivatives. *Tartarus*, *purpura*, and *barbarus* are borrowed words, unaffected by the tendency, but *balbus* seems to be the Lat. form of *barbarus*, as *gurgulio* of γαργυλιών. So *balatro* is, perhaps, rather to be connected with *barathrum* than with *balatus*. *Susurrus* is perhaps for *sursurus*, as the

proper name *Cicirrus* for *Circirus*. We have *Marmar*, but *Mamertini*, *Mamurius*. The Sabine river *Farfarus* appears in Roman form as *Fabaris*, and Pompeius notes as a barbarism *mamor* for *marmor*. Whether *cancer* is but a varied form of *carcer* is extremely doubtful, as also the derivation of *Perpenna* from *Perperna*. The interchange of *l* and *r* is seen in *fraglare*, *lerigio* (for *religio*), *leriquiae*, *columnus*, *corulnus*, *clustrum*, *ullageris*, *grolia* (Neapolitan for *gloria*), and *telebra* for *terebra*. So *flagrare* was doubtless used = *fragrare*, and the confusion thus arising may explain why *flagro* occurs but once in the Vulgate against fifty cases of *ardere*. Much MS evidence for *fraglare* is adduced from Fronto, Florus, Apuleius, and Cyprian. *Febris* seems to be connected with *ferveo* and to have lost an *r* in the first syllable. The well known rule of the terminations *aris*, *alis* is illustrated in *intrialia*, entrails. *Cerealialia* drops an *r* and becomes *cerealialia*. Similar is the relation between *crum* and *clum*. Certain forms of *crebresco* drop one *r*, so *percrebui*.

5. Composition. Illustrated by the following forms: *Impraesentiarum* for *in praesentia rerum*; *horrifer* for *horrorifer*; *peicro*, which Wölfflin strongly asserts cannot be for *peiorare*; *peregrinus*, vulgarly pronounced *pelegrinus*; *praestigiae*; *praegredi* used for *praetergredi*; *propius*, vulgar for *proprius*. In the Romance languages the tendency was still operative; cf. It. *albero* = *arbero*; *albergo* = *heriberger*; *conquidere* = Fr. *conquerir*; *Liperata* = *Riparata*; *prete* = Fr. *prêtre*. So Old French *aubre*, *maubre*, *penre* = *prenre*, *serouge* alongside of *serorge* = *sororius*, etc. Hence, perhaps exceptionally, the Fr. *sœur* comes, not from *sorórem*, which would give *sereur*, but from nom. *sóror*. Doubtless in vulgar and late Latin texts many more such forms are hidden in MS, and the importance of observing these is clearly pointed out by Wölfflin.

Pp. 14-41. A. Otto. Die Natur im Sprichwort. As in the previous numbers the proverbs connected with the names of animals, the names of deities, geographical names, etc., have been treated, so here the proverbial sayings which bear upon the phenomena of nature are classified under different heads and with surprising fullness. No fair idea of the article could be given without quoting many of the proverbs. The main divisions are as follows: 1. Land and sea; 2. heaven and earth; 3. day and night, the stars; 4. the sun; 5. mist; 6. the air and wind, and waves; 7. storm and shower; 8. ice and snow; 9. water in various forms; 10. the sands of shore and desert; 11. mire, as Plautus, Aul. 230, *iaceam asinus in luto*; 12. stones and metals, as iron, steel, lead, gold; 13. pits and chasms; 14. fire; 15. coals and ashes; 16. the straight and crooked; 17. smaller divisions of time.

P. 43. A short note on *mediannus*, by Conrad Hofmann. *Medianus* (Ital. *mezzano*, Fr. *moyen*) is found also in Germanic *meiden* = horse, usually erroneously connected with *Medea*. *Medea* = *μέδεια*, which, however, corresponds to Lat. *medea*, *medea* = *μέδεια* = *μέδεια* (Sophron in Hesychius, L. L. 5, 179).

Pp. 42-43. Dracontius. I. As Corippus was shown in No. 254, to use transitive verbs reflexively, so the same is shown in Dracontius, who lived fifty years before Corippus and was also a poet. Some of the same verbs in this way, as *minuere* =

*minui, mergere* = *mergi, iungere* and *frangere*. Other verbs thus used are *temperare, serenare, crispere, solidare*. Especially frequent is this use in the present active participle, doubtless because of the absence of a present passive participle. So even Cicero has *anno vertente*, and Vergil and others *volventibus annis*. Six cases of *rumpere* thus used are given.

II. That the auxiliary *esse* in the Romance language is represented by forms derived from *stare* is a well recognized fact, e. g. Ital. *stato*, Prov. *estat*, Fr. *été, était* = *stabat*. Corippus, however, uses *extare* in the sense of *esse*, and may not this be the basis of the Romance forms? *Extare* would become *estare* and Ital. *stato* would correspond to *extatus*, as well as *stendere* to *extendere* (Fr. *tendre*), *stenuare* to *extenuare*, etc. The question must be left to Romance specialists. Dracontius also uses *constare* = *esse*.

III. *Expectare* occurs several times in Dracontius in the sense of *spectare*, as 9. 21, *desuper orbem expectant stellasque vagas*. In two places Baehrens has wrongly substituted *aspectare*. The confusion of compound and simple was doubtless the result of the pronunciation *espectare, ispectare* with prosthesis.

IV. A peculiar phenomenon of late Latin, seen also in Sedulius and Corippus, is the use of the present in the sense of the perfect participle, as *nascens* for *natus*, *moriens* for *mortuus*. So Dracontius has, 8, 537, *non iam moriente marito*, and Orest. 702, *Troia pereunte* = *Troia deleta*. Similarly Orestes 352, *fugientis Orestis* = Gk. ἐκπεπυκνός. *Morientis* is also thus used Orestes 764. Metrical necessity may have had some influence here, as neither *mortui* nor *mortuo* fits into hexameter.

P. 51. Note on *temere*, by Wölfflin. The proper scanning is *tēmērē*, not *temerē*. The Hexameter poets use the word before a vowel, presumably only for the sake of getting by elision a long vowel. Hence *temerē* must be the neuter of an adj. form *temeris*, analogous to *facile*.

Pp. 52-67. *Usque* mit accus. Ed. Wölfflin. Less is known about *usque* than about most of the prepositions, and no attempt seems to have been made to ascertain the extent to which it governs the accusative without an intervening *ad* or *in*. This gap in our knowledge the present article seeks to fill. 1. No case occurs in Plautus. In Terence, Ad. 655, *Miletum usque obsecro?* the acc. is the limit of motion and does not depend on *usque*. Similarly Cicero says, Cluent. 192, *usque a mari supero Romam proficisci*. Originally *usque* does not especially refer to the point reached, but to the constant motion continued from one place to another. In Cicero the use is confined to names of towns. There are four examples in the letters to two in the speeches. In pro Deiot. 19, however, we have *usque ad Numantiam misit*. Sanctioned by Cicero, the construction nevertheless did not immediately become common. Leaving Pliny the elder out of account, comparatively few examples can be cited from writers of the first century. Pliny and the geographical writers offer more instances, not confining it to verbs of motion. Tacitus first admits the construction in the Annals, 2, 30, *Brundisium usque*; 3, 5, *Ticinum usque*. Two examples are given from Pliny the younger, four from Suetonius, one from Fronto, one from Scaevola in Dig. 45, 1; 122, 1; and eight from the Scriptores Hist. Aug. In all these *usque* is postpositive.

2. From names of cities the usage extended to other designations of place.

So in the poets Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, and Juvenal. Of this use Pliny has at least 10 examples, but Tacitus and Suetonius none, while Velleius goes so far as to say *extendere usque Alpes*. Florus, 2, 2, 1, according to Cod. Nazarianus, has *fretum usque*. Iustinus uses *usque* with *terminos*, *Aegyptum*, *Euphratem flumen*, and *mare Caspium*. Even the Scriptores Hist. Aug. confine the usage to names of towns, and later Pagan writers are largely bound by the classical usage. Ammianus has but one example, and that correct, 21, 16, 20, *Constantinopolim usque*. Solinus, under the influence of Pliny, uses it with *flumen*, *mare Caspium*, *Indos*, *Cretam*, and *littora*. The Christian writers do not observe the classical fetters. Tertullian's use is very free. The Itala probably translated *ἕως* and *μέχρι* with simple *usque*, and this occasionally has been left in the Vulgata, although before names other than those of towns it regularly has *usque ad*. Augustinus also in this respect is classical.

The poets occasionally use *usque* before names of peoples. With names of countries it is thus used by the following authors: Martianus Capella, Cassianus, Marcellinus, Cassiodorus, Arnobius junior, and Desiderius. So also in geographical-historical works, as Itiner. Alex., Aethicus, Liber Generationis, and Greg. Tur. Names of mountains are but rarely thus found, so in Orosius, Marcellinus, and Aethicus.

With names of rivers it is frequent, beginning with Pliny and Justinus, as seen above, and prevailing postpositive. With *oceanus*, *mare*, *fretum*, *lacus* it is for the most part confined to the geographers. Quite a number of miscellaneous examples are then given, with *civitatem*, *moenia*, *terminum aras*, *stelas*, *campum*, *litus*, etc., all from late writers.

Even the abl. occurs with *usque* in answer to the question whither, just as the Greek *μέχρι* with gen. corresponded more closely to the Lat. abl. A confusion with *tenus*, as in *mento usque*, also promoted this. Among the later grammarians Charisius gives as a model *usque Romam*. Others, as Donatus, Diomedes, Probus, recognize *u. Galliam*, *u. Oceanum*, and *u. arcum*. No one, however, recognizes the abl. or loc. with *usque*, and some entirely refuse to recognize it as a preposition.

3. The use of *usque* with words like *pedes*, *radices* is next considered. It must be admitted in Cato, r. rust. 49, 2; Curtius, 8, 9, 21; Livy, 44, 5, 6, *usque alterius initium pontis*, although here the editors insert *ad*. Celsus repeatedly uses *usque* with such accusatives; Quintilian once, 11, 3, 131, and Statius twice. Numerous examples are given from late Latin. Ulpian indulges in a new license in Dig. 37, 5, 5, 1, *semissem u. legata praestare*. Gaius and the other jurists only recognize *usque* with names of towns.

4. The temporal use is last considered, perhaps first appearing in the epistolary style of Cicero, as ad Att. 3, 10, 1, *usque a. d. Kal. Iun.* Here, of course, *ad* could easily have fallen out and the editors have supplied it. There is one example in Livy. Suetonius even uses *vesperam u.* Palladius, r. rust. 13, 1, has *usque VII Idus Decembris*. Two examples are also given from inscriptions. In medical language the temporal use must have been common, as seen in Celsus. It is strange that Pliny the elder furnishes no example, although he is so fond of the local use.

In the second half of the second century and in the third the language of conversation penetrated largely into literature. Interesting examples of tem-

poral *usque* with the acc. are given from Apuleius, Censorinus, the Itala, and Iustinus, who here again is at variance with the classic prose of Trogus. Going down a little later, it appears that most medical writers returned to the classical rule. A common phrase with physicians must have been *usque (ad) periculum*. Hence, figuratively, Ammian. 17, 4, 15, *erectis u. periculum allis trahibus*, where the editors change to *ad perpendicularum*.

In the historians the temporal use is much more seldom than the local. In Gregory of Tours there are many examples, and even with the abl., as *u. illa die*. In the later juristic sources there are frequent examples. The better patristic writers furnish none, the later here and there one. Finally, a few examples are given from late poetry.

P. 67. *Vice versa* (Wölfflin). In Rhein. Mus. 37, 119 f., the regular order for Latin is shown to be *versa vice*. The modern order occurs in the Romance de Constant. et Hel. 44, which only goes to prove its late composition. Perhaps the earliest example of *versa vice* is Sen. Herc. Oet. 470. Ten other examples are given. *Versa vice* is even retained in the Berne Scholia to Verg. Eclog. 6, 39. Parallel expressions like *mutua vice*, *mutata vice*, *verso ordine* confirm this order.

Pp. 68-87. A. Funck. Die verba auf *illare*. As a rule in language the tendency to use diminutives finds less frequent expression in verbs than in other parts of speech. When a verb is derived from a diminutive noun-form it is, of course, difficult to decide whether the diminutive force affects the verb. In this article all the verbs in *-illo*, whether they can be traced to a noun-stem actually existing or not, are treated under the following divisions: A. Verbs from noun-stems in *-illa*, as 1. *scintillo*. 2. *stillo* and its compounds *destillo*, *instillo*, *subinstillo*, Apicius, 3, 95, of the slow trickling of oil, *perstillo*, *restillo*, and *subterstillo*, not given in Lexica, Vegetius, III 7, the opposite of *superstillo*. 3. *ancillor*, where the diminutive idea is little prominent. *Exancillata*, Tertull. Apol. 17, p. 183, may be from an active *exancillo*. 4. *cavillor*, although the obscure derivation leaves us here in doubt as to whether with *cavilla* any diminutive notion was connected; the rare verb *incavillor*. 5. *furcillo* and *adfurcillo*. B. Verbs from noun-stems in *-illo*. 1. *oscillo*, whose derivation is still doubtful. 2. *murmurillo*. 3. Verbs expressing the voices of birds, as *grillo*, *gracillo*, *cacillo*, etc. 4. *catillo*, explained by Papias = *deglutire vel sonare ut catulus*, found in Plaut. Casin. III 2, 22, according to Goetz, *operam uxoris polliceor foras quasi catillatum* "zum tellerlecken." 5. *bacillo* for *vacillo* (?). 6. *sigillo*, *dissigillo*. Finally some adjective forms are enumerated, like *capillatus*, *circillatus*, *papillatus*, and nouns like *pocillator*, *pugillator*, from some of which verb-forms may be inferred; and denominatives in *-ello*, like *cribello*, receive the merest mention. A few verbs go back to adjectives in *-illo* with apparently no diminutive origin, as *imbecillor*, *tranquillo*. Reference is also made to *singillatim*, *singillatus*, *satullo*, and *obsatullo*. Many of the words given above receive new light, but the lexical treatment is by no means exhaustive.

Pp. 88-97. P. Hirt. *Penes*. A historical treatment, not concluded, with very numerous citations, of the use of this preposition, from the earliest times, which the editor follows with interesting "Erläuterungen," pp. 98-100. He

regards *penes* as the relic of an old loc. *penesi, penese* (cf. *ruri, rure*), from *penus*, the vowel having been lost as in *instar*.

Pp. 100. *Dirigere epistolam*. Wölfflin. This expression was common in the fourth century, and is used by Hieronymus. Perhaps the earliest example belongs to the end of the second century. *Fragm. Muratorianum 40, epistulae Pauli directe volentibus intellegere*. Servius' ascription of the phrase (*Comm. on Aen. VIII 168*) to Cicero's son cannot be trusted, and the first letter of Seneca to the Apostle Paul, in which it occurs, is of course not by Seneca.

Pp. 101-108. Lexical article, taking up the words *abdico, abdomen, abecedaria, abedo, abemo, abequito, aberratio, aberro, abgrego*, and *abhibeo*.—E. W.

Pp. 109-115. *Abhinc* in its temporal and local use. Lexical article, followed by Erläuterungen, by Heinr. Ploen.

Pp. 116-136. G. Gröber. Vulgarlatein. Substrate romanischer Wörter. Continued from *Minaciae, min'sterium* for *ministerium*, as far as *nütire*, not *nütire*.

Pp. 137-147. Miscellen, with the following headings: Randglossen zu Archiv III 355 ff., M. Hertz.—Zu Cato's Fragmenten. 1. Die form *ques*. 2. *Moscillus* or *musculus*. Zu Plin. *Epist. I 5, 14. Melo = Nilus*. O. Keller.—*Accipiter* = Jagdfalke, W. Brandes.—*Adductorium* (= Vorhang), P. Julian Hauer.—*Coluber, Hispali*, Louis Havet.—Aelteste lateinische Inschrift (found upon a gold *fibula* in a grave near Praeneste, MANIOS: MED: FHE: FHAKED: NUMASIOI = Manius me fecit Numerio). Zur Entwicklung des Hendiadyoin. *Ex toto, in totum*, Eduard Wölfflin.

Pp. 148-168. Brief reviews of the literature of 1886-1887.

M. WARREN.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. Wien, 1886-87.

Heft 2.

A paper by O. Brenner, "Italienisch-deutsche vocabulare des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts," has for its special object to call the attention of lexicographers to Adam v. Rotweil's important glossary, "Solenissimo vocabulista," first printed in Venice, 1477. Brenner, while engaged upon an older Venet.-Bavarian glossary of 1424, was led to a study of Rotweil's much neglected work by a treatise of Mussafia (*Beiträge z. Kunde d. norditalischen Mundarten im XV Jahrhundert. Denkschriften d. Wiener Akademie, Vol. XXII, 1873*). Since then he has succeeded in finding a good deal of interesting matter bearing on the subject, and now gives a number of prints of the book and their dates not mentioned by Mussafia.

H. Lorenz, in an article, "Das zeugniss für die deutsche heldensage in d. Annalen v. Quedlinburg," dissents from the views of L. Hoffmann (*Progr. d. höheren Bürgerschule, Rathenow, 1872*) and W. Wattenbach (*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, Vol. I, p. 278*), who pronounced the accounts



touching upon the Thuringian volkssage and the Germ. heldensage in the annals of the eleventh century interpolated. Hoffmann lays particular stress upon the fact that the historical works of the twelfth century which made use of the annals do not quote from the elaborate notices of those sagas found in parts of the work otherwise strikingly meagre. In proof he cites Ekkehard's (?) Chronicle of Würzburg, the *Annalista Saxo*, and the *Annales Magdeburgenses*. In works of this character—a mosaic of abstracts from most varied sources—Lorenz thinks an omission, like the one in question, very possible; besides, the *Ann. Saxo* places the beginning of his history not before the year 714; he had, therefore, but little occasion to speak of the subjugation of the Thuringians, which falls in the reign of Justinian. The *Annales Magdeburgenses* serve as little to support Hoffmann's views. In the text of this work the very sheets that treat of the time of Justinian are wanting. Hoffmann erroneously names Ekkehard von Aura as the author of the Würzburg Chronicle. Later research has shown that it originated in the commencement of the twelfth century, independent of Ekkehard, and before his *Weltchronik*, but used by him in compiling his own work. The few allusions to the German heldensage in the Würzburg Chronicle were no doubt taken from the Quedlinburg Annals, and not vice versa, as Hoffmann thinks. That these allusions should have been so sparing is explained by the circumstance that the chronicler did not wish to write a lengthy *Weltchronik* like Ekkehard. The Quedlinburg Annals of the beginning of the eleventh century and the succeeding first part of the bulk of the work have the same author, who is another witness to the fact that probably as early as the end of the tenth century the heroic legends of Germany, then familiar to many, were written down, and not, as Hoffmann holds, at a later time when people had begun to forget them.

P. Zimmermann, "Die geschichtlichen bestandtheile im Reinfrid," furnishes some more proofs of the indebtedness of this poem to the facts and sagas grouped round Henry the Lion. It would appear that up to comparatively recent times their connection was not noticed. W. Wackernagel first called attention to it, and with Karl Goedeke's exhaustive analysis (*Archiv d. hist. Vereins f. Niedersachsen*), and the complete edition of the poem by Bartsch, who in the introduction to his "Herzog Ernst" had already treated the entire cycle of legends that referred to Henry the Lion, the study of the *Reinfrid* entered upon a new phase.

F. Jostes continues his "Beiträge zur kenntniss d. niederdeutschen mystik," and prints the last chapters of a paper MS originally found in an Augustine convent at Geldern. Judging from the context, it may be termed a compendium of mysticism.

A paper of Felix Liebrecht, "Sur une ancienne famille d'Anus," was wisely left to the decent obscurity of a learned journal, and we cannot undertake to summarize in English what Liebrecht has to say about the antiquity of the family and its position in the mythology of Greece. Even in Liebrecht's discussions on the curious customs of proktoscopy, "stellt oft ein (fremd) wort zur rechten zeit sich ein."

G. Zülch announces the discovery of some fragments from the fourteenth century of Wolfram's Willehalm in the library of Baron Simmern; and E. Lohmeyer and K. Bartsch publish abstracts from the catalogues of the Count Starhemberg Library at Efferding and the Royal Public Library at Dresden (Leipzig, 1882-83).

The Miscellany contains the report of the October meeting (1885) of German philologists (Sec. Germ.—Romance) in Giessen, and minor communications "Zu Tatian," "Schwankgeschichte," "Ein altgermanischer hundenname," from Bartsch and Hugo Brunner.

### Heft 3.

This number opens with a continuation of R. Brandstetter's paper on the "Luzerner Bühnenrodel" (sixteenth century). After speaking in a former number of the Germania of the dress and equipment of the actors, he now furnishes us with a precise description (accompanied by diagrams) of the arrangement of the stage, auditorium and scenery.

"Zur kritik des Wessobrunner gebetes," by E. v. d. Hellen, contains another protest against Müllenhoff's textual criticism of that monument. M., it will be remembered, endeavored to make the beginning of the poem conform to the metre of the Lioðaháttir strophe. This necessitated some changes in the original wording and the striking out of the line "noh paum noh pereg ni uuas," considered by him an absurd interpolation of the first compiler (cf. K. Müllenhoff, *de carmine Wessofontano*, Berlin, 1861). From the absence of reference to Bible or learned theologian, (compare Muspilli 37, 48), but simply to verbal tradition (*mit firahim*), from the change of metre (Lioðaháttir of the first strophe (M.'s own) to the long narrative verse of the second), from the want of traces of Low German in the second strophe, etc., Müllenhoff, moreover, argued two distinct parts of the metrical portions of the MS: a heathen Saxon (beginning to *scō*) and a Christian High German (*dō dar to heilac*). We cannot follow E. v. d. Hellen through his various arguments against these theories, but may briefly give his conclusions, viz., that the first compiler did well not to leave out the words "noh paum noh pereg ni uuas," for by taking *ero* (second line) as an adverbial genitive form of *ēr* = einst (cf. Dietrich, gen. sing. in *e*, Hist. Decl. p. 26, and *ciris*, Merseburg. Zaubersp. 1), instead of translating it by *erde*, those words will cease to be a foolish interpolation of the compiler, but become a poetical metaphor of the author: Das einst nicht war weder der himmel oben noch (baum noch berg) = *erde*; that the reference to verbal tradition only, does not necessarily stamp the first strophe as of heathen origin, for the Saxon received Christianity verbally through Winifred and the Franks; and that the absence of Low German in the final strophe may be accounted for by its particular context, which consists of formulas and expressions that, as the result of a Christian training common to both Saxon and High German, may have been readily and involuntarily turned by the High German compiler into his mother tongue. The *prose* prayer at the end of the monument was added subsequently (in Upper Germany) to the metrical part, the latter a *Christian poem of Saxon origin in alliterative long narrative verse*, complete as to sense, which makes the fragmentary character claimed for it doubtful. The original MS (Munich) offers but little to emend.

K. v. Bahder reports particulars respecting several fragments of the fourteenth century, "Aus dem jüngeren Titulrel" and "Einem Nld. Margarethenleben," discovered in the Copenhagen University Library, and A. Jeitteles and G. Ehrismann publish a "Lobgesang auf Maria," of the fifteenth century, from an Insbruck MS, and a "Spruch auf den Schwäbischen städtekrieg," of the year 1449, from the Klein-Heubach Renner MS.

G. Ehrismann, "Zum Stricker" (Kleinere Gedichte, XI 207), suggests Henry Dandolo, the famous Doge of Venice, as the blind Duke Henry mentioned by Stricker, instead of L. Jensen's *Heinricus caecus comes Namurcensis* and Lachmann's Austrian *Medlinger* (cf. Iwein, Anmerkung 5522), of both of whom there is no record that they ever were in Venice. The title *doge* is often rendered by *herzog* in M. H. G. works. In addition Ehrismann gives the result of his examination of the Augsburg version of Hugo v. Trimberg's "Renner" and its relation to the other MSS of the poem.

Walter Müller gives an account (appending the closing verses) of the most complete MS of the "Väterbuch," the Strassburg version, and H. Herzog sends two minor contributions, "Zum Cltes und Engelhart," and "Her Goeli." The first contribution mentions some traits in Konrad v. Würzburg's Engelhart borrowed from the Cliges of Christien de Troyes; the last brings proofs that Diethelm v. Baden, surnamed Goeli, and the minstrel of that name were identical.

F. Holthausen, "Beiträge zur vergleichenden märchen und sagenkunde," furnishes some variants of the *märchen* "Das aufgehaltene schiff" and "Der grenzlauf," gathered by him from Latin, Norwegian, and Low German sources, which lovers of folklore will gladly welcome. F. Reitzenstein sends "Althochdeutsche glossen aus Rom" (Palat. lat. 288, Vaticana), and L. Niessen a catalogue of the library of the convent of St. Barbara in Delft (tenth century).

S. Singer publishes an acrostic from the Willehalm d. Ulrichs v. d. Turlin in the Heidelberg MS 395, and O. Böckel and Anton Nagele contribute "Segen aus dem Odenwalde" (a number of charms against sickness, etc.), and the "Hannsen-Weintrinken," a curious custom in Upper Carinthia, which Nagele thinks may possibly be connected with the *Johannis-Minne* (cf. Simrock, Handb. d. deut. Myth. p. 511).

The chapter on literature offers a great deal of folklore and fairy tale in the reviews by F. Liebrecht of three works chiefly on those subjects. The books discussed are: ΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΚΡΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΥΠΟ Ν. Τ. ΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ, 1885; Legends and superstitions of the sea and of sailors in all lands and at all times, by Fletcher S. Basset, Lieut. U. S. Navy, Chicago and New York, Belford, Clarke & Co., 1885; and Spielmannsbuch, novellen in versen aus d. 12 und 13 jahrhundert, übertragen v. W. Hertz, Stuttgart, 1886.

The Miscellany contains an "Abriss d. dänischen sprachgeschichte," published by permission of the author, Prof. L. Wimmer in Copenhagen, by Ferdinand Holthausen, and a series of letters, "Aus dem brieflichen nachlasse Karl August Hahns."

## Heft 4.

Dr. O. Behagel sends an article, "Zum Heliand und zur Heliand-Grammatik," which again attests the activity and thoroughness that generally characterize his researches. In this paper he deals with the "Capiteleintheilung im Cottonianus," "der innern geschichte des Monacensis," "der dentalen spirans," and "der *n*-flexion." We will briefly state his conclusions regarding two points. In the first paragraph the question is simply this: Are the divisions in the Cottonianus text the work of the author or of the copyist? The answer is, very likely the author's, for the divisions are nearly all entirely suitable and well considered, and where this is not the case, the mistake is so glaring that neither the author nor a copyist could ever have committed it, which shows sufficiently that at these places "ein fehler in der überlieferung vorliegen muss." The Monacensis exhibits for the particle *je* the three forms *eo*, *io*, *gio*. That one and the same writer should have varied in this manner is improbable. Everything points to the fact that several scribes were engaged upon the M. text (cf., however, Sievers, Heliand, Halle, 1878).

G. Ehrismann, "Rennerbruchstücke," reports upon some verses in the Royal Library at Dresden, described as originals (Freidank, etc.), but proven to be but extracts from Hugo v. Trimberg's Renner; and L. Laistner sends a paper, "Ur und wisent," which proposes to etymologists a large number of derivations from the roots *ur* and *vis*. (cf. Cook, American Journal of Phil. Vol. 1, p. 61.)

A minor contribution from S. Singer, "Zum Willehalm," dissents from Bartsch, who takes the verses Heinrichs d. Clûsenae (Bartsch, M. D. Gedichte LV, LIII) 7, 524:

des solde noch ein meister!In  
unmêzlich lop lâzen sin, . . .

to be an attack upon Frauenlob. They evidently allude to Ulrich v. d. Tûrlin.

"Ein geschlecht v. d. Vogelweide in Böhmen," by Dr. Wolkan, in Prague, quotes the following entry of the year 1398 from the city roll of Dux, mentioned by F. H. Reide (Beitrag zur geschichte von Dux, 1886), who seems to have also found in the same document a certain Pezold Vogelweid as sheriff in 1390: "Vor uns ist kommen zu gehegter bank Walter v. d. Vogelweide und hot vergabt und verzicht sein haus bei Wazlaw Wainer Franz Passer und seinen erben erblich zu haben." Reide's book affirms that the name *Vogelweider* ceased to exist in Dux 300 years ago. Bartsch, in a note, adds: "Dadurch erhält die nachricht eines meistersanges, wonach Walter ein landherr in Böhmen gewesen, eine gewisse urkundliche beglaubigung."

An article, by K. Christ, "Die sogenannte Otterbusse," is an answer to a theory of Rassmann that connects the killing of an otter with the fate of the Volungs (cf. Wodan und die Nibelunge, American J. of Phil. Vol. III 252). The story of the dragon-slaying is not the peculiar invention of one people. nor is it specially connected with one land. We may find traces of it wherever there are swamps and caves, the abode of poisonous monsters which popular heroes sought to exterminate. The constant reappearance of the dragon among the legends of non-Aryan races, for instance the Chinese,

makes its exclusively Indo-Germanic origin extremely doubtful. The imperial banner of China, like that of the Vikings of old, bears the dragon for its emblem. The word *otter* meant, in the first place, an amphibious animal or watersnake, as the German *otter* (*kreuzotter*), Engl. *adder*, amply testifies (cf. Greek *ὄδωρ*). Thus the *otter* becomes simply the snake, the *lindwurm* or dragon that watches over the treasure (cf. Herakles and Jason myths) which, having been dug from the mysterious lower world, stands under the special protection of its genii. Andvari (a secondary accessory of the northern saga) plays but the part generally assigned to dwarfs—a personification of the miner—who

“With their aprons on,  
A-hammering and smelting so busily  
Pure gold from the rough brown stone,”

and Loki that of the dragon-slayer (otherwise Freyr and the German Siegfried). The northern saga exhibits no trace of a conception of fatal results consequent upon the slaying of an otter, but merely speaks of the *gold* that, according to the ancient law, the Asas offer as *wereld* for the killing of the *man* Ottr, the son of the peasant Hreidmar. The supreme worship directed, for most natural reasons, by southern races, like the Egyptians, to water generally, readily fostered a veneration for the inhabitants of it, even of the most harmful and offensive—an idea certainly foreign to the Germanic races of the north, although the waters did claim their homage, no doubt, as one of the most obvious and striking of the natural forces that surrounded them. If among some Indo-Germanic branches in the south a belief in the sacredness of the otter prevailed (cf. Avesta), it was not the inheritance from an earlier well watered and colder home, but an idea developed in a new climate upon a new soil. In the combat of Herakles with the Lernean hydra and its tragic consequences, we look in vain for anything that would stamp the killing of that snake a crime, and of the inviolability of the hydra the Greek belief knew as little as the original Nibelungensaga among the heathen Riparian Franks did of the sanctity of the fish-otter and its bearing upon the fate of the Volungs. From the *curse-laden* gold emanates the fatal issue to all.

J. Baechtold has a short communication, “Zur geschichte der Manessischen liederhandschrift,” in which he quotes from a description of the MS by the Schaffhausen chronicler, Johann Rueger (1548–1606). In 1607 the MS was in Heidelberg. K. G. Andresen discusses the origin of the family names *Delius*, *Langguth*, *Astfalk*; and K. Bartsch shows from the rhymed beginning of a deed of gift, dated Constance 1290, how poetry invaded at that time even law documents.

F. Brachmann contributes an elaborate paper, “Zu den Minnesängern,” in which he objects to the verdicts of Scherer and Burdach, who claimed for the so-called Frauenstrophen in the earlier M. H. G. love-poetry a female authorship. Characteristic of many of these earlier lyric productions (cf. *Minnesangs Frühli*. *Namenlose lieder*, Kürenberg, Dietmar) is that the person speaking is a woman. Brachmann looks upon these strophes “als eine dem epos glücklich entlehnte form,” specially chosen by the earlier lyric poets because they still were shy of confessing to their own tender feelings and rather referred them to woman.

Later Romance influence soon did away with this shyness and also with the *Frauenstrophe*. The M. H. G. love-poetry, as a species of art susceptible of development, was not a continuation of the popular lyric (cf. Wilmanns, *Leben u. dichten* Walters v. d. Vogelweide, p. 18), but an entirely new creation, a result of that movement in the twelfth century in the higher circles, in which the love of the things of the intellect and the imagination for their own sake, the desire for a more comely way of conceiving life, make themselves felt. Brachmann quotes nearly all the principal divergences of opinion on the subject, and treats at great length "Die entstehung des sogenannten wechsls, sein gebrauch und formales" connected with it. The clever article, of which we have only been able to indicate the conclusions reached by the author as regards the "*Frauenstrophen*," well deserves perusal.

The fourth number closes with a paper, "Über die waffen im Angelsächs. *Beowulfliede*," by Hans Lehmann; a minor communication, "Deutsches aus einer Escorialhandschrift," from Bartsch, and a favorable review, by F. Liebrecht, of Dr. Schwartz's book, "*Indogermanischer Volksglaube, ein beitrage zur religionsgeschichte der urzeit*," Berlin, 1885.

Sickness prevented the editor, Dr. Bartsch, from furnishing the usual list of philological works for 1885. It will be printed together with that of 1886.

Heft 1 (20th Vol. neue reihe), 1887, opens with Reinhold Bechstein's "Anmerkungen zu Heinrichs von Freiberg *Tristan*," in the main a comparison of the different readings of that epic and emendations, followed by an article entitled "Handschriften des Reinolt v. Montelban," by F. Pfaff, in which the author replies rather sharply to the remarks of Karl Kochendörffer, passed upon Pfaff's edition of Reinolt (*Anzeiger f. d. deut. Alterthum*. XII, p. 253). In concluding P. exclaims: "Ich freue mich nur, dass es keine andere als die *Zeitschrift f. deut. Alterthum* ist, die wieder einmal diese Nörgeleien bringt."

An interesting paper, "Anklänge an das deutsche volksepos in ortsnamen," by F. Grimme, notes the names of a large number of places once, and some of them still, in existence in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, that suggest in their first component the principal characters in the heroic legends of Germany. These names afford much material for study and research, and may enable us to fix more definitely upon the earliest homes of the popular epics on German soil.

F. Vetter publishes some Latin and German verses from a Bâle MS dated 1435, and J. Neuwirth has a translation of the *Disticha de moribus ad filium*, found in the Cistercian convent Zwettl, of Lower Austria. Among the many MSS of the so-called Cato distiches, so popular during the Middle Ages, this one seems to have been unknown heretofore.

Theo. v. Grienberger, "Zur deutschen heldensage," directs attention to an entry in the Salzburg government archives referring to "Siegfried dictus huernein." F. W. E. Roth prints a Low German poem of the fifteenth century on the *World's end*, from a paper MS in the Darmstadt Library, and G. Ehrismann sends a description of some Renner fragments of the fourteenth century, from the convent of Paulinzell.

A. Jeitteles continues his "Mittheilungen aus Grazer handschriften" (Germ. XXII). After an introduction on the general characteristics of a German version of the legend of St. Louis of Toulouse, the text, which, from an aesthetic point, seems to be of little value, is appended.

Fedor Bech sends two contributions, "Zu Kudrun" and "Zu Walther." Strophe 196, Kudrun (ed. Symons) reads:

Swa er kom ze strlre, er was ein ritter guot (i. e. young, Hagen)  
den höhvertigen helden swachet er den muot.  
von slner vorgetaene nâhen unde verren  
er hiez Vâlant aller kûnege, daz mochte slnen vînden wol gewerren.

Instead of *von slner* (3d line) the MS has *in sein*, for which Bartsch substitutes *mit slner* and Martin *in slner*. All editors, however, agree that the following word, *vorgetaene*, must be a corruption. It is found nowhere else (cf. Bartsch, Kudrun; Martin, Zeitschr. f. d. Phil. 15, 208). Bech suggests the reading:

den höhvertigen helden swachet *ie* der muot  
*vor slner getaene* nâhen unde verren.

i. e. den stolzen helden sank stets der mut vor seinem aussehen (gebahren), in der nâhe wie in der ferne.

"Zu Walther," 25, 35 (Lachmann):

Ouch hiez der vûrste durch der gernden hulde  
*die malhen von den stellen laeren*,  
ors, als ob ez leंबर waeren  
vil manger dan gevûeret hât.

The second line, to give an acceptable sense, has been altered by editors (cf. Bartsch, Walter). Bech proposes a simple change from the customary translations of *stellen* and *laeren* which will obviate the necessity of an interference with the text. He adduces examples from M. H. G. authors in support of his rendition: *Stellen* = sattelgestelle (sattelböcke), not *by ställe* (Pferdeställe) (cf. Jung. Titurel 3138). *laeren* = losmachen, lösen, cf. Stricker's Daniel v. Blumenthal, fol. 130<sup>r</sup> (= Bartsch, Einl. zu Strickers Karl, p. xxix).

A paper by M. Ortner, on the relation of Ulrich v. Lichtenstein to Steinmar, points out the two currents in poetic literature that were contending in Germany in the thirteenth century for the mastery: the fantastic, extravagant love-sighing of Ulrich's lyric, and the popular and satirical element found in Steinmar's poetry. The sickly, aristocratic minnesang was doomed, and with it *das arme minnerlîn* Ulrich von Lichtenstein.

Reports upon some Annaberg fragments of Nicolaus v. Jeroschins ordenschronik and "Alten Handschriftcatalogen," by Otto Melzer, and the editor, Karl Bartsch, close the number.

C. F. RADDATZ.

## JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série VIII, Tome IV.

No. 1. Juillet, 1884.

This number is almost entirely occupied by the annual report of M. James Darmesteter, which he made at the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society, June 27th, 1884. He gives a short account of the work of François Lenormant, Charles-François Defrémery, and Benjamin-Raphael Sanguinetti, all of whom had died within the past year, and briefly reviews the progress made in the various departments of Oriental study.

No. 2. Août-Septembre-Octobre, 1884.

M. Abel Bergaigne continues his studies on the lexicon of the Rig-Veda.

M. H. Sauvaire continues his studies in Moslem numismatics and metrology. Among other weights he treats at great length the *raʿṭ*, and gives a long table showing the weight of the *raʿṭs* of different places.

In their studies on the epigraphy of Yemen, Messrs. Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg give a short account of the travels of Ed. Glaser in southern Arabia. M. Glaser reached Hodaïda, October 11, 1882, and though after some delay he was allowed to settle at San'â and make meteorological and astronomical observations, it was not till October 16, 1883, that he made his first journey. He made in all three trips and copied 276 inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions, many of them unpublished, and others valuable for correcting texts already known.

In his Buddhist studies, M. Léon Feer treats of the Avadâna Jâtakas.

M. Pavet de Courteille reviews a Jagatai-Osman-Turkish dictionary, by Sheikh Suleiman Efendi Bokhari, Constantinople (1880-81).

The last three pages and a half are occupied by the remarks made at the meeting of October 10 by M. Barbier de Meynard, in memory of the late Stanislas Guyard.

No. 3. Novembre-Décembre, 1884.

M. Camille Imbault-Huart gives the legend of the first pope of the Taoists, and the history of the pontifical family of Tchang.

M. Abel Bergaigne continues his studies in the lexicon of the Rig-Veda.

M. René Basset continues his notes on Berber lexicography, by treating of the dialect of the Beni Menacer. During a short stay at Cherchel, in June, 1884, M. Basset collected some texts and a vocabulary of this dialect. In this number he gives a short history of the city of Cherchel, and then treats briefly the phonetics and morphology of the dialect.

M. Ernest Renan is elected president of the society, in place of M. Adolphe Regnier, deceased.

Tome V. No. 1. Janvier, 1885.

M. H. Dulac gives, in text and translation, four stories in the dialect of Upper

Da Duval gives the original and the translation of eight Syriac from the district of Salamis, Persia.



M. Camille Imbault-Huart describes the pilgrimage to the Mountain of the Mysterious Peak, near Peking, speaks of the mid-autumn festival and the myth of the lunar rabbit, and discusses the condition of the peasant in the north of China.

M. N. Siouffi has an article on Sheikh 'Adi and the sect of the Yezidees.

Barbier de Meynard reviews favorably Marabout et Khonan, étude sur l'Islam en Algérie par Louis Rinn.

No. 2. Février-Mars-Avril, 1885.

M. O. Houdas gives the translation of an Arabic monograph on the city of Méyyunez.

M. René Basset, in his discussion of the dialect of the Beni Menacer, gives a vocabulary and some texts of this dialect, with transliteration and translation.

M. James Darmesteter, in an article on Nimrod's Arrow, derives from the Chinese, through the medium of the Persians, the Jewish and Moslem legend of Nimrod's arrow shot at the sky and returning bloody.

M. Cl. Huart, in his notice of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian books printed at Constantinople, 1882-4, after noticing the great progress made within the last few years in the typography of Turkish books, gives the titles of 71 works in the departments of theology, religions, sciences, and legislation, and 102 in the departments of literature, ethics, and poetry.

M. Senart discusses the author and language of the inscriptions of Piyadasi. He believes Piyadasi and Açoka to be one and the same king, and places the accession of Piyadasi about 273 B. C.

M. L. Marcel Devic reviews Sejarat Malayou. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1884, petit in-8, 392 pp.

M. Jules Preux reviews Minhāj at Ṭālibīn "Le guide des zelés croyants, manuel de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite de Châfi'ī. Texte arabe avec traduction et annotations par C. Van Den Berg. Batavie, 1882-4. Trois volumes grand in-8.

M. Basset gives in a letter the details of some of the first results of his expedition to study some of the Berber dialects.

No. 3. Mai-Juin.

In his study on the inscriptions of Piyadasi, M. Senart discusses the information which these monuments give on the administration, history, and religious ideas of Piyadasi-Açoka.

M. Cl. Huart, in his Ottoman bibliography, gives 39 titles in the departments of literature, ethics, and poetry, 24 in history and biography, 85 in various sciences, 87 in linguistics, composition, and grammar, and 24 periodicals.

M. Léon Feer discusses marriage by purchase in Aryan India.

M. H. Sauvaire finishes the second part of his studies in Moslem numismatics and metrology.

M. E. Senart reviews Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, translated under the title : *Études sur les mœurs religieuses et sociales de l'Extrême Orient*, par Sir Alfred Lyall, traduit de l'anglais. E. Thorin, 1885.

M. H. Zotenberg gives an extract of his study on the Book of Barlaam et Joasaph.

Dr. Saad, of Hanéguine, a town near the Turkish-Persian boundary, describes that town and the pilgrims of Kerbéla.

Tome VI. No. 1. Juillet, 1885.

This number is almost entirely taken up with the annual report made by M. James Darmesteter. The society had suffered heavily in the loss by death of M. Adolphe Regnier and of Stanislas Guyard, that brilliant scholar whose death in the prime of life was such a loss to science.

No. 2. Août-Septembre-Octobre, 1885.

M. G. Maspero gives an Arabic version, with translation, of the story of Rhampsinitus. This story, contained in Maspero's book entitled "*Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*," had been related to some of the natives, and by them related to others, till Maspero managed to secure this version of it.

M. F. Scherzer gives the first part of the translation of a description of Corea, written in Chinese by a Corean whose name is unknown.

M. J. Halevy gives an essay on the origin of the Indian alphabets. The inscriptions of King Piyadasi are drawn up in two kinds of characters, one the so-called Aryan, and the other the Indian, the former being used in the north-west, the latter in the south. According to Halevy, the Aryan alphabet is essentially Aramaic, and he puts the creation of this alphabet at about 330 B. C. The Indian alphabet, according to Halevy, is derived from the Aramaic, the Aryan, and the Greek, and is therefore somewhat less ancient than the Aryan.

M. René Basset continues his notes on Berber lexicography.

M. Abel Bergaigne opposes Ludwig's views of the chronology of the Rig-Veda.

M. Léon Feer reviews Duka's *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Koros*.

No. 3. Novembre-Décembre, 1885.

After some preliminary remarks, M. Sylvain Lévi gives text and translation of the first book of the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī*.

In his note on the origin of Persian writing, M. J. Halevy claims to demonstrate beyond a doubt that the Persian alphabet has its origin in the phonetic signs of the neo-Babylonian cuneiform writings.

The last article is by M. Clément Huart, who publishes, translates, and annotates the quatrains of Bâbâ Yâbir 'Uryân, which are written in what M. Huart calls Moslem Pehlevi, which is the name he gives to the dialects of the north of Persia.

## Tome VII. No. 1. Janvier, 1886.

M. C. Barbier de Meynard gives the text and translation of a comedy in Azeri Turkish, entitled the Alchemist.

M. Basset continues his notes on Berber lexicography.

## No. 2. Février-Mars-Avril, 1886.

M. H. Zotenberg discusses the history of Gal'ad and Schlmās, which he thinks reached the Moslems through a Christian edition. He gives the text of the story of the "Mendicant monk and the broken pitcher," according to the book of Gal'ad and Schlmās, and also according to the book of Kalila and Dimna.

M. H. Sauvare continues his studies on Moslem numismatics and metrology by discussing measures of capacity.

M. Sylvain Lévi discusses the MSS of the *Bṛihatkaṭhāmañjarī* of Kshemendra, gives a table of the contents of the work, and gives the text and translation of the first two chapters of the "Twenty-five stories of the Vampire."

M. F. Scherzer gives the remainder of the account of Corea translated by him from the Chinese.

M. Pavet de Courteille reviews Scheibāni Nāmeḥ, *Die Scheibaniade, ein özbekisches Heldengedicht in 76 Gesängen, von Prinz Mohammed Salih aus Charezm. Text, Übersetzung und Noten von Hermann Vambéry, Wien, 1885.*

Rubens Duval reviews *Imitatio Christi, nunc primum ex latino in Chaldaicum idiomatis Urmiae Persidis translata. Parisiis, 1885, in-12, 254 pp.*

*Manuel de piété ou livre de prières, de méditations et des offices, en langue chaldéenne. Paris, 1886, in-12, 515 pp.*

## No. 3. Mai-Juin, 1886.

M. H. Ferté gives the text and translation of an extract from the *divan* of Shaf'a Asar, a Persian satirical poet who flourished at the end of the seventeenth century.

M. H. Sauvare continues his studies in Moslem numismatics and metrology.

M. C. Harlez gives the translation of a document describing the organization of the empire of Kin.

M. Senart discusses the grammar of the inscriptions of Piyadasi.

## Tome VIII. No. 1. Juillet-Août, 1886.

M. Clermont Ganneau studies the words Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin, Dan. V 25. He thinks the words Mene and Upharsin are names of weights, the former being twice the latter, while Tekel is either a name of a weight or the verb to weigh. He does not attempt, however, to decide what interpretation should be given these words, although he suggests several.

In his study on the inscriptions of Piyadasi, M. Senart discusses the general characteristics of the language and its historical position.

M. H. Sauvare, in his notes on Moslem numismatics and metrology, continues his discussion of the measures of capacity.

Barbier de Meynard reviews *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, by W. Robertson Smith. Cambridge, 1885, 1 vol. in-8, xii et 322 pp.

No. 2. Septembre-October, 1886.

M. Abel Bergaigne discusses the primitive *Samhitā* of the *Rig-Veda*.

M. H. Sauvaire continues his studies on the Moslem measures of capacity.

M. Senart's study on the inscriptions of Piyadasi, chapter fifth, entitled *The language of the edicts and the linguistic history of India*, discusses (1) the chronology of the inscriptions, (2) mixed Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit, (3) monumental *Prākṛit* and literary *Prākṛits*.

M. J. Halevy, in his article on the star called *Kakkab Mešri* in Assyrian, opposes Oppert's and Jansen's translation of II R. 28, col. 1, 13-15, gives a translation of his own, and supposes the *Kakkab Mešri* to have been *Sirius*, and not, as Jansen supposed, *Antares*.

M. A. Amiard discusses a sentence of the inscription of *Eschmounazar*.

No. 3. Novembre-Décembre, 1886.

M. Senart concludes his study on the inscriptions of Piyadasi, gives a list of the readings where the text of Bühler differs from his own, and adds an index of all the words which are found in the inscriptions which he has passed in review.

M. H. Sauvaire begins the fourth and last part of his notes on Moslem numismatics and metrology by discussing linear and superficial measures.

M. A. Pavet de Courteille reviews *Die Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen geschildert von Hermann Vambéry*. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1885.

M. Rubens Duval reviews *Syrische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie*, herausgegeben und erklärt von D. Chwolson, mit einer Tafel. Saint-Petersbourg, 1886, in-4, 30 pp.

M. J. Oppert criticises severely Halevy's translation and conclusions in his article on the star called *Kakkab Mešri*, and believes that this star is neither *Sirius* nor *Antares*, but is either  $\alpha$  *Ursae Minoris* or  $\alpha$  *Draconis*.

Tome IX. No. 1. Janvier, 1887.

M. Bouriant gives three fragments of a romance of Alexander in the Theban dialect. He discusses very briefly the two branches of the Alexander legend, the western originating in Egypt, the eastern in Persia, believes the Egyptian branch is the older, and thinks these three fragments are the debris of a Coptic version of a Demotic romance of Alexander.

M. de Harlez gives the translation of two sections of a Chinese philosophical work.

M. Clermont-Ganneau gives a critical examination of the text of the column of Mesa, in which he criticises Smend and Socin's edition of the text. He expresses the hope that some more fragments of the column may be secured from the Bedouin.

No. 2. Février-Mars, 1887.

M. E. Amélineau gives the text and translation of a Coptic document of the thirteenth century, entitled *The Martyrdom of John of Phanidjôit*. This is interesting as being one of the two small works in which we can get a glimpse of the Moslem domination from a Coptic standpoint. The text is prefaced by a résumé of its contents and some remarks as to its value for history and geography.

M. Abel Bergaigne gives a long article entitled *New researches on the history of the Samhitâ of the Rig-Veda*.

M. H. Zotenberg says that in a MS recently acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale is found the text of the story of the *Sleeper Awakened*, of which Habicht's text is only an abridgment; also the text of the stories of 'Alâ ad Dîn and Zain al Asnâm, the Arabic text of which has been hitherto unknown.

M. A. C. Barbier de Meynard reviews *Menoutchehri*, poète persan du XI siècle de notre ère, texte, traduction, notes et introduction historiques par A. de Biberstein Kazimirski. Paris, Klincksieck, 1887, 1 vol. in-8. The reviewer speaks very highly of it, and says it is of great value for Moslem history, poetry, and lexicography.

J. R. JEWETT.

PHILOLOGUS, XLIV 1-4.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-29. Greek manuscripts from Fayyûm (continuation). Reported by Hugo Landwehr. II. Excerpts from Gregor. Nyssen. *Θεωρία εἰς τὸν τοῦ Μωυσέως βίον*. III. Appendix to I and III. IV. A fragment of the *Ἀναλυτικὰ ἱστορεῖα* I of Aristotle.

2. Pp. 30-48. Contributions to the criticism of the *Eumenides* of Aischylos, by B. Todt. Critical discussion of 14 passages.

3. Pp. 49-60. The Boeotian dialect of Pindar, by A. Führer. The conclusion arrived at is "dass Pindar allerdings unter dem einfluss der sprache der epischen poesie, des 'dichterischen grundstocks für alle folgende poesie,' nur in seinem heimatlichen dialekte gedichtet hat." The author hopes to prove the same of all Greek lyric poets.

3a. P. 60. Note on Veget. *Epit. rei mil.* III 12, by A. Eussner.

4. Pp. 61-87. New observations on Lucretius, Book I, by Fr. Susemihl.

4a. P. 87. Note on Veget. *Epit. rei mil.* IV 32, by A. Eussner.

5. Pp. 88-105. The composition of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, by Theodor Fritzsche. The author maintains that this work is *not* to be divided into three distinct epistles, but that vv. 1-219 form the general treatise, vv. 251 to the end the special application, and 220-250 the transition, being a recapitulation of what precedes and introduction to what follows.

5a. P. 105. N. Wecklein proposes *δνοφερὰν* for *φοφερὰν* in Soph. Oed. Tyr. 153.

6. Pp. 106-31. Flavianæ. Investigations of the history of the Flavian period, by A. Chamblu. I. The second and the fifth consulship of Domitian. II. The constitutional contest between Titus and Vespasian (to be continued).

6a. P. 131. Note on Minutius Felix Octav. 5, 8 (*semen* for *semet*), by A. Eussner.

7. Pp. 132-63. Reports. Dio Cassius (continuation), by Herman Haupt.

7a. P. 163. Note on Veget. Epit. rei mil. I 2, by A. Eussner.

8. Pp. 164-92. Miscellaneous.

A. Pp. 164-83. Interpretation and criticism of authors:

I. Aesch. Sept. c. Theb. vv. 600-606, by A. Lowinski.

II. On the literature of the Greek tragedians (continuation), by Hermann Schrader. Discussion of a few Scholia Sophoclea.

III. On Charon of Lampsakos, by Alfred Wiedemann.

IV. On Athenæus, III, p. 85, by J. Lunák. Read *Περὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ Διολίδος* (not *λεπάδος*).

V. On Catullus, c. 49, by C. Jacoby.

VI. On P. Annii Florus, Virg. or. an poeta, p. xli (Jahn), A. Eussner.

B. Pp. 183-5. On Greek history:

VII. Phlegon on the Olympic festival of Iphitos, by G. F. Unger.

C. Pp. 185-92. Extracts from journals, etc.: *Revue Archéologique*, 1882, 2-8. *Westminster Review*, 1883, July and October.

#### No. 2.

1. Pp. 193-200. On a system of tachygraphy of the fourth century before Christ, by Hugo Landwehr.

1a. P. 200. Note on Cic. Part. orat. §53 and Brut. §259 f., by Th. Stangl.

2. Pp. 201-27. The Greeks in the Troad, and the Homeric epos, by Karl Sittl. In this article the views of the author expressed in Vol. xliii, pp. 1-31, are defended and still further supported by historical considerations. The emigrations and settlements of the Ionians and Aeolians are discussed, and their relations to each other in Asia defined. Also the historical features of the Iliad, including the hero legends, are brought to bear upon the question. The conclusion (as could be foreseen) is: "Die behauptung, dass die Ionier die epische dichtung von den Aeoliern überkommen haben, entbehrt jedes historischen beweiſes."

3. Pp. 228-35. On the unprosodic hymns of Gregorius Nazianzenus, by Friedrich Hanssen.

3a. Note on Theogn. 626 (*τοῦτ' ὀδυνηρότατον* for *τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν*), by R. Peppmüller.

4. Pp. 236-61. Heraclidea. A contribution to the question of the literary work of the elder Herakleides of Pontos and Herakleides Lembos, by Hermann Schrader.

5. Pp. 262-78. On the use of alliteration in the Roman prose writers, by Julius Bintz. This article is a considerable advance on the previous treat-

ment of the subject. After enumerating the works that had appeared since 1829, and briefly indicating the gist of some of them, the author announces that the object of his article is to show that in certain grammatical constructions alliteration was often consciously employed to mark the emphatic words. He then gives the formulae in which alliteration is thus made use of, and cites examples from various authors. In this *précis* one illustration for each case will be cited. The first group of predications is: I. "*a*, or rather *b*"; II. "Not *a*, but *b*"; III. "*a*, not *b*"; IV. "Rather *a* than *b*."

I. "*a*, or rather *b*." Examples not numerous. Cic. Phil. II 18, 46: *sedavi vel potius sustuli*.

II. "Not *a*, but *b*"; *non—sed*. The abundance of examples shows that the Romans, especially Cicero, were very fond of alliteration in sentences of this kind. Cic. ad Att. VII 9, 4: *praeterit tempus non legis sed libidinis tuae*. Here belong also *ne—quidem—sed, si non—tamen, non tam—quam*.

III. "*a*, not *b*"; *—non*. Here, too, Cicero is fond of alliteration, as Brut. 15, 58: *latrant enim iam quidam oratores, non loquuntur*.

IV. "Rather *a* than *b*." 1. *Magis quam*, as Cic. ad Att. I 16, 5: *fuerunt quos fames magis quam fama commoverit*. Here belong *malo quam, non minus quam*, comparative with *quam*, comparative with *quam* and a comparative, *praestat quam*. 2. *Potius quam*. Quintil. X 6, 7: *ex memoria potius repetimus quam ex materia*. 3. *Plus quam*. Cic. de Harusp. Resp. 18, 38: *an tibi luminis obesset caecitas plus quam libidinis*. 4. *Prius quam*. [Two examples cited, neither of them striking.]

Then other formulae are taken up, as follows:

I. *Non modo* (or *non modo non*): (1) *non modo—sed etiam*; (2) *non modo—verum etiam*; (3) *non modo—verum*; (4) *non modo non—sed*; (5) *non modo (non)—sed ne quidem*. Cic. Phil. I 6, 14: *non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne vultu quidem assensus est*.

II. *Non solum—verum etiam, sed etiam, sed*. Cic. pro Marc. 10, 32: *non solum sapientiae, sed etiam sanitatis*.

III. *Non tantum—sed, sed etiam, verum etiam*. Senec. Ep. 97: *non primum est tantum ad vitia, sed praeceptis*.

IV. *Tam—quam*. Quintil. VI 3, 101: *tam salse dicendi quam severe*.

V. *Ut—ita*, etc. Cic. in Verr. I 1, 2: *ut ad audiendum proiectus—sic paratus ad audiendum*.

VI. *Alius—alius*, and the like. Senec. de Ira III 11: *alia differenda sunt, alia deridenda, alia donanda*. So, *alter—alter, partim—partim, nunc—nunc, hinc—hinc, hinc—inde, hinc—illinc, hic—ille*.

VII. *Is (idem)—qui*. Liv. II 24, 2: *ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent*. Here belong *eo—quo, tot—quot, tantum—quantum*.

VIII. Alliteration is very common with *et, -que, atque*, but rare with *et—et*. Cic. ad Fam. VII 1, 3: *et operam et oleum perdidisse*—a common phrase.

IX. *Aut—aut*. Cic. in Verr. I 10, 27: *aut in tabulis aut in testibus*. Similarly *vel—vel*.

X. Very common is alliteration in double questions. Tacit. Ann. XIV 51: *incertum valetudine an veneno*.

XI. It is very effectively used with anaphora, especially by Tacitus, but also by other authors. Cic. in Pison. 20, 46: *hae sunt impiorum furiae, hae flammae, hae faces*.

XII. Likewise in the different sorts of asyndeton. Cic. pro Ligar. 10, 30: falsi testes, fictum crimen. [The examples are chiefly cases of antithesis, like μέν—δέ clauses in Greek.]

The obvious conclusion is that alliteration was not merely a privilege of the poets in general, or the old poets in particular, but was employed by prose writers as a means of sharpening the emphasis of contrast and the like.

5a. P. 278. Note on a transposition in Plaut. Aulu. III 5, by Johannes Simon.

6. Pp. 279-90. On the construction of Caesar's bridge, Caes. B. G. IV 17. By Rudolf Menge.

6a. P. 290. Four notes on Cicero's rhetorical works, by Th. Stangl.

7. Pp. 291-9. Suetonius' reputed work on the Civil War, by Herman Haupt. The conclusion is that Suetonius not only did not write the work in question (used by Hieronymus), but never wrote any special work at all on the Civil War.

8. Pp. 300-52. Reports. Eutropius (continuation), by C. Wagener.

8a. P. 352. Note on Cic. Orator. 4, 16, by Heinrich Deiter.

9. Pp. 353-84. Miscellaneous.

A. Pp. 353-66. Accounts of manuscripts:

I. A palimpsest of the Elements of Euclid, reported by J. L. Heiberg.

B. Pp. 366-71. Interpretation and criticism of authors:

II. On Soph. Trach. 307-313, by Ph. Braun. Arrange as follows: 307, 311, 310, 308, 309, 312, 313.

III. On Caes. Bel. Civ. I 48, 5, by H. Deiter.

IV. On Plin. N. H. XXX 4, by Philipp Keiper.

V. On Tac. Dialog. de Orat. 32, by Th. Stangl.

C. Pp. 371-6. Roman history:

VI. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, consul suffectus of the year 39, by C. Wolffgram.

D. Pp. 377-84. Extracts from journals, etc.: Revue Archéologique, 1882, 9-12; 1883, 1-6.

At the end of this number are plates of Caesar's bridge, and of the shorthand system discussed in the first article.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 385-400. Odysseus among the Phaeacians. A critical discussion of several passages of ζ and η (to be continued), by A. Scotland.

1a. P. 400. Note on Hor. Sat. I 1, 69, and Epist. I 4, 6, by N. Wecklein.

2. Pp. 401-41. Helena-Kassandra and Skamander-Xanthos. A contribution to the onomatology and history of the Greek hero-legends, by Gustav Hinrichs.

3. Pp. 442-70. On the Monumentum Ancyranum, by Johannes Schmidt. This instructive article is primarily a review of the great work of Mommsen and the Marburg Rectoratsprogram for 1884, by E. Bormann.

3a. P. 470. Note on Pomponius Mela, I 12, 66, by A. Eussner.



4. Pp. 471-501. Linguistic peculiarities of the *Epistolae ad Brutum*, by Ferd. Becher. This article is strongly but respectfully polemic. The conclusion reached is: "Nicht I 16, 17 sind mit Nipperdey, Heine, Schirmer, Schmidt, auch nicht I 3, 4, 15, 3-11, 16, 17 d. h. 31 per cent mit Gurlitt auszuscheiden, *sie sind alle auszuscheiden, sie sind eben alle*, um einen Goethischen ausdrück zu variieren, *durch den declamatorischen äther gezogen*."

5. Pp. 502-17. *Flaviana* (ended), by A. Chambalu. III. At what time did Vespasian in the year 70, and Titus in the year 71, return to Rome from the East?

6. Pp. 518-56. The lower offices of the Roman country towns, by L. Ohnesseit. This elaborate article is the most important work that has appeared on the subject. An epitome of it, however, would not be very satisfactory.

6a. P. 556. Note on Heracl. Pont. fr. 2, R. Peppmüller.

7. Pp. 557-78. Reports. Dio Cassius (continuation), by Herman Haupt.

7a. P. 578. Note on Caes. B. G. V 31, 5, by Heinrich Deiter.

8. Pp. 579-84. Miscellaneous.

A. Interpretation and criticism of authors:

I. On the so-called *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle, by Fr. Susemihl.

II. On Cicero's *Brutus*, by Th. Stangl.

B. Extracts from journals, etc.: *The Westminster Review*, 1884, Jan.

#### No. 4.

1. Pp. 586-91. Greek manuscripts from Fayyûm (continuation). V. Fragment of Homer's *Odyssey*, reported by Hugo Landwehr. The frag. includes § 15-24, 36-60, 71-87, 374-6, 379-81, 407-9, 430-41.

1a. P. 591. Note on Cic. de Div. I 52, 119, by Heinrich Deiter.

2. Pp. 592-621. Critical discussion of the *Odyssey* (continued from No. 3, pp. 385 ff.), by A. Scotland.

2a. P. 621. Notes on Apoll. Rhod. Argon. IV 1659 and 1256, by Ludw. Schmidt.

3. Pp. 622-65. The Military Year of Thucydides (second article),<sup>1</sup> by G. F. Unger. After the first article was published, U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in his *Curae Thucydidæ* (Göttinger Index Schol., summer 1885), advanced the new theory that the attack upon Plataea occurred, not four, but *five* months before the entrance of the new archon into office. This he inferred from Kirchhoff's inscription 179ab, C. I. A. IV, p. 31. The object of the present article is to disprove the correctness of that theory and defend the views of the author as before published. It contains much of interest, especially for those seeking a thorough acquaintance with the Attic calendar, and for all students of Thucydides. An appendix carries the war with Wilamowitz beyond Thucydean territory.

3a. P. 665. Notes on Apul. de Mund. cap. XXIV, p. 341 and p. 365 (Oud.), by A. Eussner.

<sup>1</sup> See Philol. XLIII 4, p. 577, Am. Journ. Phil. VII 1, p. 109.

4. Pp. 666-97. On Cicero's Orator, by W. Friedrich. This article is chiefly a review of Heerdegen's edition, but contains many critical discussions and independent comments.

4a. P. 697. In Cic. de Or. I 7, 27, A. Eussner proposes *in omni re* for *in homine*.

5. Pp. 698-716. Interpolations in the Table of Fasti, by Johannes Weber.

5a. P. 716. In Archil. fr. 9, where Bergk suggests *νωόμενος* for *μεμφομένος*, Rudolf Peppmüller proposes *μνωόμενος* or *μεμνόμενος*. [I have always thought *μεμφομένος* intelligible here, not, indeed, in any sense mentioned in L. and S. See Am. Journ. Phil. I 4, p. 453.]

6. Pp. 717-40. Reports. Herodotos (continuation), by H. Kallenberg.

6a. P. 717. Note on Theophr. Char. 7, by G. F. Unger.

7. Pp. 718-40. Miscellaneous.

A. Pp. 718-52. Interpretation and criticism of authors:

I. On Theocr. II 112, III 28, V 31, 123, by C. Hartung.

II. The oldest MS of Thucydides (a Fayyûm fragment), by Hugo Landwehr.

III. On the proemium of Lucretius, by Fr. Susemihl.

IV. On Hor. Carm. I 14, 3-9, by C. Wagener. The *funes* here mentioned are *ὑποζώματα*; *carinae* is poetical plural.

V. On Cic. de Or. I 256, by Th. Stangl.

B. Pp. 752-60. Extracts from journals, etc.: Revue Archéologique, 1883, 7-12; 1884, 1-9.

8. Pp. 761-9. Index locorum and Index rerum.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

## BRIEF MENTION.

Within the memory of middle-aged men Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia* was much more read than it is now. But as improved editions of the *Anabasis* multiplied, the *Cyropaedeia*, on which Xenophon doubtless prided himself much more than he did on the *Anabasis*, has been crowded out of the field, and we are glad to see that Dr. HOLDEN has come to the rescue of a work in which Xenophon often appears at his best, as he seldom does in the *Anabasis*. An elaborate introduction, in which contributions have been levied on the best and most recent authorities, abundant references to Goodwin and to Hadley and Allen in the commentary, valuable comments on idiom and sphere of use, a critical appendix, and two indices, make this edition of *Xenophon's Cyropaedeia, Books I, II* (Cambridge, University Press, 1887), worthy of the companionship of the *Hiero* and the *Oeconomicus* by the same editor, and we are glad to learn from the preface that these two books are only the precursors of a complete edition.

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The first volume of the *Griechische Geschichte* of GEORG CURTIUS has accomplished its thirty years and reached its sixth edition (Berlin, Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1887). Meantime, most of those who eagerly welcomed the new lights which Curtius brought to bear on the history of Greece and enjoyed the fresh play of color and the seductive lines of illumination have passed into darkness, and many of those who are left have lost something of their susceptibility to eloquence in history and have gained something of skepticism towards every form of brilliant phrasing. But, in spite of the severer taste and keener criticism of 1887, it is impossible for any one whose young manhood was coincident with the first appearance of Curtius' history, not to welcome this sixth edition with a hearty appreciation of all that the author has done for the study of Hellas and the Hellenes, and with an honest admiration of the loving care that has been bestowed on the revision in minute details of style as well as of statement.

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With the exception of a few speeches and lectures on topics of general interest, the first volume of LUDWIG LANGE's *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1887) is given up to his monographs on Roman antiquities, which are intended to complement his great work on that subject, and this first volume is soon to be followed by a second. It is very much to be hoped that the collection will not limit itself to this field, and that the representatives of the unwearied and acute investigator will be encouraged to gather up his grammatical essays and reviews, many of which are of the greatest significance. Every one who knows anything about the progress of syntactical studies knows of the famous paper which Lange read before the Göttingen

Philological Assembly in 1852 ('Andeutungen über Ziel und Methode der syntaktischen Forschung'), and which we gladly welcome to the prominent place that it occupies in this volume; and his remarkable treatise on *εἰ* with the opt. in Homer is a syntactical classic. But his reviews are no less deserving of study than his more elaborate works, as, for instance, his valuable review of Bäumlein's *Griechische Schulgrammatik* (*Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien*, 1858), and we earnestly hope that the third volume will soon be a happy certainty.

Since these words were written, the second volume of LANGE's *Kleine Schriften aus dem Gebiete der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* has appeared (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1887). The contents pertain wholly to the sphere of Roman legal and political antiquities. No promise is held out as to the third volume, and the register to both volumes is not exactly a good omen. Still we hope that the wish just expressed will not return void, especially as the desire is shared by many scholars that whatever of Lange's grammatical work remains should be collected, both the academy memoirs and the scattered contributions to various periodicals.

*A Day in Ancient Rome*, being a revision of Lohr's 'Aus dem alten Rom,' by Prof. SHUMWAY (Boston, Heath & Co., 1887), has reached its fortieth thousand.

KRANER-DITTENBERGER's *Caesar's Gallic War*, in its English attire, which it owes to Messrs. BOND and WALPOLE (London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1887), is much more handy than the German original. Only we are sorry to notice, in turning over the leaves of the Latin text, some bad misprints.

Dr. WILHELM VIETOR, whose excellent manuals on pronunciation have found wide acceptance, has issued the first number of a serial entitled *Phonetische Studien*, devoted to scientific and practical phonetics, with especial reference to instruction in pronunciation (Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1887). Among his collaborators we notice the names of A. M. ELLIOTT, of the Johns Hopkins University, and W. H. HEWETT, of Cornell. Whitney's prophecy that phonetics 'will become by itself a definite science or department of study' is passing rapidly into the stage of fulfilment, to the relief of some who have vainly endeavored to combine phonetics with other philological work. And yet, as every one has a native pronunciation of some sort, no one can withdraw from phonetics altogether, and no one escape a certain amount of irritation when his own speech is criticised by a foreigner. Imagine the wrath of certain Americans when they are coolly informed by a German that their pronunciation of *wh* as distinct from *w* is abnormal! They might stand it from Thackeray, but from Herr Max Walter in Kassel—it is too bad. Of especial interest to the classical scholar is Engel and Lohmeyer's tilt on the pronunciation of *ῥ*, in which the latter's final thrust is in the form of a sentence manufactured as a *reductio ad absurdum* illustration of the method: *ῥν ἄμα τῇ ῥοῖ ῥν, ῥ ὀλεῖ ῥ οἰὲ ῥ ῥῖ ῥ ῥῖε ὀλεῖ ῥ ῥῖε ὀλεῖ; ῥελέσιν;*

The first volume of Dr. WILHELM BERNHARDT's *Deutsche Novellen-Bibliothek* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1887) is an attractive book externally, and the notes are suggestive. Only the renderings into idiomatic English seem here and there unnecessarily free, and of the five stories no less than four are ultra-German in their sentimentality and deal with death and the grave. A baby dies of croup, a little child falls from a precipice, a young girl succumbs to consumption, and a woman of mature beauty drops dead of heart disease. It is to be hoped that the subsequent volumes will be more cheerful, even if less national.

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In a recent article contributed to the Journal of the Exegetical Society, Professor J. Rendel Harris maintains 'that the scene of the Ninth Similitude of Hermas is really laid in Arcadia, probably in the plain of Orchomenos.' Of what interest this thesis has for the classical scholar will appear from what follows. 'Some of the mountain scenery which he [H.] describes is capable of exact identification by means of the Itinerary of Pausanias; and he has been influenced in his architecture by the Cyclopean remains of the Peloponnesus. Either the whole, or at all events the latter part of the writings of Hermas should therefore be held of later date than the Arcadia of Pausanias. But the objection will be made that recent researches of German investigators and archaeologists have shown reason for believing Pausanias himself to be a wholesale thief and plunderer of previous guide books to Greece, so that our investigation may lead rather to the reopening of the Pausanias question than to the solution of the Hermas geography and chronology.'

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DR. WAS's little book on *Plato's Symposium*, with the sub-title *Eene erotische Studie* (Arnhem, P. Gouda Quint, 1887), is a study of the conception of Eros in the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods as well as in Plato. It is written with great fervor and betrays the professional preacher by its unctuous eloquence. He puts the Platonic Eros lower than the Hellenic, than the Hellenistic Eros and all three lower than the Epic Aphrodite; and even in the purest form of Platonic paederasty he sees a sensuous satisfaction in beauty, which is repellent to his soul, as repellent as is Mephistopheles' admiration of the angels to the average reader of the second part of Faust. Here and there the student of the Symposium will find an interesting point; but the whole tract, belonging as it does to the sphere of universal ethics rather than to that of Greek literature, lacks the sympathy which is necessary to the truest insight.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Cicero (M. Tullius). *Cato Maior et Laelius* [Latin]; with an Introduction and Commentary by Austin Stickney. (Harper's New Classical Ser.) New York, Harper, 1887. c. ed., 12mo, 17 + 191 pp., cl., \$1.50.

### BRITISH.

Arabian Tales. Trans. from the Swahili Language into the Tugulu Dialect of the Makua Language, etc. By D. J. Rankin. Crown 8vo. *S. P. C. K.* 3s.

Caesar's Gallic War. Book 7. Edited by Rev. John Bond and Arthur S. Walpole. With Notes and Vocabulary. 18mo, 166 pp. *Macmillan.* 1s. 6d.

Cicero. Speeches against Catiline. With Introduction and Notes by E. A. Upcott. (Clarendon Press Series.) Fcap. 8vo, 120 pp. *Froude.* 2s. 6d.

Cicero. *De Senectute*. Edit., with Notes, by E. W. Howson. Fcap. 8vo, 96 pp. *Rivingtons.* 2s.

Clyde (James). The Modern Latin Grammar for the Use of Schools. Part 1. Elementary. Sq. 16mo, 166 pp. Edinburgh, *Oliver and B. Simpkin.* 2s.

Cummins (Adley H.) A Grammar of the Old Friesic Language. 2d ed. With Reading Book, Glossary, etc. Post 8vo, 144 pp. *Trübner.* 6s.

Foster (A.) Elementary Lessons in Chinese. 8vo. *Oxford University Warehouse.* 2s. 6d.

Gulshan-I-Raz (The): The Dialogue of; or, Mystical Garden of Roses of Mahmoud Shabistari. With Selections from the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayam. Cr. 8vo, 71 pp. *Trübner.* 3s.

Herodotus. 9, 1-89 (Plataea). With Introduction and Notes by E. S. Shuckburgh. Fcap. 8vo, 220 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse.* 3s. 6d.

Kavirondo. Vocabulary of the Kavirondo Language. By the Rev. M. Wakefield. Cr. 8vo, 5d. *S. P. C. K.* 6d.

Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon. Edit. by Stanley Lane Poole. Vol. 8. Imp. 4to, 40 pp. *Williams and Norgate.* 6s.

Luganda. Portions of Prayers. Fcap. 8vo. *S. P. C. K.* 1s. 6d.

— Primer, Letters and Syllables, and the Commandments in the Luganda Language. Fcap. 8vo. *S. P. C. K.* 6d.

Ovid. Stories from the Metamorphoses. Selected and edited, with Notes, etc., by J. Bond and A. S. Walpole. 18mo, 90 pp. *Macmillan.* 1s. 6d.

— Easy Selections from Ovid in Elegiac Verse. With Notes, etc., by Herbert Wilkinson. (Elementary Classics.) 18mo, 118 pp. *Macmillan.* 1s. 6d.

Plato. *Meno*, with Introduction and Notes by St. George Stock. Introduction, Text and Notes. 12mo. *Froude.* 2s. 6d.

Sallust's Catiline. Edit. by B. D. Turner. 12mo, 140 pp. *Rivingtons.* 2s.

Seneca (L. Annaeus). On Benefits. Trans. by Aubrey Stewart. (Bohn's Classical Library.) Post 8vo, 246 pp. *Bell and Sons.* 3s. 6d.

Swettenham (F. A.) Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages. With Notes. Vol. 2. Malay-English. Revised ed. 8vo, 146 pp. *Whittingham.* 10s.

Wallis (H. W.) The Cosmology of the Rig Veda. An Essay published by the Hibbert Trustees. 8vo, 134 pp. *Williams and Norgate.* 5s.

## FRENCH.

Amélineau (E.) Un Document copte du XIII siècle. Martyre de Jean de Phanidjôit. In-8. *Leroux.* 3 fr. 50.

Barbier de Meynard (A. C.) Dictionnaire turc-français. Supplément aux dictionnaires publiés jusqu'à ce jour. Volume II, livraison 2. Gr. in-8. *Leroux.* 10 fr.

Bartsch (Karl). La Langue et la littérature françaises depuis le IX siècle jusqu'au XIV siècle. Textes et glossaires. Précédés d'une grammaire de l'ancien français par A. Horning. Gr. in-8. *Maisonneuve.* Cart., 15 fr.

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. VIII, 4

WHOLE No. 32.

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## I.—FURTHER NOTES ON THE CIRIS AND OTHER POEMS OF THE APPENDIX VERGILIANA.

It was my hope to find during my stay in Rome a MS of the *Ciris* which should represent an earlier and better recension than we possess. As is well known, and as I have stated in my previous article in this Journal (A. J. P. III 272 sqq.), most of the MSS of the poem are not only late, but full of errors; and the one codex which represents an earlier and better recension, Brussels 10675, 6, contains a mere fragment, 454-541.

Had I succeeded in this aspiration as well as in the case of the *Culex* (see Cambridge Journal of Philology for 1887, pp. 152-156, 'A Roman MS of the Culex'), I might have been able to clear up some of the disputed passages of the *Ciris* by the indubitable evidence (worth how many hundred conjectures!) of antiquity. But fortune has been less kind here than in the other no less vitiated poem. The MS in the Urbino collection of the Vatican Library (No. 353) has very little that is new or specially good; and the same may be said of a codex in the Palazzo Chigi, from which I made a few excerpts. On the other hand, there is in the Corsini palace a copy of the *Ciris* which, though written not before the sixteenth century, has preserved some fragments of truth which are hopelessly obscured in the rest. The MS is numbered 43 F, III, 21.

Corsini gives vv. 12-14 as follows:

Quod si mirificum genus omnes philosophiam  
Mirificum set enim, modo sit tibi uelle libido,  
Si mea iam summa patientia pangeret arce.

At first sight the extraordinary apparition of the uncouth and outlandish word *philosophiam* surprised and dismayed me. But on a reconsideration of the whole three verses as written above, I could not but notice that v. 13, in which *set enim* of Cors. represents *secli* or *sedī* of the other MSS, had the merit of explaining what before was unaccountable, the repetition of *mirificum*. It seemed therefore likely to be right. If it was right, it followed that *philosophiam* also might retain some vestige of the true reading. The poet has already, in v. 4, used the word *sophiae* = 'philosophy' or 'science'; and this word I believe has fallen out of v. 12, the fuller form *philosophiam* may have been a gloss originally written above the line or in the margin, and then, when the verse became corrupted, added at the end. I suppose the poet then to have written nearly as follows:

Quod si mirificum sophiae genus omne secutum  
(Mirificum set enim, modo sit tibi uelle libido)  
Si mea iam summa patientia pangeret arce.

'If I had followed out philosophy in its glorious entirety (for glorious it is, if only thou hast the will to aspire), if at last my patient toil were setting me on the topmost height,' then I would write a philosophical poem embodying the 'long results of science' and dedicated to you.

- 130. For *Nec fuerat* Cors. has *Ni fuerat*.
- 175. *Sedibus ex altis celsi* speculatur amorem Cors.
- 184. *Fertur et horribili preceps impellitur estro* Cors.
- 196. *lucosque sonantis* (not *sonantes*) Cors.
- 205. *Candida concessos ascendis* (changed to *ascendit*) *ciris* honores Cors., *ascendat* most MSS, *ascendit* Schwabe.
- 284. *crinis* Cors., *crines* most MSS.
- 339. *nihil est quod texuit in ordine longum* Cors.
- 344. *restinguens* Cors., *restringuens* Chig., *restringens* most MSS.
- 352. *Hesperium et uitant* (i e. *euitant*) Cors., *uitant* most MSS.
- 487. *sublimen* Cors., *sublimem* most MSS.
- 522. *Commotus tamen* ad superos uolitare puellam, *talem* other MSS.

Since the publication of my article on the *Ciris* in this Journal (VIII 1-14), two new conjectures on v. 94 have been communicated to me. The first of these is by Prof. Minton Warren: it is to read *aliparia*. The second is by Mr. J. B. Bury, of Dublin, to read *pullaria*. As yet I have not seen Prof. Warren's explanation and



defence of *aliparia*, and can only say that I do not remember to have encountered the word in any Latin glossary. Mr. Bury's *pullaria* seems, I confess, a little unpoetical: a grave defect in this poem, the style of which is rarely homely, and keeps up, very generally, a truly Vergilian elevation of diction and thought. I have myself, since receiving these suggestions, thought of *caltaria*, 'beds of marigolds'; but the occurrence of *calt* in conjunction with *crocus*, in v. 97, makes this impossible.

Mr. Bury has also suggested for *certos*, in 92, *rectos* or *acutos*, and in 481 for *egros*, *Euris*. It is certainly vexing enough that MSS of the *Ciris* should be so rarely forthcoming earlier than the fifteenth century. Meanwhile I can only ask such of my readers as are interested in these questions to be on the lookout for any trace of such MSS. Does Mr. Allen's collection, which contains Scaliger's codex of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, include a copy of the *Ciris* or the *Catalepta*? For the *Catalepta* are equally rare in good MSS, and are, as is well known, hopelessly vitiated, if not beyond restoration, with our present materials.

58:

Illam esse ~~terumpnis~~ quam saepe legamus Ulixi  
Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstros  
Dulichias uexasse rates.

In examining an uncollated but excellent codex of the *Ibis*, in the Library of the Museum of Naples, IV F, 12, I stumbled on a word, or rather a spelling, which may perhaps be thought to throw light on this difficult passage. Ib. 122 is thus written there:

Errūne facies inuidiosa tue.

May not *errumnis* have been the form in which the corrupt *erumpnis* of Cir. 58 was first written? If it was, it is easy enough to understand that it may have been a misreading of *errantis* (ὅς μίλα πολλά Πλάγχθη). The genitive of course depends on *rates*. At any rate, no explanation which can be thought adequate has yet been given of the construction of *aerumnis*.

220-222:

Quam simul Ogygii Phoenicis filia Carme  
Surgere sensit anus, sonitum nam fecerat illi  
Marmoreo aeratus stridens in limine cardo.

Urbinas 353 has *somnum*, which with *fuderat* or *uicerat* for *fecerat* gives a much better construction for *illi*. Indeed, could *sonitum fecerat illi* mean 'had raised a sound to wake her' (Carme),

or, on the other hand, 'had sounded to her (Scylla's) approach'? The latter is the less harsh, but the expression would suggest both, and therefore would have been avoided by the poet as ambiguous.

Cul. 60 :

incognita curis

Quae lacerant auidas inimico pectore mentes.

It is impossible to believe *inimico pectore* sound. The verse is an imitation of Lucr. III 994, *Aut alia quavis scindunt cuppedine curae*. Read, therefore,

Quae lacerant auidas nimia cuppedine mentes.

*nimia cu* became separated from *pedine*, and when the latter was read *pectore*, the former became *inimico*, or the guess was made as a whole. I consider this nearly certain. Similarly *minuta* had become *inimica* in the MSS of Catull. XXV 12.

Priap. III 1-4 :

Hunc ego iuuenes locum uillulamque palustrem

Tectam uimine iunceo caricisque manipulis,

Quercus arida rustica formitata securi

Nutrior magis et magis ut beata quotannis.

W. Wagner vainly defends *formicata*, which is alleged to be the reading of *B*, the Bruxellensis. It had once occurred to me that the right reading was *fornicata*, 'hewn into an arch,' viz. to receive the statue of the god Priapus; cf. *Siluanæ sacra semicluse fraxino*, epigr. in Meyer's Anth. Lat. 602. But there can be little doubt that Placidus has preserved the right word, *formitata*, in his gloss *Formitat, formitibus exassulat*, 'chipt into shape.' *Nutrior* with *placitam Paci nutrior oliuam* to defend it, may, I think, be right; but much weight must be given to the combined judgment of Scaliger and Ribbeck, who read, the former *Nunc tuor*, the latter *En tuor*. The rest of the verse I would write *magis ut magis sit beata quotannis*.

Priap. II 3:

Agellulum hunc sinistre tante quem uides.

Ribbeck prints *sinistra et ante*, doubtless believing that he was the first to emend the v. in this way. It is, however, so emended by Hand, *Observationes Criticae in Catulli Carmina*, p. 68 (Lipsiae, 1809), though he abandons it in favor of a different conj. (which I have since found in an early edition), *Agellulum sinistra, tute quem uides*. 'Equidem olim ita conieci: *Agellulum hunc sinistra et*

*ante quem uides* (*links und vor dir*). Sic Cic. Acad. IV 14 (Acad. II 40, 125), *sinistra, ante, post.* Most scholars will agree with Ribbeck and Bücheler in considering the earlier conj. the truer. Bücheler has edited these three Priapia in his smaller edition of Petronius, as a supplement to the collection of 81 poems more properly known as Priapia, and has contributed a very valuable paper on the Catalepta to the Rheinisches Museum for 1883.

6-9:

Mihi corolla picta uere ponitur,  
 Mihi rubens arista sole feruido,  
 Mihi uirente dulcis uua pampino,  
 †Mihi glauca oliuo duro cocta frigo.

The above reading of v. 9 is that of the Brussels MS. The other MSS collated by Bährens give:

Mihi glauca oliua duro frigore cocta,

except that for *cocta* the Rehdigeranus has *coacta*.

No MS adds *que* after *mihi*, and I am inclined to accept this as a starting point for reconstructing the v. If, indeed, we could argue from the seeming parallelism of the four verses, 6 corresponding rhythmically to 8, and 7 to 9, we might conclude that *oliua* occupied the same place in 9 as *arista* in 7. Then I would suggest that the intervening word was *caduca* (Paolo Mercato). If the verse ran originally

Mihi caduca oliua cocta frigore,

and by some error of transcription *ca-* was separated from *duca*, we can understand how the truncated syllable was supplemented, and *glauca* took its place. Similarly in Catal. VII 11:

Ite hinc Camenae uos quoque limite } seu (sane *Bruxellensis*),  
   lamite }

where the true reading seems to be

Ite hinc Camenae, vos quoque ite, saluete,

it seems *possible* that the supernumerary syllable *lim-* or *lam-* was introduced after *saluete* had been corrupted into *seue*, though it is also *possible* that the *Bruxellensis* has preserved the truth in its reading *iam ite*:

Ite hinc Camenae uosque, iam ite, saluete,

if any one prefers *uosque* (on the strength of Catull. XXXI 13)

to what all good MSS, including the Bruxellensis, of these Priapia give *uos quoque*.

It may, however, seem to some that the above reading of Priap. II 9, *Mihi caduca oliua cocta frigore*, does not satisfy the required definition of time which the three preceding vv. all emphasize: *uere—sole feruido—uirente pampino*. We might then retain the rhythm of 7 by reading

Mihi coacto oliua dura frigore,

to which, however, the elision of the long *o* is some objection.<sup>1</sup>

Priap. II 14 :

Teneraque matre mugiente uacula  
Deum profundit ante templa sanguinem  
Proin uiator hunc deum uereberis  
Manumque sursum habebis hoc tibi expedit.  
†Parata namque crux uestat mentula  
Velim pol inquis.

*Teneraque* has generally been corrected; but none of the alterations, including Mercato's *Tremensque*, can be thought satisfactory. I believe it is right. The poet wished to convey the notion of tremulous weakness which belongs to the unformed limbs of the new-born calf. A similar correction of *εἰς ἄβατον ὄπος* in O. T 719 is rejected by Jebb, who rightly explains the unusual tribrach as *intended* to give a notion of ruggedness. v. 17 does not appear to me conclusively emended, even by Bücheler, who reads

Parata namque trux stat ista mentula.

Is it not possible that at *hoc tibi expedit* the traveller is supposed to break in, taking the words, so to speak, out of the mouth of Priapus and expressing what the god means in his own language? Two MSS give *neque* for *namque*, and for *uestat mentula* others have *estate ementula*.

I propose then to write

‘Parata mene laxet ante mentula?  
Velim pol’ inquis.

*ante* would mean before committing any sacrilegious theft.

<sup>1</sup> I have assigned the word *caduca* above to Paolo Mercato, not to Heyse, who made it much later. In Cod. IV A 4 of the Brancacciana Library at Naples the v. is emended, *Mihi caduca duro oliua frigore* (as Heyse), and the uir doctus to whom it is assigned appears to be Mercato. The MS seems to belong to the seventeenth century.

## Catal. 111 :

Socer beate nec tibi nec alteri,  
 Generque Nocturne putidum caput,  
 Tuone nunc puella talis, et tuo  
 Stupore pressa rus abibit ? 'ei mihi  
 Vt iste uersus usquequaque pertinet  
 'Gener socerque, perdidistis omnia.'

Haupt's correction, *ei* for *et*, has found favor with all succeeding German editors. With much deference I venture to think it wrong. (1) *ei* is indubitable in v. 4, *therefore* it is unlikely in v. 3. (2) the MS reading is spirited and forcible. The poet turns in succession to the father and son, to each of whom in a different sense *stupor tuus* is addressed, of course in both cases meaning the son, Nocturnus. Spoken to the father, *stupor tuus* would mean 'your loutish son'; spoken to the son, 'your loutish self.' It is in the former sense that *meus stupor*, 'my loutish friend,' is used by Catullus in the poem *O Colonia*, from which Catalepta 111 is imitated.

## Catal. XI 13-16, Ribb. :

Pauca tua in nostras uenerunt carmina cartas,  
 Carmina cum lingua tum sale Cecropio,  
 Carmina quae Pylum, saeculis accepta futuris,  
 Carmina sed Pylum uincere digna senem.

vv. 15, 16 are written as above in Urbin. 353, and I think rightly. 'Verses which shall find favor with ages to come and prove worthy to outlive Nestor, but Nestor old,' i. e. at the very end of his life of three generations. This is better than to give *uincere* a double meaning, (1) of surpassing *in eloquence*, (2) in length of duration. The *sed*, which is not in any of Bährens' MSS, is a very real gain, and must, I think, be right. The usage is very common in Martial.

## Catal. VI 5-10 :

5 Non ego tunc modo aut picta tua templa tabella  
 Ornabo et puris dona feram manibus;  
 Corniger hos aries humilis et maxima taurus  
 Victima sacros sparget honore focos,  
 Marmoreusque tibi aut mille coloribus ales  
 10 In morem picta stabit Amor pharetra.

This passage, occurring as it does in a poem which Niebuhr rightly eulogized as the most graceful of the Catalepta, presents several points of doubt. Burmann changed *et* in 7 to *set*, and *hos* to *haud*.

The latter emendation is, I think, questionable; *set*, on the other hand, seems demanded by the antithesis, *humilis uictima aries set maxima taurus*. The poet means, *not* that he will offer the noblest of victims and not anything so insignificant as a ram, but that he will offer *both*, the lowly oblation of a ram, the noblest of victims, a bull. It is quite true that Paulus says, p. 126, *M. maximam hostiam ouilli pecoris appellabant*: but we need not suppose the poet to use technical language; in contrast to the largest victim that could be sacrificed, a bull, it would be natural to call a ram *humilis uictima*, and the antithesis could hardly have been expressed more concisely than by the collocation *aries humilis set maxima taurus uictima*. To take *humilis* as accusative is to accumulate epithets unnecessarily (*humilis—sacratos—focos*) and spoils the perfection of the poem; the fact which Bücheler has noticed in his paper on the Catalepta, that Vergil has *et maxima taurus uictima*, G. II 146, can hardly be thought conclusive against *set*.

v. 9 is still quite conjectural. Ribbeck accepts Heinsius' *dea* for *aut* and writes the whole thus:

Marmoreusque tibi, dea, mille coloribus ales.

This is elegant, though the construction of the abl. *mille coloribus* is a little strained if taken with *ales* = '*alas habens mille colorum*.' Even more doubtful is *dea* for *aut*. It adds to our uncertainty that two very good MSS, the Rehdigeranus and Arundel 133, give *digne* for *mille*. Arundel 133 has

Marmoreasque tibi aut digne coloribus ales.

Possibly, then,

Marmoreusque tibi *caput*, ignicolorius alas,  
In morem picta stabit Amor pharetra.

The head of Amor was to be of glistening white marble, the wings flame-colored, the quiver brightly painted. For *ignicolorius* compare *uersicolorius* of Nemesianus, Ecl. IV 68. It is, of course, equally possible that *ignicoloribus alis* is what the poet wrote.

Copa 7. This v. is thus written in Bembo's codex (saec. IX),

Sunt topia et kalibes cyati rosa tibia corde;

in another, also early, Vatican codex,

Sunt thephia et calibes.

Other MSS give *topia* or *copia*. None of the conjectures I have seen really correspond in form to this odd word, *cuppae*, *obbae*, etc.; while *topia*, which Ribbeck prints, is out of place. At least, as a combination, paintings of ornamental garden scenes (if this is the meaning of *topia*) accord rather oddly with cups and drinking vessels. *Thephia* gives, I believe, the right clue. The word lurking under these many disguises is *scaphia*, 'drinking-bowls,' a Greek term found more than once in Plautus. If this is so, we shall have little difficulty in recognizing *kalibes* as also Greek *καλίβυς*. The form is slightly changed, but the word looks unmistakable.<sup>1</sup>

27, 28:

Nunc cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta cicadae  
Nunc tuere in gelida sede lacerta sedet.

For *uere* Haupt conj. *ueprum*. I should prefer *uepris*. Hor. Epp. I 16, 9, *Corna uepres et pruna ferant*.

33:

Formosum tenerae decerpens ora puellae,

obviously *Per morsum*. Oudendorp's *Fer morsum* is hardly very good Latin, but in the main point agrees with my view, which indeed it did not require an Oedipus to discover.

35, 36:

Quid cineri ingrato seruas bene olentia sarta?  
Anne coronato uis lapide ista tegi?

*ista* conveys no clear meaning. Perhaps a nominative feminine (*urna* or *olla*) was the original word. 'Why keep your fragrant garlands for the unrequiting ashes of the tomb? would you be a potful of embers covered in with a garlanded headstone?'

I now come to the most difficult poem of the whole Vergilian opuscula, the *Aetna* alone excepted; I mean the *Dirae*, usually, and it would seem rightly, ascribed to Valerius Cato. As a composition it has some merits, and was no doubt originally arranged in corresponding sections, though the actual divisions elicited by Goebbel and Ribbeck do not carry conviction. As in the 62d

<sup>1</sup> I will not, however, deny that palaeographical considerations might seem to point almost equally to *strophia*, an ancient word for a simple kind of garland, Plin. H. N. XXI 2, quoted by Ilgen on Cop. 32, *tenuioribus coronis utebantur antiqui, strophia appellantes, unde nata strophiola*. For the margin of Bemb. gives *trophii* for *topia* in v. 7, while in 32 the Leyden MS V gives *trophio*. It is strange enough that I have not found either *scaphia* or *strophia* suggested for 7 by any previous critic, though Heyne mentions it as a v. l.

poem of Catullus, *Vesper adest, iuuenes*, the indubitable loss of some verses makes the problem of reconstruction unusually difficult. It has had the good fortune to be edited by one of the most erudite scholars of this century, Näke, whose Greek, especially his Callimachean studies, were an excellent training for the no less difficult task of elucidating the corrupt text of the *Dirae*. Despite Näke's diligence, judgment, and learning, much yet remains doubtful; and this must be my excuse for going somewhat more into detail than in the rest of this notice in speaking of a MS of the poem.

The codex in question is Vat. Lat. 3269. It was written in the fifteenth century. It contains Catullus, Elegia in Maecenatem, Rosetum, Copa, hexameters from Apollinaris Sidonius, *Dirae*. At the end of the Elegia in Maecenatem is written *Finit elegia inuenta ab 'enoc in dacia*, whence it will be seen to be identical with the MS described by Tycho Mommsen in Rhein. Mus. VI, p. 628. Tycho Mommsen there shows that by Dacia is meant Denmark, and that the MS must have come from the monastery of Soröe or Sora in Seeland. For this reason I carefully collated the Elegy on Maecenas with the MSS whose readings are given by Bährens in Vol. I of his *Poetae Latini Minores*, and found that the source which Enoch of Ascoli copied was obviously uninterpolated, though it rarely presented variants of any marked importance. I think it probable that Enoch copied the *Dirae* also from the same Danish MS; at any rate, there are reasons for believing that it was not transcribed from an ordinary source. For before the text of the poem begins, the following three verses are written:

Bactare cygneas tibi dixit carmine uoces  
Cum pat' in primo luserit ore maro  
Hoc alit' diras confertur bactare carmen,

and in explanation is written horizontally along the right margin of the page,

Epigramma uirgilii .po. in libello ad bactarum,

where .po. evidently stands for *poetae*. As to the meaning of the 'epigramma,' it is difficult to speak confidently. The first two vv., however, seem to contrast a youthful '*dirae*' of Vergil's (reading *puer* for *pater*) with some other poem. If this is the *Lydia* which forms the second half of the *Dirae*, and is not separated from it in the MSS (neither in Bembo's of the ninth century nor



the nearly coeval three in the National Library of Paris), we might read v. 3 of the epigram thus,

Hoc aliut diris confertur, Battare, carmen,

and suppose that the writer of the 'epigramma' in this way intimated that the *Lydia* was really a separate poem. Be this as it may, it is clear that the 'epigramma' was copied into Vat. 3269 from some earlier source, and it is a reasonable inference that that source was the same codex from which Enoch copied the Elegy on Maecenas.

As no judgment can be formed of the value of this hitherto uncollated MS without a complete exhibition of its readings, and as there are very few poems in which even a gleam of new light can be more welcome, I will begin by exhibiting these readings, and will then comment on such of them as seem to offer anything unusual or of importance. I number the vv. according to the edition of the *Dirae* in Bährens' PLM II, p. 73 sqq., as Ribbeck's transpositions make his text less convenient in this poem for purposes of reference.

1 cygneas. 2 diuersas. 3 Dura diris uoto. 4 rapiant ediuilique leones. 5 fugient nymbos aquileque columbas. 6 glisset. 7 Multa prius fient quam non sit mea. 8 facta ligurge. 9 steriles-cant. 11 pturient. 14 inpetamus. 15 effectas cereris sulcis condamus auenas. 17 Qmatura. 18 ec siluis. 19 Nec al. quam. 20 Nec ueneris. 21 tingit auena. 23 Murent (? Mutent) terra. 24 non auribus. 26 Lusimus. 27 uire & is. 28 Tu demum uirides umbras non leta comantes. 29 molles. 31 Impia cum militis succedit. 32 cadant. 33 Ipse cades ueteris. 34 Nec quicquam nostris potuit. 35 aereis flagrabat. 36 Iupiter hanc coluit<sup>1</sup> cui hoc tibi. 37 Tracis tum in mania. 38 Purus. 39 immineat minantibus. 40 cianeo resplendes etere silua. 41 Non iterum dices crebro tua lidia dixi. 42 flame. 43 om. 44 arbor. 45 Partita metita est ipsa. 46 tat. 47 ut nostris superet. 48 Undique que v̄ris lictora linphis. 49 Lictoraque dulcis. 51 perfundit. 52 uulganus agros pastōs iouis ignibus arcet. 53 libię. 54 p̄uocasti. 55 dicent. 57 corpora. 58 Hec agat infesto neturnus ceca tridendi. 60 cauis exauriat. 61 Dicat ferrum. 63 neturne tuis infundimus aris. 65 tibi flumina semper amica. 66 Nil est quod perdam ulterius meritis omnia ditis (*I think, rather than*

<sup>1</sup> Coluit, I think, rather than aluit.

diris *or* dicis). 67 currentes nymphas. 68 cursim. 69 Incursant remantibus. 70 Nec nostros exite sinant erroribus agros. 72 Ec maneat. 74 occupet arguti grilla cana garrola rana. 76 montibus umbre. 77 diffuse. 78 Qui dominis infesta minantes stagna relinquunt. 79 Unde lapsa. 82 pratorum crimina. 84 in damnatus. 87 Hinc ybo ostabunt. 88 obstanbunt campos audire licebit. 89 et libia. 91 Tardius ah. 93 Tu quoque resiste pater et prima nouissima *om* uobis. 94 manet estus in illis. 96 Siue eris etsinon mecum morieris utrumque. 99 Candida nigra oculis certant lecia. 100 Nigrabunt cūas. 102 Quamuis nix aderit. 103 licebit *nullum spatium ante uers 1 Lydiae. Lyd. 2* Hęc formosa magis mea quam. 3 Ec uobis *rather than* et uobis. (*This point I examined carefully again and again, and after many fluctuations of opinion, ended with the belief expressed above.*) 5 alloquitur uobis arridet. 6 summissa. 7 cantabit. 9 multumque beati. 10 ponit. 12 Dulcis namque timet. 13 uenerem stipantia. 14 declinarit teneramque illiserit. 15 furtim narrabat. 18 Tardabunt uiri labentes sistite nimphę. 22 Et male tabescant. *With this v. the MS ends.*

#### NOTICEABLE VARIANTS IN VAT. 3269.

5. *Delphini fugient nimbos*. All the early MSS *piscēs*, rightly, I imagine, as Homer's simile, Il. XXI 22, seems to be imitated :

ὥς δ' ὑπὸ δελφίνος μεγακίτεος ἰχθῆες ἄλλοι  
 φεύγοντες πιμπλάσι μυχοῦς ἑμμένος εὐόρμου  
 δειδιότες μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει ὄνκε λάβησιν,

and the rest of the v., *aquilae ante columbus*, is thus more symmetrical. But *nimbos* of Vat. 3269 does not look like an interpolation, and may conceivably have been an early variant. Dolphins gamboling in and out of the waves are often mentioned as a sign of wind and stormy weather, Luc. V 551, 2, *Sed mihi nec motus nemorum, nec litoris ictus, Nec placet incertus qui prouocat aequora delphin*. The scholia on the Aratia of Germanicus mention among the signs of increasingly stormy weather, *cum delphini totos se saltibus ostendunt aut caudis aquam feriunt. Nam semper inde uentus oritur quo illi feruntur* (p. 270 ed. Breysig).

26. *Lusimus*, not *Ludimus* as the other MSS. : The true reading seems to be *Lusibus*. Here then our MS is less remote from correctness than much earlier codices.

28. *Tu demum*, not *Tundemus* or *Tondemus*. Here the right reading is utterly uncertain. I will only claim for Vat. the merit of suggesting a new and quite different view of the passage :

Lusibus et multum nostris cantata libellis  
Optima siluarum, formosis densa uirectis,  
Tu(m) demum uirides umbras non laeta comantes  
Iactabis molles ramos infantibus auris,  
Militis impia cum succaedet dextera ferro  
Formosaeque cadent umbrae.

*Tum demum* is answered by *cum*. 'Kind wood that my verse has often sung, on that day shalt thou toss to the gales that blow music into thy (*ramos infantibus*) soft-swaying branches, no leafy luxuriance of green shade, when the soldier's sacrilegious hand shall hew thee down with the axe and that lovely shade shall fall.'

34-36 are thus written in Vat. :

Nec quicquam nostris potuit deuota libellis  
Ignibus aethereis flagrabat Iupiter ipse  
Iupiter hanc coluit cui (*read cinis*) hoc tibi fiat oportet.

If, which I must leave it to the general verdict of scholars to decide, these readings are drawn from an originally uncorrupted source, they again suggest a new line of interpretation. Taken consecutively, the verses as above written have no meaning. But they may be fragmentary. Then the outline may have been to this effect: 'Cursed by my song, the soldier's hand availed not to its task. The wood was under the care of Jove, and Jove's fire must consume it; even as of old, Semele, Jove's love, was killed by Jove's lightning.' On this interp. I should suppose the section to have contained originally some verses more than the MSS have preserved; a very common phenomenon in Latin poetry. It could not have begun with *Nec quicquam*, before which one v. may have fallen out. Similarly before 35, one or perhaps more verses are lost, in which the comparison of Semele's burning with the burning of the wood, both alike by fire from Jupiter, the god who originally had fostered both, and whose will it is that neither should perish by the hand of man, was introduced. To make my meaning clear I add a conjectural supplement :

[Deficit incassum, non perfert dextera ferrum,]  
Nec quicquam nostris potuit deuota libellis.  
[At non Cadmeis, Semele, pia cura Tonantis,]  
Ignibus aethereis flagrabat? Iupiter (ipse  
Iupiter hanc coluit) cinis haec tibi fiat oportet.

I am well aware of the difficulties attending the above view, but they can hardly be greater than those of the received readings and interpretation, even as expounded by Näke.

53. libię Vat., libicę other MSS. Whether *Libye* (nom.) or *Libyæ* (genitive) is read, this v. l. is in either case worthy of consideration. Can it be shown that *Libycus* was used by any poet before Vergil?

54. preuocasti Vat., reuocasset most MSS. Again Vat. is very near the true reading *reuocasti*, yet sufficiently far from it to make a theory of interpolation impossible.

66.

Nil est quod perdam ulterius meritis omnia ditis.

This last word is written obscurely; I have expressed above my final conviction, formed after several perusals. Here, at any rate, I think the MS gives light. I would read, following its suggestion:

Nil est quod perdam } ulterius, maris omnia, diris.  
quo pergam }

'My curse has reached its utmost limit: everything is now part of the sea.' The whole of the ground is supposed to have become sea-water under the poet's curse.

69.

Incursant amnes passim <sup>1</sup>rimantibus undis  
Nec nostros exite sinant erroribus agros.

Here again Vat. may be more nearly right than most MSS. After *currentis nymphas* in 67, *Incurrant* in 69 has an air of weakness. *Incursant* would avoid the tautologous effect, and is in itself a better word, indeed almost demanded by *passim* and *rimantibus*. All MSS seem to agree in giving *erroribus*, and only Bemb. m. pr. has *seruire* for *exire*; moreover, the correction *exire* seems to be from the m. pr. And can *erronibus* be thought classical? At any rate, the majority of MSS may here outweigh the first hand of Bemb., 'and let them not suffer my fields to escape their wandering waters.'

94. manet estus in illis. Neither Ribbeck nor Bährens mentions this variant. It cannot, however, be right; the Bemb. and all the early Paris MSS give *esses in illis*, which ought to be what Bährens' M actually gives, *esse sine illis*. Bährens retains this, but spoils it by changing *manet* to *mene*? An indignant question is here not in place, but a regretful expression of resignation, such as *manet esse sine illis*, 'henceforth they are ours no more,' or 'it is

our fixed doom to be robbed of them for the future,' is in perfect harmony with the general tone.

102.

Quamuis nix aderit, quamuis aqua, semper amabo.

This reading of Vat. is in every way inferior to that of most MSS :

Quamuis ignis eris, quamuis aqua, semper amabo,

a fine idea, which recalls Wordsworth's

No motion has she now or force,  
She neither hears nor sees,  
Rolled round in earth's diurnal course  
With rocks and stones and trees.

Lyd. 13.

Aut inter uarios uenerem stipantia flores  
Membra reclinarit.

*Stipantia* seems to me preferable to *spirantia* of Eichstadt, (1) as nearer to *stupentia*, the reading of B. m. pr., *stipendia* of most others ; (2) as giving a recondite, but apposite, sense. Properly, the flowers press close about (*stipant*) the limbs ; conversely, the limbs are here said to press their gracefulness (*uenerem stipare*) against the flowers that inclose them.

18. *Sistite* Vat., *currite* other MSS. *Currite* must in any case be wrong, and the commonly accepted version,

\* Tardabunt riui labentes currere lymphæ

is weak, to say nothing of the excessive iteration of the same verb. A word which recurs often in a poem is apt to be copied by mistake where it does *not* occur ; *sistite*, then, may be right ; *uiri* of Vat. seems a mere slip of the pen.

I reserve for the last point a curious question which Vat. suggests. In Dir. 18 it appeared to me to give *ec siluis* ; in 72, more clearly, *ec maneat* ; in Lyd. 3 *ec uobis* rather than *et uobis*. In each case it was an abbreviation ; and as I am rather incredulous on this point of *ec* (it is well known that Ribbeck has largely introduced *ec* into Latin poetry, and he has been more than once criticised for so doing), I took much trouble and pains to arrive at a correct opinion as to what the scribe of Vat. meant. To be more certain, I sent the MS back and re-examined it a month later. My final impression was that *ec*, not *et*, was intended ; and, if this is so, I venture to think that the source of Vat. must be *very* early, for it has quite fallen out of Bemb. and the early Paris codices.

The above review of the readings of Vat. 3269 gives my own personal impressions. But these impressions are formed without Näge's commentary by me to compare with them, and it is not impossible that other philologists will form an entirely different opinion on the goodness or badness of particular variants. Thus I see from Goebbel's pamphlet, *de Dirarum Compositione*, 1865, that Näge stumbles over *Quamuis ignis eris, quamuis aqua*, which to me has always seemed natural and felicitous, as a harsh and unusual expression. To transpose the v. with Goebbel I hold to be a dangerous experiment; meanwhile, Näge's doubt gives a new interest to the v. l. of Vat. *Quamuis nix aderit, quamuis aqua*, which we might paraphrase in the homely words, 'I love you in all weathers.'

But to form an adequate judgment of this unique codex will require a further examination, I mean of the *Elegia in Maecenatem*, which is expressly stated to have been copied by Enoch. I reserve this to another time.

Lyd. 70, 71:

Nam certe Vulcanus opus faciebat, et illi  
Tristi turpabatque mala fuligine barbam.

Scaliger's version of v. 71,

Tristi turpabat malas fuligine barba,

is objectionable, (1) as not accounting for *que*, (2) as circumstantially curious. We must then suppose that the beard *communicates* its sooty hue to the cheeks.

I prefer to regard *que* as caused by a transposition of the two first words of the v. The poet wrote,

Turpabat *strictura* mala fuligine barbam.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## II.—THE ODYSSEY UNDER HISTORICAL SOURCE-CRITICISM.<sup>1</sup>

It would be hard to name a philological work of greater suggestiveness and reach than Kirchhoff's *Odyssee*. The negative and destructive criticism of Bekker bore rich and positive fruit in this contribution of his pupil to Homeric criticism. In spite of the incompleteness of its results and the too frequent self-complacency of its method, the work has become the rallying ground for those students of Homer who are neither "Einheitshirten" nor "Kleinliedjäger." It has called forth an immense literature of attack and defense; but that its main views still hold their ground may be seen from the fact that so discreet and excellent a manual as Jebb's *Introduction to Homer* adopts them: "I believe, with Kirchhoff, that the original 'Return' existed in an enlarged Ionian form, before the present, or finally enlarged, form was given to it by another and later Ionian hand" (p. 172).

As compared with the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* gets rather step-motherly treatment, on the whole, in Professor Jebb's *Introduction*, and in no particular more plainly than in the omission of all reference whatever, either in text or bibliography, to the brilliant work of Wilamowitz. This, too, like that of Kirchhoff, is a work of genius, and, like Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz is almost as valuable in what he fails to establish as in what he establishes. So fruitful are both writers in suggestions.

Starting from Kirchhoff's analysis of the *Odyssey*, and adopting in the main his principles of criticism, but working them out to conclusion more in detail, Wilamowitz has succeeded in modifying somewhat the main positions of his predecessor, in extending his analysis, and especially in utilizing what he had simply cast aside as useless interpolation.

The main results of Kirchhoff's analysis may be broadly summed up as follows:

<sup>1</sup> 1. *Die Homerische Odyssee*, von A. Kirchhoff. Berlin, Hertz, 1879.

2. *Homerische Untersuchungen*, von U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Berlin, Weidmann, 1884.

3. *Die Quellen der Odyssee*, von Otto Seeck. Berlin, Siemenroth, 1887.

(1) An old Nostos,  $\alpha$  1—84,  $\epsilon$ — $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$  1—184.

(2) The Nostos enlarged, i. e. the foregoing plus  $\nu$ — $\xi$ ,  $\pi$ — $\psi$  296.

(3) A compilation of this enlarged Nostos with several poems of the same mythical cycle (among them principally the adventures of Telemachos).

(4) This compilation edited by the commission of Peisistratos, the basis of the received text.

It is in the first two steps in this historical development of the Odyssey that Kirchhoff's views have met with most radical correction at the hands of his disciples, Wilamowitz and Seeck. The old Nostos and the enlarged Nostos have been shown to be untenable hypotheses. But in the last two steps, though the terminology of each critic varies, the process of development is substantially the same. In fact, it may be said that none of the principles of criticism which Kirchhoff brought to bear on the analysis of the Odyssey have proved unsound, but the application of them and its results have been improved and extended. And the main result of the application of the principles of historical source-criticism to the Odyssey is the proof that the poem as it now stands is a growth from exceeding diversity of source and variety or contradiction in detail, to apparent unity, rather than from original unity to apparent contradiction.

The three greatest contributions made by Wilamowitz to the discussion are the proof (1) that  $\alpha$ , as it stands, belongs together, was composed to introduce the whole Odyssey, and differs radically from  $\beta$ — $\delta$ ; (2) that  $\pi$ — $\omega$  can be safely analyzed and the parts relegated to distinct sources,  $\nu$  being exactly like  $\alpha$  in the method of its composition, by the same author, and designed to serve as connecting link between ( $\beta$ — $\delta$ )  $\sigma$ — $\tau$  and  $\phi$ — $\chi$ ; and finally (3) that there is no such break in  $\nu$  as Kirchhoff assumed for the termination of his old Nostos, but  $\epsilon$ — $\xi$  are substantially continuous, or at least based on a continuous source.

That there are vagaries in the work of Wilamowitz, few will deny. Witness his treatment of  $\epsilon$ , and of the story of Eumaios in  $\xi$ . That his analysis of the Odyssey is correct in detail, none will claim, least of all Wilamowitz himself: "Dass mein Endergebniss sich voll und ganz sollte behaupten können, glaube ich und hoffe ich nicht einmal" (p. 5). But he has brought the question under intenser light and far on towards its ultimate settlement. For comparison's sake his conclusions are subjoined.

(1) The oldest Odyssey is represented by  $\epsilon$ — $\xi$  ( $\rho\sigma\tau$ ), whose author used as sources:



(a) A poem represented by  $\kappa\mu$ , with a Phaiakian  $\pi\omicron\mu\pi\eta$ .

(b) A Kalypso lay,  $\epsilon$ .

(c) A poem represented by  $\iota$  and parts of  $\lambda$ , in which Odysseus related his adventures and how he consulted Teiresias in Hades.

(d) A poem of the recognition of Odysseus and Penelope followed by a (lost) suitor-slaughter.

(2) Younger than this oldest Odyssey, and borrowing largely from it, was the Telemachy, represented by  $\beta-\delta$ ,  $\omicron-\tau$  (in which  $\rho-r$  are almost wholly borrowed from the elder poem), but robbed of beginning and ending for purposes of compilation. The end probably contained a "vengeance."

(3) Younger than both the preceding was a poem of Odysseus' Revenge, represented by  $\phi-\omega$ . Its author used the two older epics freely, and also, for the Odysseus and Penelope recognition, still another source, a very old one, in which Odysseus first slays the suitors, and then makes himself known to his servants by the scar, and to Penelope by the  $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$ .

(4) Our Odyssey, barring certain late additions, such as the Orphic interpolation and the second  $\nu\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\iota\alpha$ , amounting in all to about 500 verses, is the result of a compilation of these three epics. Original with this last compiler are:  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$  620— $\epsilon$  54  $\pm$ ,  $\nu$  375-81, 412-28, 439f.,  $\xi$  158-64, 171-84,  $\omicron$  1-79, 90f., 113-19, 285-495,  $\pi$  135-53, 302f.,  $\rho$  31-166,  $\sigma$  214-43,  $\tau$  1-50, 476— $\upsilon$  387,  $\chi$  205-40, 249f.,  $\psi$  115f., 153-70,  $\omega$  439-50.

Every one familiar with Kirchhoff's *Odyssee* will see at a glance the striking advances claimed by Wilamowitz. Far less refuse is left behind as unexplained interpolation; no poet is longer made guilty of such incredible freaks as forgetting his own elaborate chronology or main motives; and vague assignment to indefinite sources is sharpened into precision and actual reconstruction. As a scientific working hypothesis, to say the least, it is a great advance on Kirchhoff's, and yet the suggestion for almost every improvement may be found in Kirchhoff himself.

Kirchhoff represented pure philological training, with all its minuteness of detail; Wilamowitz, the rather broader field of historical philology. The philological historian has now set his hand to the work of analyzing the Odyssey, in the hope that the tried methods of "Quellenkritik" might carry him nearer the end than they had in the hands of Wilamowitz. Professor Seeck's book has not been received with much favor as yet in Germany, and the Coryphaei in philology are said to speak rather dispar-

agingly of it.<sup>1</sup> It is hazardous for the trained historian to enter the field of the trained philologist in a country where specialism is such a cult as it is in Germany. We believe, however, that the historian has in this case done the philologist good service, and that the book of Professor Seeck will eventually take high rank in Homeric literature. It certainly will repay careful study.

Like the book of Wilamowitz, it is but a working out of the fruitful suggestions of Kirchhoff, and it awards unstinted praise to both its predecessors in the field, while yet arriving at materially different results. Elaborate and precise, too, as is the statement of these results, it makes no claim to finality. "Die Quellen-theorie . . . muss daher fördernd wirken, sei's auch nur, indem sie wiederlegt wird" (Vorrede).

The analysis begins with the interview between Odysseus and Penelope in  $\tau$ . Kirchhoff had already noted that for Odysseus to threaten the old nurse, after her discovery of his identity, was not natural, and that the episode of the boar-hunt was probably due to his enlarger or compiler. His commentary, too, shows distinctly a great difference in character between the last part of the book and the first in the abundance of compilatory composition. Wilamowitz went further and proved (following Niese) that Eurykleia's recognition of her master was originally intended to introduce at once a recognition by Penelope (p. 55), and that what follows, rudely postponing that recognition, was designed to prepare the way for  $\phi-\omega$  with its totally different recognition scene. Seeck, in his first chapter ("Die doppelte Erkennung"), strengthens this position of Wilamowitz. Two distinct scenes of recognition between husband and wife prove two distinct sources. One source put the recognition before the slaughter of the suitors, the other after it, and in connection with the cleansing of the megaron. A compiling poet used portions of both sources. From this basis, which, in its general features, may be regarded as secure, Seeck proceeds to more penetrating and independent analyses.

In his second chapter ("Der doppelte Freiermord") he proves conclusively a double source for the  $\mu\eta\sigma\tau\eta\rho\phi\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$  of  $\chi$ . The main

<sup>1</sup> Karl Sittl has welcomed the book in the *Neue Philologische Rundschau* (No. 13); the writer of the *Classical Notes* in the *Academy* (July 2) dismisses it with contempt, and the frequent mercenary fling of the English—"who pays for it?" Niese, in the *Wochenschrift für Classische Philologie* (No. 41), condemns it severely; Zarncke, in the *Centralblatt* (No. 42), merely allows it a *raison d'être*.

lines of his argument are as follows: Penelope's *τόξον θέσις*, in  $\phi$ , was originally made in complicity with Odysseus and Telemachos. Its motive—it has none sufficient as the poem now stands—was to get the fatal bow and quiver into the hands of Odysseus while he was surrounded by the revelling suitors. The idiotic laugh of Telemachos,  $\phi$  102ff., the extreme inconsistency in Penelope's inexplicable conduct, and the express statement of such complicity on her part in  $\omega$  167, can be well explained in no other way. Such an agreement between Odysseus and Penelope must have been made in that part of the first recognition scene ( $\tau$ ) which a compiler omitted in order to adopt the recognition scene of  $\psi$ . Preceding this last recognition, we must suppose there was a suitor-slaughter in which Penelope was not confederate with Odysseus. And this can be distinctly traced. Its introduction is at  $\pi$  282ff., where Odysseus gives directions (never properly carried out in the poem as it stands) to Telemachos for removing all the weapons in the megaron out of reach of the suitors, but leaving certain ones for themselves. In  $\chi$ , as far as v. 98, the slaughter is effected solely with the bow and arrows of Iphitos; after v. 126, solely with the spear. What intervenes between vv. 98 and 126 is clearly compilation for purposes of juncture. We can distinguish, therefore, in the sources of the present Odyssey, a recognition scene between Odysseus and Penelope followed by an archery-slaughter of the suitors, and a spear-slaughter of the suitors followed by another and a different recognition scene between Odysseus and Penelope.

Many of the steps in this argument were furnished Seeck by his predecessors, and Kirchhoff plainly suggests a double source for the *μνηστροφονία* (p. 525). To the complicity of Penelope with Odysseus in the coquette scene ( $\sigma$  206ff.), Wilamowitz (p. 58f.) and even K. L. Kayser (*Hom. Abh.* p. 41) bear testimony. But the thorough distinction of the two sources and their satisfactory characterization is due to Seeck, and this will probably be widely regarded as an important contribution to the discussion. There are some weak points in his argument, mainly in his refutation of possible objections. For instance, the weeping of Penelope at sight of her husband's bow ( $\phi$  55ff.), such a natural touch if that husband is still believed to be far away or lost, is explained (p. 12) as due to anxiety about the issue of her plot. But the swineherd and goat-herd weep, too, at sight of the bow ( $\phi$  82ff.). They are not held to be in the secret, and the poetical motives are clearly the same.

This is a fair instance of a fault which pervades the book of Seeck. In his anxiety to refute every possible objection against a position already supported by strong arguments, he uses weak arguments. It is, however, an honest fault.

After the two sources for the *μνηστηροφονία* are thus securely distinguished, certain corroborative arguments may be urged with force. Seeck is perhaps too much inclined to take advantage of their force in establishing the distinction (pp. 18ff.). The archery-slaughter (*Bogenkampf*) and the spear-slaughter (*Speerkampf*) show different customs, culture and religion; a difference to be measured by centuries rather than years. In all respects the spear-slaughter is the younger. The older poem may therefore have served the younger as source, either mediately or immediately, probably the latter. The elaboration of these points is able and conclusive, though suffering somewhat from the noble fault already mentioned. For instance, the argument from the relative age of the use of bronze and iron, bronze characterizing the older poem and iron the younger (p. 18f.), is weakened by the fact (admitted p. 279, note) that *οὐρανός* has the epithet *αιθέριος* only in that part of the *Odyssey* assigned to the older poem.

With these two fragments of two distinct sources for our *Odyssey*, Seeck now proceeds to reconstruct those sources by adding whatever other passages in our *Odyssey* exhibit the same or harmonious general characteristics and poetical purposes, and by surmising the probable contents of gaps that cannot thus be filled. He deals with single verses or groups of verses which mar the unity of the poem after the manner so ably suggested and acted upon by K. L. Kayser. What the old builders like Aristarchos rejected and athetized is now become the head-stone of the corner, in that it is the verses involving contradictions and discrepancies which are most surely *not* the work of any compiler. The first fragmentary source, the archery-slaughter, is reconstructed in chapter III, "Die Odyssee des Bogenkampfes," pp. 23-83.

Beginning is made with τ 53-477+ (φ 5-355, 359-χ 22, 26-98), i. e. the first *ἀναγνώρισμός* and the *τόξον θέσις*. Even from this nucleus some later accretions can be taken. They are the boar-hunt, τ 399-466, the history of the bow of Iphitos, φ 14-38, and the mythological simile, φ 295-304. The first addition to this nucleus is the insulting throw of Antinoos, ρ 328-504. The first act of Odysseus' vengeance is the slaying of Antinoos, who is thus recognized as the hero's chief enemy. This makes it antece-

dently probable that the special provocation to this vengeance in the hurling of the stool at Odysseus by Antinoos belonged to the same poem. The probability becomes certainty when it is seen that the *ρότε* of  $\phi$  99 must refer to an event of the same day. But the verse then contradicts the chronology of the present *Odyssey*, and is shown thereby to be original, and not added by compiler or arranger. Further supports for this connection are found (1) in the prophetic *φήμη* of  $\rho$  496f., revealing the poet's intention to have vengeance for the insult follow that very day; (2) in Penelope's prayer ( $\rho$  494) to Apollo, who is the patron deity of this oldest *Odyssey* instead of Athene; (3) in the clear implication in  $\rho$  366ff., at the meal whose close is the suitor-slaughter, that Odysseus had not begged in the *megaron* before.

A process of exclusion from this oldest source is now exercised upon the remaining two throws at Odysseus, the Iros episode, and the first Melantho episode, successfully, it would seem, in the case of all except the Iros episode. The objections urged against this are (1) that there is contradiction between the statement of Antinoos,  $\phi$  291f., that no other beggar besides Odysseus had such privileges as he among the suitors, and the description of Iros "als ein bekannter Gast des Königshauses" (p. 31); and (2) the fact that in the Iros episode Antinoos plays the role of patron of Odysseus ( $\sigma$  43ff.), whereas in the original source he is his constant tormentor. But nothing in the present form of the poem places Iros on a level with Odysseus in privilege among the suitors. On the contrary, the opening verses of  $\sigma$  distinguish him sharply as the town-beggar of Ithaka. And as to the patronizing tone toward Odysseus assumed by Antinoos in  $\sigma$ , it is keenly ironical, and prompts to what bade fair to be defeat and disaster. The general tone of the Iros episode might better be relied on to stamp it as a late extension of an original action that was terrible in its brevity and directness.

This process of exclusion brings the throw of Antinoos into close proximity to his death, and nothing is found in the beggar scenes more appropriate to intervene between the two than the famous coquette scene of Penelope, which is of such supreme importance both in Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz, as well as in Seeck, for fixing an original variety of sources. The archaeology of the author is sadly at fault when he locates (p. 36) the *θάλαμος* or treasure chamber in the second story, and his junction of  $\sigma$  303 and  $\phi$  5 is an impossible one, though they may have been originally sepa-

rated by mere transition verses. Still, on the whole, the maltreatment of the beggar (already known as Odysseus to Penelope) and the accumulated gifts of the suitors, are ingeniously adopted to furnish immediate occasion for the *τόξου θέσις*. But the coquette scene has two features, as Seeck fully admits, which make it impossible to attach it directly in this way to the archery-slaughter, viz. the controlling and directing presence of Athene, who is not the deity of the oldest source, and the motive given by the poet for her appearance before the suitors in her desire to warn Telemachos of danger. To escape the force of these objections, Seeck supposes that the scene, originally a taking feature of the archery-slaughter, was adopted and worked over by the author of the spear-slaughter, to whose different purposes such a role given to Athene and such a conference of Penelope with Telemachos became necessary as links of connection, links of such imperfection as to be now easily recognizable.

But surely such a proceeding, even though ingenious, is quite arbitrary, and proves nothing more than a possibility. It makes it possible to assign any objectionably youthful feature in a desired elder source to a reworking of that source by a poet whose distinctive characteristics make it seem objectionably young. This is merely transferring tokens of distinction to suit an assumed criterion. It is a mode of argument which abounds in all the following reconstructions, and is one of the prime elements of uncertainty in the conclusions of the book.

It will be instructive to compare the treatment of the coquette episode in Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz, and Seeck. Kirchhoff (anticipated by Kayser, *Hom. Abh.* p. 41) points out the inconsistencies in the scene, and draws the general conclusion that they prove an imperfect adaptation to a new context from an elder and simpler source (p. 518). His restoration of the original form consists simply in removing vv. 281-283, 291-301, 303, which he considers the work of his "Fortsetzer," but the rest as "Bestand eines älteren Liedes." Wilamowitz very fairly criticises this solution of the difficulty (p. 33) as only partial, and as retaining unexplained the great inconsistency between Penelope's avowed motive for going into the presence of the suitors and what she says to Telemachos after she gets there. To Wilamowitz the episode is a light and playful parody on the type of the chaste and discreet Penelope, composed in the vein of the author of the loves of Ares and Aphrodite in *θ*, and incorporated into the poem by a

late editor, the author of *a*, by means of vv. 214-243, which betray his manner. To Seeck, the episode comes from a poem in which Odysseus was already known to his wife, and is part of a preconceived plan on their part to introduce naturally the *τόξου θίσις* and the vengeance. Its inconsistencies are due to elements incorporated into it by the author of a younger poem, who wished to get the benefit of its attractiveness, although in his poem husband and wife had not yet recognized each other, and of course laid no plans for vengeance. Kirchhoff, as so often, states the problem clearly, and the necessity of some solution. In proposing a solution, however, he is not so successful. Wilamowitz propounds a brilliant working hypothesis, assuming a wide range of immediate sources. Seeck modifies the hypothesis, assuming a limited and definite number of immediate or mediate sources.

Equally interesting would be a comparison of the treatment by each author of the three throws at Odysseus, by Antinoos, Eurymachos, and Ktesippos. But enough has been said to mark already the distinctive characteristics of the work of Seeck. He aims at definite, complete solutions, and of course thereby lays himself open to criticism much more than one who merely suggests methods for obtaining results.

He has thus won for his eldest source, the "Odyssey of the archery-slaughter," material for the action of about twenty-four hours (p. 41). The action has a satisfactory close, but no such beginning, and a gap occurs between the two. The one must be supplied and the other filled out. But now that the method of the author has been illustrated, there is no call for full details in describing the gradual building up of his three main Odyssey sources.

Briefly, then, the "Odyssey of the archery-slaughter" is gradually expanded into an action of five days (pp. 76-82). It begins with an assumed landing from Thesprotia, where Odysseus has left his treasures to obtain advice from the oracle at Dodona. The Zeus-oracle takes the place, in this oldest source, of the Athene patronage in the younger ones. The material for this Thesprotian introduction is drawn (at the suggestion of Niese and Wilamowitz) from incidents in the story of the beggar (§ 316ff.) about the wanderings of Odysseus. What the poem, as we now read it, presents as garrulous but entertaining lies, is assumed to be based on well known and poetically developed traits of the Odysseus myth. The estimated length of the oldest Odyssey thus

was is about 3000 verses, a suitable amount for one day's recitation. Most uncertain to the majority of readers will probably be the arguments for the service of Odysseus to Eumaios, which play such a part in the reconstruction of the second day's action. They are highly ingenious, but fanciful. Few will follow an analysis of so composite a poem as the *Odyssey* back to the elemental nature-myths, for which one of many poets may have shown a fondness which impaired his clearness. Still, it must be confessed that no adequate idea of the thoroughness of Seeck's analysis can be obtained from merely summarizing its results, and also that much which he records for the sake of completing a scheme, he does not himself insist upon as sure. Two features in his reconstruction of this earliest *Odyssey* seem secure: the Antinoos throw dramatically preceding his death, and the promised visit to the hut of Eumaios of an *untravelled* Telemachos. But this does not involve the Thesprotian introduction, which, even if it could be proved, would be as abrupt and incomplete as a *νόστος* from Kalypso's isle, and call as loudly for an apologue.

For the sake of comparison, an outline sketch of the action for the five days of this *Odyssey* should be given. (Thesprotian *νόστος*) + ξ (in a younger version) | ,<sup>1</sup> ο 301-336, 340-495 | ,<sup>2</sup> ρ 10-25, 182-253 (partly in younger version), 507-550, 553-565, 569-606, τ 53-59, 61-389, 392-398, 467-477 + | ,<sup>3</sup> υ 276-278 [241-247], ρ 328-357, 365-491, 494-497, 499-504, σ 158-303 (in later version), φ 5-14, 38-242, 244-294, 305-355, 359-χ 22, 26-98, 310-329 | .<sup>4</sup> Material for the third day is supplied by the visit of the untravelled Telemachos to the hut of Eumaios.

A glance at the analysis of Wilamowitz will show the advances claimed by Seeck. He supplies the lost suitor-slaughter at the close of Wilamowitz's oldest *Odyssey* by his discovery that our present suitor-slaughter is really composed of two, but finds the opening of his oldest source in the Thesprotian adventures of Odysseus rather than in those of ε—μ, by utilizing τ 269ff. Seeck's oldest source is thus a *ρίσις* rather than a *νόστος*. In chap. IV, the second *πέκνυα*, in ω, is held to be a later enlargement of this *ρίσις*, as also the boar-hunt (τ 399-466) and the history of the bow of Iphitos (φ 14-38.)

One source for our *Odyssey* is thus secured, but the three throws at Odysseus have already indicated a triple source. The important element of the magical transformation of Odysseus by Athene, so strikingly developed but misused by Kirchhoff, so happily



improved by Wilamowitz, is now employed by Seeck (chap. V) to prove that the spear-slaughter existed in two forms, one involving this transformation, the other not. Both modified forms of the original spear-slaughter were used by the final compiler of our Odyssey. This gives two more sources, then, for reconstruction, the "Odyssey of the Transformation," and the "Odyssey of the Telemachy," as they are henceforth called. In chapter VI the portions of the second half of our Odyssey which can be claimed for the Odyssey of the Transformation are one by one collected. The main clue, the magical transformation, is a plain and helpful one. Eurymachos is here the chief suitor, and Melantho his paramour ( $\sigma$  325). The beggar-fight and passages showing a certain cultus of the dog (pp. 94ff.), unfulfilled prophecies and useless preparations, which must originally have been fulfilled and utilized, are used to make up or suggest the body of the poem. Its Telemachos is distinguished from the Telemachos of  $\alpha$ — $\delta$ , and so all the compiler's references to his journey are removed. The result is much more uncertain than in the case of the first source, and this the author himself feels (p. 119). He regards this reconstruction as proving merely the possibility of reconstruction. Since he claims so little, it will not be necessary to show in detail the vague nature of many of the arguments by which he effects the reconstruction, as for instance those drawn from certain ethical features of the poems. His resulting poem will best be given after the analysis of the first half of our Odyssey, although sufficient exposition and introduction for it are already found in  $\nu$ , which is clearly the beginning of a new poem (an Ithaka poem), or of a new division of the same poem.

Having thus reconstructed two sources for the compiler of our Odyssey, the author assumes an antecedent improbability that more than three sources were used by him (p. 119f.), and having briefly, but very inconclusively, attempted to justify this assumption, proceeds (chap. VII) to arrange the remaining fragments of the second part of our Odyssey into his Odyssey of the Telemachy, which is to contain a second version of the spear-fight. The remnants, consisting principally of  $\nu$ , the book so mercilessly criticised by Bekker, abound in contradictory, clumsy, and unpoetical features, while here and there occurs a passage of highest excellence. Instead of assigning the good work to indefinite and sporadic sources, as Kirchhoff does (and Wilamowitz also, though with an attempt at greater definiteness), and the poor work to a

compiler, Seeck attempts to show that a consistent and poetical conception lies at the basis of all these fragments, especially when brought into connection with their proper Odyssey; it is only the expression that is faulty. He therefore assumes for this mass of inequalities a continuous source, originally composed by a gifted poet, which a mediocre scribe attempted to reproduce from memory, filling up gaps, when his memory failed him, with pitiful makeshifts of his own. "Also die Conception des Ganzen gehört einem hochbegabten Dichter an, die Verse einem elenden Pfscher" (p. 123). On this assumption the criteria for this third Odyssey are based.

But it is plain that such an assumption lets down the bars of criticism to any monstrosity whatever. Anything can be assigned to such a poem. In the previous analyses, inconsistencies and contradictions are dwelt upon and emphasized as betokening variety of source. Now the process is reversed, the contradictions are handled apologetically, and even held to betoken community of source—considering the nature of that source. The conclusion is therefore easily reached, that it is possible in this way to assign all remaining fragments of the second part of our Odyssey to a single third source. This is done in detail (pp. 128–143), with some striking successes. A bold and travelled Telemachos is clearly developed, and other indications that this third source was a Telemachy are skilfully massed. This leads, of course, to the incorporation of  $\alpha$  88— $\xi$  619, following Wilamowitz in the treatment of  $\alpha$ . Kirchhoff merely shows it to be poorly expressed, like  $\nu$ . Its thought and spirit are excellent. The hypothesis of poet, scribe, and compiler fits both equally well. Hence they belong together, and with them also the close of  $\delta$ . A supplement to this Telemachy, developing the Laertes hints, is  $\omega$ , with constant allusions backward to  $\alpha\beta$ . The forward references in  $\alpha\beta$  to  $\omega$ , which Kirchhoff stamps as compiler's work, Seeck finds to be genuine parts of his original Telemachy. But in this Telemachy the first poet was also a compiler, incorporating  $\nu\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$  from more than one source. And so we have this complicated origin for it at last: the original spear-slaughter, which had borrowed motives from the archery-slaughter, was enlarged into a Telemachy by a poet of original powers, who added his own composition and borrowed from  $\nu\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$ ; this compilation the wretched scribe tried to reproduce, partly from memory, and partly by independent efforts of his own; this poor scribe's mosaic of remembered

and original verses was what the compiler of our Odyssey used. But is not this scribe a more wonderful creature even than Kirchhoff's "Fortsetzer"?

There remain for analysis  $\epsilon$ — $\mu$  (chap. VIII, pp. 144–203). The occurrence of doublets, or pairs of variant versions, already ably used to show variety of source in  $\delta$  (pp. 140ff.), is shown to be capable of wide application from  $\zeta$  to  $\nu$ . Here we find the most satisfactory work in the whole book, so far as the analysis into *different* sources is concerned. But as soon as the attempt is made to assign all these differentiated passages to just those two sources in the author's triple scheme which remain incomplete, the reasoning is forced and the result doubtful. But of this the author himself is perfectly aware (p. 151). Two different Athenes and Nausikaas are well made out in  $\zeta$  and  $\eta$ . The same is done for Odysseus in  $\theta$ ,  $\theta$ , and  $\nu$ . Hence there must have been at least two versions of the Phaiakian episode, of parallel action, and extending into  $\nu$ . Other doublets are made significant—the two descriptions of the palace of Alkinoos, Helios and Poseidon, Kirke and Kalypso, Kirke and Teiresias, etc.—and the notorious differences between  $\epsilon$  and  $\mu$ , and between the two parts of  $\lambda$ , are happily utilized. The criteria of distinction in allotting to the two sources often become as vague as before in the reconstruction of the second source in  $\nu$ — $\sigma$ . In one version Athene appears in person (Transformation Odyssey), in the other not (Telemachy Odyssey). In the first source, formal superiority is expected; in the second, careless expression and indiscriminate borrowing. The modest Nausikaa goes to the first source, the bold one to the second. All reasons for athetesis fail in the Telemachy, since so much can be loaded upon the scribe. All perfection of form and elevation of sentiment prejudice in favor of the Transformation Odyssey. But the process need not be traced in detail. Analysis is searching, suggestive, and generally successful. Synthesis, while ingenious to a fault, is very uncertain. This criticism applies to the whole book as well as to this chapter.

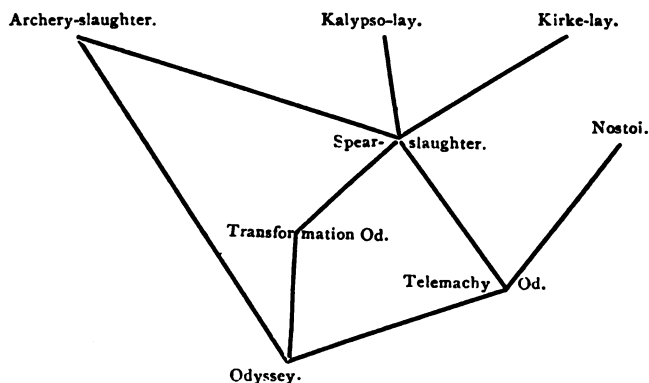
A rough outline of the composition of the last two sources may be added here for the sake of comparison, no attempt being made to indicate the slighter breaks, or the material supplied for the gaps in the reconstructed sources. The latter of course is all important in judging of the author's success.

ODYSSEY OF THE TRANSFORMATION (chap. IX):  $\alpha$  1–87,  $\epsilon$  43– $\zeta$  40,  $\zeta$ — $\nu$  (*passim*) give the first part, 2040 verses, Odys-

seus with Kalypso and the Phaiakians;  $\nu\epsilon$  (*passim*),  $\pi\rho\sigma$  (*passim*), with a suitor-slaughter entirely supplied from scattered *indicia*, give the second part, 1010 verses, describing three days of Odysseus at Ithaka. The independence of the second part is freely admitted, and the suggestion made that it served as an appendage to the first, and was sung on some immediately following occasion (p. 211f.).

ODYSSEY OF THE TELEMACHY (chap. X):  $\kappa\lambda\mu$  (*passim*) begin the poem with the wanderings of Odysseus narrated in the third person. The natural pause after the arrival of Odysseus at Kalypso's isle is utilized to begin the journey of Telemachos,  $\alpha$  88— $\delta$  847. Then the story recurs to Odysseus with Kalypso and the Phaiakians,  $\epsilon$ — $\theta$  (*passim*). The last division is devoted to Odysseus at Ithaka,  $\nu$ — $\omega$  (*passim*). To the whole poem 7050 verses are assigned. It easily falls into four nearly equal cantos.

The author even ventures on a diagram of his sources for the Odyssey, which is most interesting and graphic, if not entirely proven:



Looking back over the long and minute processes by which this result has been obtained, we must admire the fertility of resource and the facility of combination which have proved it possible to string our entire Odyssey on the threads of three distinct sources. The most assured success we find in the reconstruction of the first source, though even here the *terminus a quo* is doubtful. In reconstructing the second source, the Odyssey of the Transformation, the vagueness of the tests applied (aside from that of the transformation itself), and the lack of connection between the two parts, make it practically a receptacle for all the

poetry of high excellence which cannot be claimed for the Archery-slaughter or the Telemachy. And as to the third source, the Telemachy, its criteria are so elastic that almost any remnant of any body of epic poetry could be assigned to it. But, though not conclusive in his entire reconstructions, the author may be congratulated on having characterized more definitely than had been done before the leading traits of three main sources, and on having more clearly distinguished parts of other sources not so easily to be combined into connected wholes. In aiming at the stars he has reached the mountain tops. He has also shed fresh light on the interpretation of many passages, and, above all, has done valiant service against that great infirmity of Homeric criticism, "das ewige Athetiren." With the enormous literature of Homeric criticism he shows a more patient acquaintance than Wilamowitz. It were hardly fair to blame him for not always knowing when his views have been anticipated, but the work of Christ of Munich on interpolations and *iterati* in Homer might well have claimed his careful attention.

The methods of Quellenkritik are by no means the peculiar property of the professional historian, and they deserve a place beside dialectology in all attempts to deduce the history of the Greek Epos. Some of the results already securely won by them must soon find their way into our lexicons and commentaries. As soon as late poets or compilers took whole phrases or verses or passages as units of composition, there were incorporated into their poems numberless usages which are plainly clumsy and even false. Their clumsiness and falseness should be pointed out. There has been too much swallowing of camels on the part of commentators in efforts to make these usages seem good. Even in a periodical intended to further the popular study of the Hebrew Scriptures, we find the study of the sources from which some of the books are compiled a very prominent feature. "Particular phrases in the transcribed sections may not have the connection that they at first seem to have with the context in which they are now found" (Harper's Old Testament Student, Sept., 1887).<sup>1</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Die analyse der homerischen Gedichte ist zunächst wie die des pentateuchs lediglich eine aufgabe philologischer kritik. Bibel und Homer (die beiden wurzeln aller unserer geistigen bildung) müssen zudem zunächst allein aus sich heraus verstanden und analysirt werden, und selbst die art ihrer überlieferung, die textgeschichte, fordert die parallelisirung heraus. (Wilamowitz, Hom. Unt., Widmung.)

such passages the question must often be not only what the words naturally mean, but also what they were intended to mean in their present connection. A collection of such cases in Homer as are most clearly established would be very helpful. We should be spared in future the necessity of making *ἔπειτα* = *tandem*, α 65, only because this verse is an easy improvement of K 244. We should be spared the still greater violence of trying to make *οἶκον* = *θάλαμον* in φ 350, merely because Z 490 has been economically utilized. A perfectly good verse, ο 45, would be spared the indignity of brackets merely because identical with K 158, where the *λὰξ ποδι κινήσας* is more natural. But were the bracketed verses which source-criticism restores to us to be enumerated, time and space would amply fail. "Ich weiss in der ganzen Odyssee," says Seeck (p. 168), "keinen einzigen handschriftlich gut beglaubigten Vers, von dem ich die Behauptung wagen möchte, dass er in der Compilation des Bearbeiters nicht gestanden haben könne."

Customs changed of course during periods of time separating different sources, so that in α 277, *ἔδνα* had become dowry gifts instead of suitor gifts. We are spared, then, the violence of trying to refer *οἱ δέ* of this verse to the suitors, and casting out the following verse. The geographical horizon was different in different sources. We need not feel compelled, then, to identify either peoples or places bearing the same or similar names. The Pylos of Nestor need not be always Messenian, nor always Triphylian. Again, the principles of navigation and the practices of sailors may vary in different sources. In matter as well as in form we must expect the poems to present us an infinite variety.

But even the acute analysis of the historical source-hunter cannot impair the charm of the Odyssey. Even of *ν*, that *monstrum horrendum* of Bekker, Kirchhoff and Seeck have warm praise. And of *α*, the work of his compiler, Wilamowitz can say (p. 11), "diese Exposition will *α* geben, und, falls man sich nur in die nötige Entfernung von dem Detail stellt, so gibt es sie vortrefflich." Those who teach Homer probably find it difficult to decide just how far removed from the details of criticism they should keep their pupils. But for those who read the poems to enjoy them the separation is not a difficult one.

The first part of the book closes with a chapter (chap. XI, "Lexikalische Bestätigungen") which attempts to derive support for this analysis of the Odyssey from study and comparison of the vocabularies of each source. The author does not lay much weight

on the results of the study, and the relative length of the reconstructed sources, or their varying scenes and themes, will account for the most striking differences. With the contamination of sources which he admits, any very striking differences between Telemachy Odyssey and Transformation Odyssey are not to be expected.

The second part of the book, in evident imitation of Wilamowitz, is devoted to certain historical deductions from the foregoing analyses, and is entitled "*Geschichte der Odyssee.*" Chapter I treats of the Odysseus myth, identifying the hero of course with the sun, and explaining the importance given in the myth to the insignificant island of Ithaka by its geographical situation on the westward horizon of the land where the myth was native, viz. Aitolia. Chapter II attempts to show Aitolian origin for the oldest source, the archery-slaughter. In chapter III the original poems of the wanderings, the Kalypso and Kirke lays, are examined for signs of their age and origin, but with no definite result, though faint indications point to a region not far from Aitolia, and a time not much later than that of the archery-slaughter. In chap. IV the original spear-slaughter Odyssey also is shown to be of west-Greek origin, and the possibility that its author was a native Ithakan living among a strange people, perhaps in Elis, in connection with the Olympic festival, is very ingeniously argued. Chapter V assigns the *νόστοι* of the Telemachy to a Korinthian colonist of the Chalkidic peninsula, and chap. VI the Telemachy itself, that wonderful conglomerate, to an Attic poet of about 550 B. C. It closed the Epic cyclus, which was a great Athenian edition of all the Homeric poems, undertaken in accordance with the *ἐξ υποβολῆς* law of Solon. In chap. VII the Odyssey of the Transformation is assigned conjecturally either to an Italian Greek who had visited Delos, or an Asiatic Greek who had travelled in Italy and Sicily. In chap. VIII, finally, "*Die Schlussredaction des Epos,*" the present form of the Odyssey is attributed to the commission of Peisistratos, which enlarged and completed the cyclus of Solon. In spite of Wilamowitz, then, the commission of Peisistratos is brought again to honor.

Most of the conclusions of this second part are based on the analysis of the Odyssey which the first part gives in such detail, and partake of the same uncertainty. But many original and stimulating views of controverted points in Homeric criticism are presented, especially in the first and last chapters, with a fresh

vigor which bespeaks the professional historian rather than the professional philologist. "Gewiss wäre es ein grosses Glück, wenn der Hermes des Praxiteles unverstümmelt auf uns gekommen wäre, doch könnten wir seine fehlenden Glieder durch Hingabe der Venus von Milo erkaufen, so würde keiner auf den Tausch eingehn. So wollen wir denn auch die Torsi der drei Odysseen aus den Händen ihrer Verstümmler, die zugleich ihre Retter waren, dankbar entgegennehmen, und an unserer Kenntniss des Alterthums, die leider ewig Stückwerk bleiben muss, auch hier aus Stücken weiterbauen."

B. PERRIN.



### III.—THE SYMPLEGADES AND THE PLANCTAE.

Among the numerous allusions in Homer to deeds of an earlier day, none is more famous than that to the Argonautic expedition in Od. XII. This allusion is usually explained by the passage of Argo through the Symplegades or clashing rocks, also called Cyaneae, and this appears to have been the received explanation among the ancient as well as among modern writers.

Herodotus (IV 85) says that the Symplegades were formerly called Planctae. Pliny (N. H. VI 12) has 'insulae in Ponto Planctae sive Cyaneae sive Symplegades,' and (IV 13) says that they were called by the last name 'quoniam parvo discretæ intervallo, ex adverso intrantibus geminae cernebantur, paulumque deflexa acie coeuntium speciem praebebant'—which explanation is like that often given of the *θοαὶ νῆσοι* of Od. XV 299, as islands that seem "to shift and move as you pass them rapidly on shipboard" (Merry). It is easy to see that the Symplegades might well have been called Planctae, giving to that word the derivation from the same root as *πλήσσω*, but Juvenal goes the whole length of identification when (XV 19) he refers to the Planctae of Homer as 'concurrentia saxa Cyaneis.' Now the Symplegades were localized at the Bosphorus, while the traditional site of the Homeric Planctae is the coast of Italy; so, in order to satisfy the requirements of geography, it has been by some supposed that Homer transferred the Symplegades to the neighborhood of the Italian shore. Strabo indeed says so (p. 149), *ταῖς δὲ Κυνάειαις ἐποίησε παραπλησίως τὰς Πλαγκτάς, αἰεὶ τοὺς μύθους ἀπὸ τινων ἱστοριῶν ἐνάγων*. Strabo's belief was that Homer deliberately introduced allusions to historical events (as e. g. the Argonautic expedition was considered) in order to make his fictions appear more credible (see *ib.* p. 21). If this were the only objection to the identity of the Symplegades and the Planctae, the discrepancy need not be considered of much moment, inasmuch as the scene of the wanderings of Odysseus is in fairy-land, a region which, like the abode of the Hyperboreans, one can reach "neither by sea nor by land." The descriptions we have received of the Symplegades and the

Planctae are, however, so different that the difficulty is rather how to account for their having been identified.

The "clashing rocks" are, as every one knows, intimately connected with the Argonautic expedition; indeed, the safe passage through them, although effected by divine agency, is the chief exploit of the Argonauts on their voyage to Colchis. In Pindar (Pyth. IV 370) they are called *σύνδρομοι πέτραι* and are described as tumbling about like animals, which has led Dr. Paley to suggest that there may be some lurking allusion to the existence of icebergs near the mouth of the Euxine at an early date—a highly ingenious suggestion, which seems to me more probable as an explanation than the tame rationalism of Pliny. In the Tragic poets they are called *Συμπληγάδες* or *Κυάνεαι* or *κύνεαι Συμπληγάδες* (Byron's 'blue Symplegades'), also *σύνδρομίδες πέτραι*. The Roman poets called them indifferently *Symplegades* and *Cyaneae*. In Apoll. Rhod. their usual name is *Κύνεαι πέτραι*. Twice they are called *Πληγάδες*, once *σύνδρομα πετράων*, and once (IV 786) they are alluded to as *πλαγκταί*. This line is remarkable, because, as we shall soon see, Apollonius has *Πλαγκταί* of his own quite distinct from the *Symplegades*, and so for *διὰ πλαγκτὰς* here O. Schneider attempted *δι' ἀπλάστας*, but there is no variation in the MSS. Merkel understands the word in this line in the sense of *πλωτή*, in which sense it certainly occurs III 42, but it is possible, he adds, that the derivation of the word in Od. XII 61 may have been a subject of dispute among Apollonius and his friends, and that while he himself rejected the derivation from the root of *πλίσσω*, he may have wished here 'contrariae sententiae monimentum quoddam facere.' The *Cyaneae* were later identified with two islands at the mouth of the Euxine and are described by Pliny in IV 13 above quoted and by Strabo, p. 319. Now we know not only that the *Symplegades* "clashed together," but that it was also fated that when a ship had once passed between them they should remain fixed for all future time. This is as much a part of the myth as their clashing properties, and we are distinctly told by all the authorities that when Argo had made the passage they did in fact become and remain fixed (Ap. Rh. II 605; Apollod. I 9, 22, 5; Orph. Arg. 710; Theocr. XIII 24; Luc. II 716; Val. Fl. IV 708; Amm. Marc. XXII 8), and Pindar, still speaking of them as animals, says simply *ἀλλ' ἤδη τελευτὰν κείνος αὐταῖς ἡμιθέων πλόος ἄγαγεν*. We afterwards read in Ap. Rh. that part of the Colchian host sent by Aeetes in pursuit of Jason and Medea took the route through the *Symple-*

gades. They passed through without difficulty, apparently, and afterwards fell in with the Argonauts at the court of Alcinous.

Let us now compare the Homeric account of the Planctae, Od. XII 58 foll. Circe is telling Odysseus of the dangers that beset his homeward voyage. After describing how he must avoid the Sirens, she says that after leaving them there are two ways. On one side are "beetling rocks" (πέτραι ἐπηρεφέες), and against them a great wave breaks. The gods call them Πλαγκταί, and she adds :

τῇ μὲν τ' οὐδὲ ποτητὰ παρέρχεται οὐδὲ πέλειαι  
τρήρωνες, ταί τ' ἄμβροσίν Διὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν,  
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρείται λῖς πέτρῃ·  
ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἐνίησι πατὴρ ἐναρίθμιον εἶναι.

No ship escapes them, but the waves of the sea and storms of baleful fire snatch away the planks of the ships and the bodies of their crews—

οἷη δὲ κείνη γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηὺς  
'Αργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα,

and she too would have perished had not Here helped her through. The second of the two ways—that by Scylla and Charybdis—is then described by Circe, and she recommends Odysseus to take this latter route. Then after a little comes the description of the actual voyage. After safely passing the Sirens καπνὸν καὶ μέγα κύμα ἴδον καὶ δοῦπον ἄκουσα (202), Odysseus tells the pilot to keep away from the smoke and surf and make for the rocks (219); i. e. to take the passage between Scylla and Charybdis in preference to that near the Planctae. This is done, and we hear no more of the Planctae until the 23d book, where, in the rapid summary of his travels which Odysseus gives to Penelope, we merely find the words ὥς θ' ἔκετο Πλαγκτὰς πέτρας (327). There is nothing in this account to show that the Planctae moved, or rather, which is more to the point, that the danger to be dreaded from them arose from their motion. The derivation of the word πλαγκταί from the same root as πλίσσω is now generally given up. It is undoubtedly connected with πλάσσειν, and so they are properly "wandering" or "floating rocks." In his note to Il. I 403 Mr. Monro says that where two names are given, one said to be used by the gods, the other only by men, it will be found that the divine name is the one which has the clearer meaning. Here only the divine name is given, but the gods have not been as clear as might be wished. The context no more explains the word πλαγκταί as

connected with *πλάζεσθαι* than as connected with *πλήσσω*, for the harm the rocks are supposed to do can be done by them just as well if they are stationary. On this account Liddell and Scott interpret the word in an active sense as meaning "deceivers, beguilers," but this is unnecessary, for it may mean "floating," like the isle of Aeolus which is called *πλωτή* (Od. X 3), and, as noticed above, the isle of Nephaestus is called *πλαγκτή* by Ap. Rh. (III 42). It is, then, possible, as Mr. Merry says on Od. XXIII 327, that there may be an allusion to those islets that rose from time to time only to sink again, and that the fire and smoke denote their volcanic nature. Schol. on Ap. Rh. IV 834 speaks of fire bursting up through the water, *ὥστε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν θερμαίνεισθαι*. Anaphe and Thera in the Aegaeon were thought to be islands of this description. If ships approach too near the rocks the danger is obvious. It may here be asked, how could a dove be destroyed or spirited away unless the rocks clashed? This is the strong point of those who with Eustathius (*συγκρούονται πελάζουσαι*) maintain the Symplegadic theory. But birds do not try to fly *between* them, but *by* them; we have not *διέρχεται* but *παρίρχεται*. The meaning of *ἀφαιρείται* is certainly obscure. Perhaps it refers to some magical influence supposed to be exerted by the rocks, and Mr. Merry thinks there may be a reference to a "lost Pleiad," a group of seven stars, one of which is generally invisible. Here Dr. Hayman makes a remark which, though probably true in itself, does not really help to prove the point against those who may be called *οἱ συμπλήσσοιτες*. He says that there is "no suggestion of the rocks closing in and crushing, they are *ἐπηρεφές* and would meet sooner at the summit than at the base," meaning apparently (though I am not quite sure) that a bird would have no difficulty in flying between below the place where they touched. In poetry the most literal criticism is often the most useful in order that we may "keep within the limits of the knowable," and no poet can bear this test better than Homer. Poetry is first of all common sense. It is of course a good deal more, but it is that certainly. But here we have, I venture to think, an example of that *kind* of literal criticism which is not applicable to poetry. As a matter of fact every one knows that no two rocks in nature would meet so closely at sea (assuming they were floating like icebergs), all the way up from base to summit, that a bird—except perhaps a very large albatross—could not fly between, but (granting for a moment that the Symplegadic theory is correct) it is an

imaginative description which sets before the hearer or reader (*πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ποιεῖ*) the notion of two rocks meeting as closely as possible far better than any minute measurement of exact distances would do. I am here tempted to quote the celebrated words of Webster in which in one magnificent sentence he sets before us, by the force of his imagination, the might and extent of the British empire, "a power," he says, "which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." Can any amount of statistics compare for effect with a sentence like this?

Having now, *tant bien que mal*, disposed of the Symplegades and the Planctae separately, let us see the points of difference between the passage of Argo through the Symplegades and her passage as described by Homer.

(1). In Homer, Argo sails *past* the Planctae, she sails *between* the Symplegades.

(2). In Homer, this happens on the return voyage *from* the country of Aeetes, whereas she sails through the Symplegades on her voyage thither.

(3). In Homer there are fire and smoke at the Planctae, there is none at the Symplegades. In Ap. Rh. IV 787 we have, it is true, *ἐνθα πυρὸς δειναὶ βρομέουσι θύελλαι* referring to the Symplegades, but *πάρος*, the correction of Merkel for *πυρὸς*, will probably commend itself to most readers. Otherwise it is an oversight of Apollonius due probably to Od. XII 68.

(4). After the passage by Argo the Symplegades become fixed and are henceforth harmless, whereas the danger from fire at the Planctae was always to be apprehended.

I do not say anything of the difference that in Apollonius Argo is helped through the Symplegades by Athena, while in Homer Here is the *dea ex machina*, because in Ap. Rh. IV 786 Here says that she saved them (apparently a lapse of memory on the part of Apollonius), and in Apollodorus it is Here who helps them through. If, then, there are so many differences between the Symplegades and the Planctae, and if Homer does not allude to the former in connection with Argo, to what does he allude? I reply simply, to what he says, to the passage of the Planctae. In one of the numerous versions of the return journey of the Argonauts, after sailing up the Ister, they found themselves in the

Tyrrhenian sea, in defiance of geography, ancient and modern, and coasting along Italy, sailed through the Planctae after safely passing the Sirens' isle, and between Scylla and Charybdis. This is the version followed by Apoll. Rhod. and Apollodorus, and perhaps by the author of Orph. Arg., who, however, merely speaks of the Ἑγκελάδοιο Αἰτναίῃ φλόξ of which the Argonauts were in danger (l. 1251). Probably the two former writers followed old chroniclers, and it may in this case have been Timagetus, who brings the Argonauts to Italy (see Schol. on Ap. Rh. IV 259). The smoke and flame in Apollonius are referred to the forge of Hephaestus, i. e. to one of the Lipari islands. The only differences between Homer on the one hand and Apollonius and Apollodorus on the other are that in the latter the passage of Scylla and Charybdis precedes that of the Planctae, and that Argo is certainly represented as being pushed *between* the Planctae by Thetis and her sisters, in obedience to the command of Here. Many will say, no doubt, that Apollonius here copies Homer. That is possible, of course, inasmuch as he had the Homeric account before him, but it seems far more probable that they both followed older legends. But I have no wish here to drift out into the open sea of the Homeric Question, and this point is not necessary to my argument, for whether Apollonius copied Homer or not at this place, it is clear that he considered the passage of the Symplegades and the passage of the Planctae as two separate transactions. I must now call a moment's attention to the following extraordinary note of Dr. Hayman upon Od. XII 72: "The passage (that of Argo through the Planctae) is described as effected by Thetis and the nymphs pushing her through in a way very unsuited to the previous formidable description given by Phineus." Thus Dr. Hayman takes the prophetic description by Phineus of the passage of the Symplegades in the 2d book and fits it on to the passage of the Planctae in the 4th book, with which it has nothing on earth (or on sea) to do! Surely the elaborate description of the passage of the Symplegades which soon follows the prophecy of Phineus is sufficiently formidable to satisfy Dr. Hayman, and if he had even read to the end of Phineus' speech he would have seen that the prophet expressly guards himself against giving any information about the return journey καὶ δέ με μηκέτι ταῦτε κρυπτόμεν ἐξερέσθε (II 425). Had he not already been punished by blindness for revealing his "mystical lore" too freely? This blunder is so obvious that I should not have noticed it were

it not that the mistakes of so distinguished a scholar as Dr. Hayman might not unreasonably lead the reader astray.

But I must now deal with a solid objection to all that I have been urging. One may say, "Very well; but if your theory is correct, how does it happen that the Symplegades and the Planctae have been so persistently identified? If they are so distinct, must not the distinction have been always apparent?" To this I cannot give a complete answer, but I would say first that it was not until comparatively late times that they were identified, as we need not infer from Herodotus that he held that opinion when he gives Planctae as another name of the Symplegades; and next, there are certain superficial resemblances which might lead to the mistake. It might be thought, for instance, that if Homer alluded to the passage of Argo he would allude to the principal adventure connected with her voyage, the passage of the Symplegades, and some consider that the suppressed human name of Planctae is in fact Symplegades. And Homer would know all about it because, in mythical chronology, the Argonautic expedition was only one generation earlier than the Trojan war.

It is singular that Diod. Sic. in his account of the Argonautic expedition does not mention the passage of the Symplegades. Then again, the dove in Homer is paralleled by the dove in Apollonius and Apollodorus (in Orph. Arg. it is a heron), but in the later writers the function of that bird is quite different, and bears more resemblance to that of the dove let loose from Noah's ark. Then the word *κυανίη*, occurring a few lines on in Homer, may have led to confusion with the Cyaneae, but in Homer *κυανίη* is an epithet of the rock beneath which Scylla has her home, and has no connection with the Planctae. Lastly, not much emphasis can be laid on the interpretation of the word *πλῆγται* as "clashing," because that interpretation itself may have been the effect of identification with the Symplegades as much as the cause of it.

In conclusion, the remark of Strabo above quoted to the effect that Homer transferred the Symplegades to the coast of Italy to render his account more credible, does not appear to me of much weight, because if at the time when Od. XII was written the Symplegades were thought to be at the mouth of the Euxine and the Planctae near the coast of Italy, it seems scarcely likely that Homer would have made such a transference, which, if made, might, it seems to me, have had the opposite effect of making his account less credible.

But in the absence of any certain date for Homer these speculations are rather unsubstantial, and if, as Grote thinks, in Homer's time the Symplegades were no more fixed to the Bosporus than the Planctae to Italy, no inference whatever can be drawn from geography. Conversely, however, the fact that in Strabo's opinion the site of the Symplegades was in the time of Homer what it was in later times, may have some slight bearing on the date of Homer.

R. C. SEATON.



#### IV.—DER URSPRUNG DER LATEINISCHEN GERUNDIA UND GERUNDIVA.

Nachdem Bopp, Corssen und G. Curtius sich vergeblich bemüht hatten, die lateinische Gerundialbildung mit *-ndo-* wie *ama-ndo-* zu enträtseln, versuchte R. Thurneysen in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXVI 303ff., eine Erklärung dieser eigentümlichen Formation, die mehrfach Beifall fand, wie bei F. Stolz in seinem Grundriss der lat. Gramm. in I. Müller's Handbuch II, S. 188. Diese Deutung lässt unsere Verbalnomina mittels eines *n*-Suffixes vom partic. praes. act. aus gebildet sein: *amandu-s* aus *\*amant-no-s*. Thurneysen sagt: "Wie zu *cupidus cupidō* 'das Begierig-Sein, die Begierde' gebildet ist, zu *torpidus torpēdō* 'die Gefühllosigkeit,' so konnte von jedem Participium ein abstractes Substantivum auf *-ō* abgeleitet werden, z. B. *\*facientō* gen. *\*facientnis* von *facient-*, *\*faciuntō* von *faciunt-*, vgl. *prōvident-ia* *abundant-ia* *patient-ia*. Dieses Nomen bezeichnete 'das Machend-Sein, das Machen,' stand also betreffs der Bedeutung einem Verbalnomen ausserordentlich nahe und deckt sich darin vollständig mit dem spätern Gerundium. Vom Verbalnomen wird in den verwandten Sprachen das participium necessitatis abgeleitet: skr. *-tavya-* altir. *-ti* von *-tu-*; ganz ähnlich wurde im Lateinischen, wie *ferrūginus* von *ferrūgō*, so von *\*facientō* *\*facientno-s*, von *\*facientō* *\*facientno-s* gebildet, aus dem sich regelrecht durch *\*faciendnos* *\*faciendnos* hindurch das Gerundivum *faciundus faciendus* entwickelte. Ebenso wurde aus dem Genitiv des Substantivs *\*faciendnis* *\*faciendis*, da hier die Gestaltung des Nominativs (*\*facientō*) das regelmässige Aufgeben des zweiten *n* nicht hinderte; und es entstand so die Flexion *\*facientō* (*\*faciendō*) gen. *\*faciendis*, die im Lateinischen durchaus ohne gleichen dastand. Dies mag die Ursache sein, weshalb diese Bildungen gänzlich aufgegeben und durch das Neutrum des zu ihnen gehörigen Adjectivums ersetzt wurden; so lautet das Gerundium *faciendi faciendō faciendum*."

An dieser Erklärung, deren hypothetischer Charakter von ihrem Urheber ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird, ist mehreres recht bedenkenerregend, auch wenn man von ihrer Complicirtheit im Ganzen, die den Leser wenig günstig stimmt, absieht. Wie lässt sich nachweisen, dass die ursprüngliche Lautgruppe *-ntn-* im Italischen

ebenso behandelt werden musste wie ursprüngliches intervocalisches *-tn-*, dessen Übergang in *-nd-* Thurneysen in jenem Aufsätze allerdings als italisches Lautgesetz sehr wahrscheinlich macht? Wie darf ferner die Bildung eines Adjectivs *\*faciōnt-no-s* zu *\*faciōntō* gen. *\*faciōntnis* mit den Bildungen wie *ferrūginu-s*, zu *ferrūgō*, verglichen werden? Bei letzteren handelt es sich um die scharf umgrenzte Kategorie der Stoffadjectiva, und ein *ferrūginu-s* wurde sicher nur darum möglich, weil es schon vorher solche Stoffadjectiva auf *-no-s* (*-ino-s*) gegeben hatte, die als Musterformen dienen konnten. Und wer weiss, ob nicht zu *ferrūgō* zunächst *ferrūgin-eu-s* (Plaut.) so, wie *virgin-eu-s* zu *virgō*, *grāmin-eu-s* zu *grāmen*, *sanguin-eu-s* zu *sanguen sangui-s*, gebildet war und dann erst das Nebeneinander von *ilignu-s* (aus *\*ilec-no-s*) und *iligneu-s*, *ebur-nu-s* und *ebur-neu-s* u. dgl. die kürzere Form *ferrūginu-s* (Lucr.) ins Leben rief? So ist wol auch *fraxinus* 'von Eschenholz' neben *fraxin-eu-s* (von *fraxinu-s* 'Esche') erst durch derartige Doppelformen erzeugt worden. Ferner wo bleiben bei Thurneysens Erklärung die Formen *secundu-s*, *tremebundu-s* u. s. f., die von den Gerundiva nicht getrennt werden können?

Ich versuche eine neue Erklärung, zu der mich der oben erwähnte Nachweis Thurneysen's (S. 301f.) anregte, dass ursprüngliches intervocalisches *-tn-* im Lateinischen lautgesetzlich als *-nd-* erscheint: *pandō* aus *\*patnō*, zu *paleō*, *tendō* aus *\*te-tnō*, eine Reduplicationsbildung wie ai. *ta-tāna-t*, vgl. auch gr. *ἑ-πε-φρο-ν*. Hiernach verbinde ich unsere italischen Verbalnomina mit den altpersischen Infinitiven auf *-tanaiy* wie *car-tanaiy* zu *kar-* 'thun, machen' und *katanaiy* zu *kan-* 'graben' und mit den litauischen sogen. participia necessitatis auf *-tina-s*, wie *sūk-tina-s* 'wer zu drehen ist' zu *sūk-ti* 'drehen', *jėszkō-tina-s* 'wer zu suchen ist' zu *jėszkō-ti* 'suchen', *minē-tina-s* 'dessen zu gedenken, der zu erwähnen ist, merkwürdig' zu *minē-ti* 'gedenken, erwähnen'.

Fassen wir zunächst die formale Seite ins Auge. Die altpers. und die lit. Form des Suffixes weisen auf ein idg. *-tnno-*<sup>1</sup> (vgl.

<sup>1</sup> Lies *kantanaiy*. Im Altpersischen blieben die Nasale vor Verschlusslauten ungeschrieben.

<sup>2</sup> In den andern altarischen Dialekten kommt dieses *-tana-* als lebendiges Infinitivsuffix nicht vor. Es steckt aber, wie es scheint, in altind. *pat-tana-m* 'Stadt', ursprüngl. 'Befestigung' (zu *pid-* aus *\*pi-pd-*), vgl. lat. *ep-pid-u-m*.

<sup>3</sup> Mit *n* bezeichnet man in der Sprachwissenschaft die silbgebildende Aussprache des *m*, wie z. B. in neuhochdeutsch *beritt<sup>n</sup>ne*, *gn<sup>n</sup>ug*, wie die Schrittförmigen *berittene*, *genug* gewöhnlich gesprochen werden.

Verfasser, Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. I, S. 193, 195f., 198, 207f.), während für das Italische von *-tno-* auszugehen ist: *piandu-s* aus *\*piā-tno-s*. Diese Doppelgestalt des Suffixes hat vielfache Parallelen. Am nächsten steht das Secundärsuffix *-tño- -tno-*, welches im Arischen und im Lateinischen in Adjectiven auftritt, denen Adverbia mit zeitlicher Bedeutung zu Grunde liegen: altind. *nū-tana-s* und *nū-tna-s* 'jetzig' von *nū* 'jetzt', *divā-tana-s* 'diurnus' von *divā* 'bei Tage', *hyas-tana-s* 'gestrig' von *hyds* 'gestern', *pra-tnd-s* 'vormalig, alt' von *prd* 'vor'; im Lateinischen nur zweisilbig *-tino- = -tño-*, wie *crās-tinu-s* *diū-tinu-s* *sērō-tinu-s*. Ferner vergleiche man die Doppelheiten *-ño-* und *-no-*, wie altind. ved. *yaj-and-s* und *yaj-nd-s* 'Götterverehrung' (Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, S. 1075), gr. *στεγ-avós* und *στεγ-vós* 'deckend'; *-ro-* und *-ro-*, wie altind. *iṣ-ird-s* 'eilend, regsam, frisch', böot. etc. *i-após* und lesb. *ipo-s*, homer. *ipós* aus *\*iō-po-s* 'regsam, kräftig, heilig'; *-iño-* und *-io-*, wie altind. *pitr-iya-s* gr. *nárp-io-s* 'väterlich' und altind. *mdah-ya-s* gr. *μέσσο-s μέσο-s* aus *\*μεθ-ιο-s* 'medius' u. dgl. m. (vgl. Verf. a. O., S. 112, 196, 231). Es ist heutzutage wol allgemein zugestanden, dass solcher Wechsel zwischen zweisilbiger und einsilbiger Suffixform eine urindogerm. Doppelheit repräsentiert. Somit hat es nichts bedenkliches, auch für das Suffix unserer Verbalnomina eine solche zweifache Gestalt anzunehmen. Man kann ausserdem auch die Proportion ansetzen: lat. *piandus* zu altpers. *-tana-* lit. *-tina-*, wie lat. *tendo* zu altind. *ta-tan-a-t*.

Ohne alle Schwierigkeit ist nun die Zurückführung auf eine Form mit *-tno-* bei allen vocalisch auslautenden Stämmen, z. B. *dando-* aus *\*da-tno-*, *im-plendo-* aus *\*plē-tno-*, *dē-lendo-* aus *\*lē-tno-*. Die Formen auf *-bundus* wie *vagā-bundus* *treme-bundus* enthalten in dem zweiten Bestandtheil ein mit lit. *bū-tina-s* 'seiend, wesentlich, bleibend' identisches *\*fū-tno-* und in dem ersten Theil ein infinitivisches Nomen, vgl. *vagā-bundus* mit *vagā-bor*, *treme-bundus* mit *treme-fio* u. s. w. *rubi-cundus* *fā-cundus* etc. aus *\*cō-tno-* von Nominalstämmen auf *-co-*, *\*rubi-co-* (hiervon auch *rubicāre*, *Rubicō*) etc. Entsprechend *rotundus* aus *\*rotō-tno-*. Vgl. *aegrō-tu-s*. Weiterhin, wie auch bereits Joh. Schmidt's Scharfsinn sah (s. Bersu, Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit *v* im Lat.,

<sup>1</sup> Lesb. *ipos* für *\*ippos* geschrieben, wie auch sonst in diesem Dialekt nach langen Vocalen die geminierten Liquidae und Nasale einfach geschrieben vorkommen, z. B. *μῆνος* statt *μῆννος* (s. Meister Gr. Dial. I 137ff., Verfasser, Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher für class. Philol. 1886, S. 109).

1885, S. 121. *secū-tu-s* aus *\*secū-tno-* neben *secū-tu-s*.<sup>1</sup> Dass bei solchen Schritten der Wandel von *-tn-* zu *-nd-* sich bereits in umbrischer Zeit vollzogen hatte, zeigen osk. *upsannam* 'operandum' und umbr. *puter* 'plandi'; hier beruht *-nn-* auf Assimilation des *t* an den vorausgehenden Nasal, wie sie auch sonst für die umbrisch-oskischen Dialekte belegt ist.

Wie steht es nun aber mit den Formen wie *ferendu-s ferundu-s*, *faciendu-s faciundu-s* *audiendu-s audiundu-s*? Dass auch diese in die uralte Periode hinaufreichen, macht das umbr. *an-ferener* 'draumferend' wahrscheinlich. Ist es glaublich, dass einmal Formen wie *\*fer-tno-* *\*fero-tno-*, *\*facie-tno-* *\*facio-tno-*, etc. als Vorstufen wirklich lebendig waren? Man könnte Bildungen wie altind. *yajā-ti-* *avest. yaza-ta-* 'verehrungswürdig', altind. *parā-ti-* m. 'Feuer, Sonne' ('kochend, reifend'), gr. *μυε-ρός*, *λατ-τός* *λα-δελ-τός*, lat. *all-tu-s* *il-lici-tu-s* alllat. *ad-gretu-s* aus *\*ad-gredi-tno-s*, altind. *āta-ti-* f. 'Angst, Bedrängniss, Not', *vasa-ti-* f. 'Verweilen, Aufenthaltsort', *rami-ti-* f. 'angenehmer Aufenthalt', gr. *λαγ-ός* *ναγ-ός*, altind. *vaha-ti-* m. 'Brautzug, Hochzeit, Darbringung', *krī-tu-* m. 'Tüchtigkeit, Kraft' (von *kar-* *kr-* 'machen'), gr. *ἐρε-* (in *ἐρε-μός* *ἐρε(φ)ός*) aus *\*se-tu-* (von W. (e)s- 'esse') zum Vergleich heranziehen, in denen die Suffixe *-to* *-ti-tu-* durch *-e-* von der Wurzel getrennt erscheinen. Doch kommt man damit nicht aus. Denn erstlich ist es an sich nicht glaublich, dass bei *-tno-* die Bildung mit dem Zwischenvocal im Italischen von Anfang an eine so weite Ausdehnung gehabt habe. Zweitens gewähren die verglichenen Bildungen nur eine Parallele für *-e-tno-* (*ferendu-s*), aber weder für *-o-tno-* (*ferundu-s*) noch für *-ie-tno-* und *-io-tno-* (*faciendu-s faciundu-s*). Man muss vor allem in Betracht ziehen: wenn es, wie die verwandten Formationen des Persischen und des Litauischen wahrscheinlich machen, im Italischen einmal Verbalnomina gab wie *\*vectno-* *\*vecteno* = lit. *vėstina-s* (zu lat. *veho* = lit. *vežti*), Formen, welche jenem zur Lautgruppe *-ndo-* führenden Veränderungsprocess nicht unterliegen konnten, so entstand durch diesen eine Doppelheit der Bildungsweise unserer Formenkategorie, die auf die Dauer nicht zu ertragen war. Die Sprache ist überall bestrebt, für das functionell Gleiche auch den gleichen lautlichen Ausdruck zu gewinnen und, wo er durch Lautwandel unterbrochen und zerstört

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt erkannte auch den Zusammenhang mit lit. *-tina-*. Bersu's Worte sind: "*secundus* nach Joh. Schmidt aus *\*secūl-no-* (cf. Thurneys. KZ XXVI 301ff.) für *\*sect-no-* part. necessit. = lit. *sėktinas*: *sequi*."

wurde, ihn wiederzugewinnen. Man stellte den gelockerten Verband wieder her, indem man nach dem Verhältniss von *piando-* zu *piāns piantis*, von *dando-* zu *dāns dantis*, von *implendo-* zu *implēns implentis* u. s. w. zu *ferēns* ein *ferendo-*, zu *faciēns* ein *faciendo-* u. s. w. schuf. Um so leichter konnte sich diese Analogieschöpfung vollziehen, wenn es in der That in der Classe der Verba wie *fero gero* einige Bildungen auf *-t-tno-* gegeben hatte, deren Ausgang lautgesetzlich zu *-endo-* geworden war; denn möglich ist dieses ja immerhin. Doch begreift sich die ganze Neubildung auch ohne solche Formationen auf *-t-tno-*.

Was die Formen wie *ferundo-faciundo-* mit *u* statt *e* betrifft, über deren Vorkommen F. Neue Formenlehre II<sup>2</sup> 452ff. und W. Corssen Über Aussprache etc. II<sup>2</sup> 180ff. handeln, so ergibt schon das umbr. *an-ferener*, dass die Annahme unrichtig ist, sie seien ursprünglich allein vorhanden gewesen und erst allmählich durch die Formen auf *-endo-* zurückgedrängt worden. Der Wechsel zwischen *-endo-* und *-ondo-* (*-undo-*) ist derselbe, der im Participium einiger Präsientia erscheint, wie *iēns euntis* (Neue a. a. O. 452, 607f.), und auf der alten stammabstufenden Declination dieser Participia beruht, der zufolge einst die sogenannten starken Casus die Form *-ont-*, die schwachen die Form *-ent-* hatten (vgl. altind. acc. sg. *tudānt-am* gegenüber gen. sg. *tudat-ds* von *tudant-* 'tundens'). Zur Zeit, als von den consonantisch auslautenden Verbalstämmen das Gerundium im Anschluss an das partic. praes. neu gebildet wurde, war bei diesem der Wechsel zwischen *e* und *o* noch ein lebendigerer, weiter verbreiteter. Das ergibt sich ja auch aus dem substantivisch erstarrten *flexuntes*, einer alten Bezeichnung der im activen Dienst stehenden römischen Ritter, woneben auch *flexentes* vorkommt, von einem *\*flexere* = *flectere* sc. *equōs* (s. M. Schmidt zu Hesych's Gl. *φλεξευής* und O. Bechstein in G. Curtius' Stud. zur griech. und lat. Gramm. VIII 349f.), sowie aus dem zu *volēns* gehörigen und noch die alte Stammform *volont-* bergenden *voluntis* aus *\*volunti-tās*<sup>1</sup>; über andere mehr oder weniger sichere Reste von *-ont-* s. Bechstein a. a. O. 344, 348, 352. Es wurde also in die Gerundialformen von Anfang an theils *-e-* theils *-o-* herübergenommen, und während nun die Römer bei dem part. praes. sich schon im Beginne der Literaturperiode in der Hauptsache für *-e-* entschieden hatten und *-o-*

<sup>1</sup> *Voluntārius* nicht, wie öfters behauptet wird, direct vom Particip, sondern aus *\*voluntāt-ārius-*, wie *hereditārius* aus *\*hereditāt-ārius-*. Vgl. Verfasser, Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. I, S. 484, 485.

(-u-) nur noch in wenigen Fällen mit fortführten, kamen sie bei der Gerundialbildung erst in der Augusteischen Zeit allmählich aus regellosem Schwanken heraus und entschieden sich auch hier für -e- (nur in gewissen altertümlichen Formeln behielt man -u- auch noch in der Folgezeit bei, z. B. *jūre dicundō*). Der Grund, warum im letzteren Falle das Schwanken länger andauerte als beim Particip, entgeht mir.

Was dann weiter den Gebrauch unsrer Formen betrifft, so zeigt das Persische nur substantivische, das Litauische nur adjektivische Verwendung, das Italische beide zugleich.

Der altpers. Infin. auf -*tanaïy*, welcher bei Verba der Bewegung, des Befehlens und des Wagens zu belegen ist, ist als der Locativ eines neutralen Substantivs zu betrachten. Z. B. *parailā hama-ranam cartanaïy* ist so viel als 'profecti sunt ad faciendum pugnam.' Es hat sich im Persischen ein Casus im Gebrauch festgesetzt, während im Lateinischen alle Casus ausser dem Nomin. lebendig blieben, vgl. z. B. *nalandi sum peritus, in nalando exerceor, ad parcendum inimicis propensus est*. Die Bedeutung der Notwendigkeit tritt bei dieser substantivischen Verwendung in keiner von beiden Sprachen hervor.

Das litauische Particip auf -*tina-s* bezeichnet eine Handlung als eine notwendig, meistens einmalig zu vollziehende. In positiven Sätzen ist es selten, z. B. *taĩ minétina* = 'hoc memorandum est', *szečėdėn ė bažnyčė eĩtina* = 'hodie in ecclesiam eundum est', auch attributiv z. B. *taĩ labai minétinas diktis* = 'haec est res valde memoranda'. Gewöhnlich steht es in negativen Wendungen und hat hier die Bedeutung des Könnens oder Dürfens, wie *taĩ ne-trivština* = 'hoc non tolerandum est', *taĩ vòs vėrytina* = 'hoc vix credendum est'. Dass aber dem litauischen Gerundivum die Bedeutung der Notwendigkeit oder, in negativen Sätzen, der Möglichkeit ebenso wenig wesentlich inne wohnt als dem lateinischen, zeigt *būtina-s* 'seiend, bleibend, wesentlich' (zu *bū-ti* 'esse'), vorzugsweise (oder allein?) im Adverbium *būtinaĩ* vorkommend,<sup>1</sup> wie *ąsz cziŃn būtinaĩ įsitaisysiu* 'ich werde mich da bleibend (zum Bleiben) einrichten', *būtinaĩ gyvėnti* 'bleibend wohnen', *tàs būtinaĩ kitòks* 'der ist wesentlich anders'. Dieses

<sup>1</sup> Kurschat verzeichnet im Litauisch-deutschen Wörterbuch sowol *būtinās* als auch *būtinaĩ*, behauptet aber in der Grammatik §1547 (S. 414), nur *būtinaĩ* komme vor. Auf letztere Behauptung ist kein Verlass, da Kurschat's Angaben über Vorkommen oder Nichtvorkommen nur auf seinen preussisch-litauischen Dialekt zu beziehen sind.

Wort stellt sich also seinem Gebrauch nach zu dem mit ihm etymologisch identischen *-bundus*, zu *secundus* 'der folgende, zweite' und zu den Gerundiva in Verbindungen wie *in amicis eligendis* (= *in eligendo amicos*) *cura adhiberi debet*. Im Ganzen harmoniert demnach der Gebrauch des lit. part. necessit. aufs Schönste mit dem des lat. Gerundivs.

Es ergibt sich aus diesen Übereinstimmungen, dass es bereits in urindogermanischer Zeit ein Particip gab, das mit *-tno- -tñno-* gebildet war und dessen Neutrum substantiviert als Abstractum fungierte. Ob bei adjectivischem Gebrauch der Sinn der Notwendigkeit schon damals entwickelt war, oder ob das Italische und das Litauische unabhängig von einander zu dieser Verwendung kamen, mag dahin gestellt bleiben. Die Erhebung des Neutrums zu einem abstracten Substantivum ist ein Process, der sich auch bei andern Adjectivsuffixen zeigt. Z. B. sehr häufig bei *-io-*: wie altind. *vāc-ya-m* 'das Reden, Wort' zu *vāc-ya-s* 'dicendus', *kṣatr-īya-m* 'Herrschermacht, Herrschaftsbesitz' zu *kṣatr-īya-s* 'Herrschaft besitzend, Herrscher', gr. *σφάγ-ιο-ν* 'das Opfern, Opferthier' zu *σφάγ-ιο-ς* 'schlachtend, opfernd', *θελκτήρ-ιο-ν* 'Ergötzung, Zaubermittel' zu *θελκτήρ-ιο-ς* 'bezaubernd', lat. *stud-īu-m*, *frag-īu-m* gegenüber *exim iu-s* 'eximendus, aufgenommen, ausgezeichnet', *augur-īu-m* zu *augur-īu-s*, ahd. *gifuor-i* n. 'Passlichkeit, Nützlichkeit' zu *gifuor-i* 'passlich, nützlich', altbulg. *ostr-ije* n. 'Schärfe' (*ostrū* 'scharf') gegenüber *bož-iji* 'göttlich'; ein urindogerm. Neutrum dieser Art ist altind. *svdṛn-ya-m* lat. *somn-īu-m* 'Traum' zu *svdṛna-s somnu-s* 'Schlaf'. Vgl. weiter die Participia auf *-to-s*, deren Neutrum häufig im Indischen, seltener in den andern Sprachen in abstracter Bedeutung verwendet erscheint, z. B. altind. *mṛ-ta-m* 'Tod' *a-mṛta-m* 'Unsterblichkeit' zu *mṛ-tā-s* 'gestorben, todt', *a-mṛta-s* 'unsterblich' und ahd. *mord* ags. *morð* neutr. 'Mord' (Grundform *\*mṛ-to-m*), ursprünglich einfach 'Tod'.

KARL BRUGMANN.

LEIPZIG, 20. October, 1887.

AND POETRY IN THE LIMBURGER CHRONIK.

## 11.

The last group of songs preserved by Tlemann seems to have been the most important in the collector's own eyes. It is not only more extensive numerically, but it is evident that he noted these songs with particular care and pleasure, in several cases not without his own criticism. For example, he says (37, 10), *ein gut Liedchen, und ein Liedchen* (37, 11). There are about fifteen other songs of Tlemann's which are mostly recorded in the first two volumes, all dated with the years from 1857 to 1880, which seems to indicate that Tlemann himself had witnessed their popularity at the time he collected them. He has therefore either noted them as he collected them, or wrote the Chronicle during the early years of his collecting, or they were popular reminiscences of his youth. The latter is the more probable, since the songs are of a type which is not infrequently found in the collections which have been made by other collectors in the same area, and the fact that Tlemann's collection is so extensive and so well preserved is a strong indication that he was a collector of the highest order.



of which he has given us a number of specimens. Certain documents, like the famous passage in Gottfried's *Tristan*, give evidence of the fact that literary criticism had developed to great perfection in many mediaeval circles. And we can fortunately conceive of a man of fine literary taste in those times without questioning him as to his system of philosophical aesthetics. We may, therefore, at least ask whether it is not strange that Tilemann does not mention one of the popular songs until he has given us the remarkable account of Reinhard von Westerburg and has characterized the poetry of the Flagellants? It would rather be peculiar if such songs had not been sung until the year 1350. But it is quite natural, and entirely within our chronicler's character and the limited, undeveloped means of prose expression, that he thus should have directed the attention of his readers to that kind of poetry which he himself esteemed so highly.

However, even if we do not consider Tilemann's Chronicle one of the first naive attempts at literary criticism or at a history of contemporary German poetry, his book is of great importance for the history of the German "*Volkslied*," which still remains to be written.<sup>1</sup> The most important effort in this direction, Ludwig Uhland's classical "*Abhandlung*" (*Schriften zur Geschichte und Sage*, III), presents the subject from a comparative point of view, and is less concerned with a critical investigation of the historical growth of German popular poetry. Hence Uhland has confined himself almost exclusively to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, only occasionally referring to the older forms of the *Volkslied* in German literature. And in the appendix to his collection (Vol. II 973), where he speaks of his "*Quellen*" and the linguistic treatment of his text, he simply enumerates and describes the former without making mention of our Chronicle and other important collections; whereas, Tilemann's specimens being the first historical documents of popular poetry after the decline of the "*Minnesang*," it seems natural that his account should become the starting point of an investigation into the development of the "*Volkslied*." And while a comparison with the earlier forms of the "*Minnesang*" and the later "*Volkslied*" will serve the final aim of this paper, it may perhaps also contribute to a future critical history of German popular poetry.

<sup>1</sup> F. H. Otto Weddigen's *Geschichte der deutschen Volkspoesie*, a mere compilation without original research, can of course not pass for such.

But before we proceed to such a comparison, a few remarks of a more general character may not be out of place. For although we believe ourselves to have proved that Tilemann himself cannot be the author of the songs recorded by him, it might still be claimed that our songs originated under the influence of the Minnesang. It is one of the principal arguments of Wilmanns that the want of documents of early popular love-poetry is to be explained "aus der Natur des menschlichen Herzens und allmählicher Entwicklung des geistigen Lebens." If through French influence it became gradually known and fashionable in Germany to give artistic expression to the deepest feeling of the human soul, is it not possible that the popular poetry of which our chronicle relates was at least indirectly due to the fact that the German people in general had learned from the Minnepoetry of the court circles and the "Spilleute" to sing their loves?

K. Burdach, in his essay (*Zeitschr. f. d. Alt.* XXVII 343 ff.) has, according to my opinion, proved conclusively that we owe this love poetry to the general character of Volkspoesie, which is that of a happy improvisation coming and passing away with the moment of its birth, if we do not possess specimens from the oldest times. He has shown further, by the example of the poetry of many nations, especially of savage tribes, that it is not at all against "die Natur des menschlichen Herzens" to express itself in lyrical strains, perhaps long before the rise of the epos; and the songs of our chronicle may probably add another argument to the evidence against the fallacious notion of a presumed older age of epic poetry. The defenders of this idea support their opinion mainly by the fact that the exterior world lends itself much sooner and much more easily to an objective artistic treatment by the poet than the world of emotions, and wherever the latter begins to find artistic expression it is supposed to commence with a symbolization of the exterior world, as it is still to be found in the "Natureingang" of the Minnesang and the later Volkslied. I believe this is a prejudice to which even Uhland is somewhat subject, although he says of the poetic form of certain parting songs: "Andre Abschiedslieder entschlagen sich gänzlich der Bilder und Naturanklänge. Das wahre Weh, die innigste Empfindung verschmähnen allerdings oft jeden andern Ausdruck als den unmittelbarsten" (*Schriften*, III 446). But who would deny that "wahres Weh und *innigste Empfindung*," the special characteristic of all true Volkspoesie, should not have found its rhythmical expression

at least as early as the exterior world became an object of poetical imagination in epic poetry? It is a psychological fact that the soul, oppressed by violent passions and emotions, loses the freedom necessary for an imaginative artistic treatment of its various conditions. But would we call the rhythmical liberation of the soul, the primitive sounds of deepest emotion that seize us with elementary force, less poetic than the more artistic forms which betray the free play of imagination with the feelings? The almost entire absence of imaginative forms of expressions, of metaphors, Natureingang, etc., in the songs of our chronicle, which is not due to an element of bare reflection, seems to me a proof of their originality and age as well as of the age of the popular love song in general. Even the epic element, pointing to the peculiar circumstances or situation from which the single poem arose, is here wanting. Only in one case Tilemann mentions that the song was composed in praise of a beautiful woman in Strassburg, but, as if perfectly conscious of the individual and general character of popular poetry, he immediately and carefully adds that it was true of *all* good women (*unde triffet auch alle gude wibe an*, 37, 12).

This simplicity in the expression of feeling, the absence of stylistic qualities peculiar to artistic poetry, may also be observed in most of the few specimens of German popular poetry before the rise of the Minnesong, with which we shall have to compare our songs. To these we count also the German strophes in the *Carmina Burana*, a collection of Latin "Vagantenpoesie" made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of both contemporary and of earlier material. Here we only consider those which very probably belong to the twelfth century, and which E. Martin, in his essay on the *Carmina Burana* (*Zeitschr. f. d. Altert.* 20, 46 ff.), declared imitations of the Latin poems to which they are appended. Since K. Burdach (*Reinmar und Walther*, 155 ff.) has refuted Martin's opinion as far as it is based upon metrical considerations, a further discussion of this question is not necessary. Martin, however, in order to support the theory, already advanced by Schmeller, that the German Minnesong had developed from the Latin "Vagantenpoesie," says: "in keiner dieser strophen—so getraue ich mich zu behaupten—ist ein wirklich individueller gedanke oder eine hindeutung auf bestimmte verhältnisse zu finden." According to my opinion of the character of the oldest popular love poetry, this seeming defect is rather a strong proof for their age and originality, which is still further strengthened by their

metrical qualities, of which we shall treat later. The same artless expression of the deep feeling of love may be found in the following strophe, Car. Bur. 99a:

Solde ih noh den tach geleben,  
 daç ih wunschen solde  
 nah der diu mir froude geben  
 mach, ob si noh wolde.  
 Min herçe muz nah ir streben;  
 möhtih si han holde,  
 so wolde ih in wunne sweben,  
 swere ih nimmer dolde.

To this I could easily add more specimens of the same character, though varying in their themes, since the joy at the appearance of spring and in its gay dances certainly found also a very early expression in simple improvised strophes.

There is, however, one song among the poems of our chronicle which presupposes a definite situation, and which for this reason, probably, has been inserted in many collections of popular poetry, the "Nonnenlied," 48, 5:

Got gebe ime ein vurdreben jar,  
 der mich machte zu einer nunnen  
 und mir den swarzen mantel gap,  
 den wiszen rock darunden.

Sal ich geworden eine nunn  
 sunder minen willen,  
 so wel ich eime knaben jung  
 sinen komer stillen.

Und stillet he mir den minen nit,  
 daran mach he vurlisen.

The contents of this song immediately remind us of the celebrated Capitulare of Charlemagne, of 789,<sup>1</sup> forbidding the nuns winileodes scribere vel mittere, and seem to prove that winileod may, in this connection, very well mean love-song, though its original meaning, according to Müllenhoff (*Z. f. d. A.* 9, 128 ff.; *MSD.* 362 ff.), was probably "Gesellenlied." That these "winileod" were certainly not of a very sacred nature can be seen from the additional clause: *et de pallore earum propter sanguinis minuationem*. Our song may, therefore, very well be considered a specimen of the poetry of nuns, even should it destroy the modern idea of a mediæval nun, the creation of sickly romanticists.

<sup>1</sup> *U. W. Wackernagel, Litgesch.* I 48 Anm.; *Uhland, Schriften*, III 457.

Sappho's classic ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω was, however, frequently paraphrased in the nunneries of various centuries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the collections containing this popular poetry are not accessible to every reader in our country I shall quote some of the songs.

From the sixteenth century we have the following (Böhme, Altddeutsches Liederbuch, N. 242):

1. Ach gott wem sol ichs klagen  
das herzeleiden mein!  
Mein Herz will mir verzagen,  
gefangen muss ich sein;  
Ins kloster bin ich gezogen  
in meinen jungen jarn  
darin ich muste leben  
kein freud noch luste haben:  
das klag ich allzeit gott!
2. Ach nun zu diser stunde  
hört was ich sagen tu:  
*Verflucht seind all mein freunde*  
die mirs haben bracht darzu!  
Dass ich mich sol erwerben  
des nicht zu erwerben ist,  
mein gut tun sie verzeren,  
mein sel höchlich beschweren:  
das klag ich von himel Christ, etc.

While the former poem reflects the influence of the Reformation to a certain degree, the following song, from the same century, is entirely composed in the spirit of "Got gebe im," etc.; cf. Böhme, 243:

1. Ich sollt ein nönnelein werden,  
ich hat kein lust darzu;  
Ich ess nicht gerne gerste,  
wach auch nicht gerne fru.  
Gott geb dem kläffer unglück vil,  
der mich armes mägdelein  
ins kloster bringen wil!
2. Im kloster, im kloster,  
da mag ich nicht gesein;  
Da schneidt man mir mein härlein ab,  
bringt mir gross schwere pein.  
Gott geb dem kläffer unglück vil,  
der mich armes mägdelein  
ins kloster bringen wil!
3. Und wann es komt um mitternacht,  
schlägt man die glocken an,  
So hab ich armes mägdelein  
noch nie kein schlaf getan.

The imperfect rhymes *jar : gap* of our song, which are a sign of its age, have induced me to change the first verse of the second strophe in order to establish the rhymes *nunn : jung*. All the MSS read here: *sal ich ein nunn geworden*; but it is evident that my proposed reading at least approximates the original text. The rhymes *nunnen : drunden*, *willen : stillen*, apparently feminine, are surely to be considered masculine, since none of the last syllables of these words are accented. The expression, *Got gebe ime ein vurdreben jar*, was evidently proverbial and popular; M. F. 9, 18: *got der gebe in leit!* Walther von der Vogelweide, 119, 17: *Got gebe ir eimer guten tac*.

Proceeding to the remaining songs of our chronicle, we find as one of their characteristic features, which they have in common with all true popular poetry, that they are addressed to girls, and not to married women as most poems of the Minnesingers are. This natural, healthy and ethical condition, gradually disclosed again in the course of his development by the classical representative of Minnepoetry, Walther von der Vogelweide, seems to be a matter of course in our poems. And we are surprised at the

- 
- Gott geb dem kläffer unglück vil,  
 der mich armes mägdelein  
 ins kloster bringen wil!
4. Und wann ich vor die äbtissin kom,  
 so sicht sie mich sauer an;  
 Vil lieber wolt ich freien  
 ein hübschen jungen man,  
 Und der mein steter bule mag sein,  
 so wär ich armes mägdelein  
 des fastens und betens frei.
5. Ade, ade, feins klosterlein,  
 ade, gehab dich wol!  
 Ich weiss ein herzallerliebsten mein,  
 der mich erfreuen sol;  
 Auf in setz ich mein zuversicht,  
 ein nönnelein werd ich nimmer nicht,  
 ade, feins klosterlein!

This song was selected as a specimen of the present time; cf. Erk, *Liedertott*, No. 148:

1. O Klosterleben, du Einsamkeit,  
 du stilles und ruhiges Leben!  
 dir hab ich mich gänzlich ergeben,  
 zu führen ein geistliches Leben:  
 O Himmel, was hab ich gethan!  
 die Liebe war Schuld daran.

sublime simplicity of womanhood which appears in the background, as it were, of these songs. There is no description of the physical beauty of woman, in which the Minnesingers abound; only once the "zarte rote mondelin" is modestly mentioned. All the qualities attributed to her are of a higher ethical character, as *rein, gut, minneclich, zart, züchtig*, thus showing the same purity and tenderness of feeling which appears in the earliest German poems addressed to the Virgin Mary. She is the "*livesle frauwe min*," the source of pure "*freude*." There are two strophes which show this very evidently. 65, 2 :

Gepuret reine und suberlich  
weisz ich ein wip gar minneclich,  
di ist mit zochten wol bewart;  
ich wolde daz si ez woste, di reine zart.

37, 13:

Eins reinen guden wibes angesichte  
und frauweliche zucht darbi  
di sint werlich gut zu sehen.  
Zu guden wiben han ich plichte,  
wan si sin alles wandels fri.

It is true there are, especially in the earliest Minnesingers, similar expressions of tender feeling, but their poetry was limited

2. Des Morgens wenn ich zur Kirche geh,  
muss singen und beten alleine;  
und wenn ich das Gloria patri sing,  
so liegt mir mein Schätzlein wol immer im Sinn:  
O Himmel, was hab ich gethan!  
die Liebe war Schuld daran.
3. Dort kommt mein Vater und Mutter her,  
sie beten für sich alleine;  
sie haben gar schöne Kleider an,  
ich aber muss in der Kutten stahn:  
O Himmel, was hab ich gethan!  
die Liebe war Schuld daran.
4. Des Mittags wenn ich zum Essen geh,  
find ich es mein Tischchen alleine;  
dann ess ich mein Brot und trinke mein Wein:  
ach, könnt ich bei meinem schön Schätzchen sein!  
O Himmel, was hab ich gethan!  
die Liebe war Schuld daran.
5. Des Abends wenn ich nun schlafen geh,  
find ich es mein Bettchen alleine;  
dann lieg ich und kann nicht erwarmen:  
ach, hätt ich mein Schätzchen in Armen!  
O Himmel, was hab ich gethan!  
die Liebe war Schuld daran.

to the exclusive circles of the nobility. We cannot prove that their ideas penetrated among the common people, and it is, therefore, almost entirely out of the question that they should have influenced popular poetry. It seems, on the other hand, much more probable that they themselves drew from the same source which flows so refreshingly in the songs of our chronicle. For the first time the ethical spirit of the people, destined to become such a powerful element in the literary regeneration of the eighteenth century, manifests itself independently in these deeply felt songs, and we can follow in the later development of the *Volkslied* the growth of the human ideal disclosed therein. One of the most important documents for the study of its history can be found in the *Liederbuch* der Clara Hätzlerin (ed. C. Haltaus, 1840), a collection of various kinds of poetry made by a nun of Augsburg in the fifteenth century. Among the 134 lyrical pieces of the first part, which consist of a number of *Tagelieder*, *Meisterlieder*, and poems of known poets of that period, we discover several songs of an entirely popular character. Their language and tone resemble so much that of the songs of Tilemann's Chronicle that his assertion of the popularity of his songs cannot possibly be doubted. The monostrophic improvisation of the Limburger songs has developed already into the poem of several strophes in the *Liederbuch* of the fifteenth century, and the purity and depth of their feeling mark a striking contrast to the lascivious tone of the *Tagelieder* which immediately precede them. They also are addressed to girls, who are called *schön*, *frumm*, *wandelsfrey* (No. 31, 1), *die rain*, *die säuberlich* (pretty) (38, 8), *zart lieb* (48, 2), etc. They are *der höchste schatz* und *gröste fräd* (65, 1), their heart is *genaden vol*, etc. It is unnecessary to add that woman is described with the same colors in the classical popular songs of the sixteenth century.

This pure and high conception of womanhood could certainly not be without influence upon the relation of man to woman, and it is here that the ethical spirit of true popular poetry reveals itself in a sublime manner. The final aim for which all the "service" of the Minnesinger was intended is never mentioned in these songs. Instead of the desire for possession, or of sensual enjoyment, it is the idea of eternal fidelity which rules the feelings of all these songs, and it is perhaps significant that the theme of infidelity is scarcely treated in the earliest folksongs. In the following songs this plea for fidelity appears as simply and tenderly expressed as anywhere in the realms of poetry. 37, 23:



Ach reinez wip von guder art,  
 gedenke an alle stedicheit,  
 daz man auch ni von dir gesait,  
 daz reinen wiben obel steit.  
 Daran saltu gedenken  
 und salt nit von mir wenken,  
 di wile daz ich daz leben han.

Noch ist mir einer klage not  
 von der livesten frauwen min,  
 daz ir zartez mondelin rot  
 wel mir ungenedig sin.  
 Si wil mich zu grunt vurderben,  
 untrost wel si an mich erben,  
 dazu enweisz ich keinen rat.

53, 17 :

Ich wel in hoffen leben vort,  
 ob mir it heiles moge geschehen  
 von der livesten frauwen min.  
 Spreche si zu mir ein fruntlich wort,  
 so solde truren von mir fliehen.

Respons. { Ich wel in hoffen leben vort,  
 ob mir it heiles moge geschehen  
 von der livesten frauwen min.  
 Ir gunste i mit heile bekorte.  
 Ach Got, daz ich si solde sehen.

Respons. { Ich wel in hoffen leben vort  
 ob mir it heiles moge geschehen  
 von der livesten frauwen min.

65, 20 :

Wie mochte mir umber basz gesin  
 in ruwen ?  
 Ez grunet mir in dem herzen min  
 als uf der auwen.  
 Daran gedenke  
 Min lip, und nit enwenke.

Of all the songs recorded by Tilemann, 37, 23 will probably remind us most of the style of the Minnesongs, especially since it is mentioned as early as 1350. A closer examination of its language, however, will show its relation to earlier and later folksongs: *von guder art*; cf. Goedeke, Liederbuch aus dem 16 Jahrhundert, No. 14, 1: *von edler art*; 72, 16: *von edler art. stedicheit* is the technical term for fidelity in the Minnesongs as well as in the earlier folksongs; cf. MF. 16, 1; Walther v. d. Vogelw. 43, 29: *wir man wir wellen daz diu staetekeit in guoten wiben gar ein krône si*; Liederbuch der Hätzlerin, 36, 17; 72, 31; 117, 10. In one of the fragments of our chronicle which probably notes only

the beginnings of three strophes, the word *truwe* is used; cf. 56, 18, *ich wil dir i mit ganzen truwen leben*. The *mondelin rot* occurs in one of the oldest strophes of the Car. Bur. as *roser-varwer mund* (136a). *wenken* is very often used in the Liederb. d. H. *di wile daz ich daz leben han*; cf. M. F. 9, 25: *die wile unz ich daz leben hân*.

53, 17 is of great interest in regard to strophic construction, *in hoffen leben*; cf. L. d. Hätzl. 102, 31, *in hoffen ich leb*; and our chronicle 49, 11, *hoffen heldet mir das leben*.

65, 20 must certainly be called the gem of Tilemann's collection. "*Wi mochte mir umber basz gesin*" is a proverbial expression; cf. Parcival, 222, 30, *wie möhte der imer baz gestn*. L. d. H. Sprüche, No. 49, *Ich bin ir sy mein, wie möcht uns baiden bas gesein*. *Ez grunet mir in dem herzen min* occurs in the mystics; cf. Pfeifer, Deutsche Mystiker, I 4, *dar leben unses herren dar grunete und wuchs in der lûte herze*; cf. MSH. 112b, *so grunet mîn herze, als iuwer klê*.

The idea of fidelity expresses itself most beautifully also in the two little parting songs of Tilemann's collection. The pain of parting was very effectively introduced into the Tagelieder by the Minnesingers in order to form a strong contrast to the feeling of happiest enjoyment to which the lovers had previously given themselves up (cf. Walter De Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied*, 37 ff.) The situation as well as the tone of expressing the sorrow of parting is entirely different in our songs, and perfectly in accordance with their ethical character. 45, 5:

Ach Got, daz ich si miden musz,  
di ich zu den freuden hatte irkoren,  
daz dut mir werlich alzu we.  
Mochte mir noch werden ein fruntlich grusz,  
des ich so lange han enboren.

51, 22:

Miden scheiden,  
daz dut werlich we  
uzer maszen we.  
Und enist daz nit unmoeglichen,  
von einer di ich gerne anse.

My reasons for arranging the last song in this manner will be given later. I believe it is a whole strophe and does not contain the beginnings of several strophes, as Lorenz and Wyss seem to think. Several expressions in both songs recur almost verbally in numerous parting songs not only of the sixteenth century, but also in the Minnesingers and in popular poetry of the present time (cf.

Wilmanns, *Leben Walthers*, 399). The intimate relation of these songs of the *Limburger Chronik* to those of the *Liederbuch der Hätzlerin* appears most manifestly in the following poems quoted from the latter. 50:

Gesegen dich got, liebs fräwlin zart!  
Ich schaid von dir vnd lasz dich hie,  
Vergisz mein nit, et leyt mir hart,  
Wann ich dir was mit triuen ye  
Vnd will dir wencken nymmermer.

Gesegen dich got, mein hêrtz ist dein,  
Du bist mein trost, mein vsserwelt!  
Die weil ich leb, so will ich sein  
Mit stättigkeit zu dir geselt!  
So volgt nur fräd, wā ich hin cher.

Seid hoffen ist für trauren gût,  
So hoff ich wāger werd mein sach.  
Ye lieber chind, ye scherpffer rût,  
Halt vest, als mir dem gnad versprach,  
So hab ich fräd on wider ker.

Gesegen dich got, ist nit mein fûg,  
Es pringt mir leid vnd senende clag.  
Meiner tusend trügen laids genuog  
An dem, das ich allaine trag;  
Doch nert mich hoffen wider her.

77:

Ach schaiden, du vil senende not,  
Das mir dein gwalt ye gepott,  
Du machst mich plaich, rott,  
Bis in den tot,  
Das mir nit wûrser mag gesein.

Das hertz ist allzeit traurens vol,  
Wann sich lieb von lieb schaiden sol;  
Es tût nit wol!  
Darumb ich dol  
Gar senlich in dem hertzen mein.

Mit manigem seûftzen ynneclich  
Ständ zwâr mein gedenck hinder sich,  
Wie wol ich  
Gen nyemantz sprich,  
Dest geringer ist das hertz nicht.

86:

Meiden hat mich ser verwundt  
Gar tieff in meines hertzen grunt;  
Das macht ir lieb, von der mir kunt  
Ist worden gantze stättikait.

Nun hilff gelück zu stätter triw,  
 Wann meiden pringt gross affterrew,  
 Gen ainer da mein lieb ist new  
 Tag vnd nacht on vnderschaid.

Sy liebt mir ye für all dis welt,  
 Ich hoff, ich vind des widergelt,  
 Das vnser lieb bleib vnvermelt ;  
 In praun vnd grön ist sy geclaidt.

A decisive proof for the age of our songs, and consequently also indirectly for the age of German Volkspoesie in general, may, according to my opinion, be gathered from their metrical construction. And we shall find that in the structure of the verses as well as of the strophes they follow old Germanic metrical laws.

For centuries German prosody was suffering under the ascendancy of rules abstracted from the ancients, and even classic poets of the last century were mainly guided by their metrical instinct and feeling. The liberation of those ancient fetters we owe to the excellent researches of R. Westphal, who for the first time showed conclusively that the principle of accent and rhythm, and not that of quantity, is the fundamental metrical law of German poetry (*Theorie der Neuhochdeutschen Metrik*, 2 Aufl., 1877). In his essay, *Zur vergleichenden Metrik der indogermanischen Völker* (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* IX 437), he had made the revolutionizing discovery of the common basis of all Indogermanic prosody consisting of 2 X 8 syllables divided by a caesura after the eighth syllable. In the second edition of *Die Metrik der Griechen* von A. Roszbach und R. Westphal, 1868, he attempted to show that the same principle of metrical construction was to be found in the *anushṭubh* of the Veda and the *ḡloka* of classical Sanskrit, as well as in the *versus saturnius* and the old German "Langzeile." His opinion was supported in regard to the prosody of the Avesta by K. Geldner, in his treatise, *Ueber die Metrik der jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877. Starting from the results obtained by these two scholars, Professor F. Allen (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XXIV 556 ff.) found that the metrical unity of the Indogermanic verse was the tetrapodic hemistich, out of which the Indian and old Germanic *versus longus* and also the Greek hexameter had gradually developed. Independently of Allen, H. Usener, in his excellent book, *Altgriechischer Versbau, ein Versuch vergleichender Metrik*, Bonn, 1887, which also abounds in valuable suggestions for German

metrics, has reached the same results.<sup>1</sup> In order to support his theory of the development of the hexameter from the tetrapodic Indogermanic "Urvers," Usener justly points to the fact: von hause aus gibt es nur einen deutschen vers von vier hebungen. Er wird nicht gemessen nach silbenzahl, nicht nach quantität, sondern nach jenen vier hebungen, die vom sprachlichen hochton getragen sind. Das ist die form aller unserer erzählenden poesie gewesen, so weit wir sie zurück verfolgen können und ebenso der *volksmässigen* lyrik bis auf den heutigen tag. In the course of his discussion he calls attention to the principal peculiarities of the prosody of German popular poetry which are mostly due to the influence of rhythm, as already observed by E. Stolte in his *Metrische Studien über das deutsche Volkslied*, 1883, and recently treated by E. Sievers in his essay, *Die Entstehung des deutschen Reimverses* (Paul & Braune's *Beiträge*, XIII 121 ff.)<sup>2</sup>

While we find in the development of the artistic Minnepoetry a gradual observance of the regular change of arsis (Hebung) and thesis (Senkung), the entire omission as well as the accumulation of a number of theses between two arses will be frequently noticed in popular poetry. It is wrong to see in the omission of the thesis the effect of a conscious artistic reflection on the part of the poet, as it has been done by Bartsch,<sup>3</sup> who discovered it in the Nibelungenlied, and by R. Becker,<sup>4</sup> who believes to be able to prove it in the earliest Austrian Minnesongs. The absence of the thesis is to be explained not only "aus der freude an kraftvoller betonung" (Usener), but also by the dipodic structure of the German verse, and the consequent distinction of a "haupt- und nebenton."

A mere glance at the songs of our chronicle will convince us that we have here before us the old Germanic verse of four accents with a frequent syncope of the thesis. I have noticed the following cases: 37, 31 von der livestén frauwen mín; 37, 32 daz ir zártez mündelín rôt; 37, 33 wel mir ungenédig sin; 48, 10 sunder mínén willen; 48, 12 sinen kómér stillen; 53, 19 von der livestén frauwen mín; 65, 21 in rúwén; 65, 23 als uf der aúwén. A similar syncope of the thesis may be observed in the following German strophes of the *Carm. Bur.*: 99a, 5; 100a, 5; 127a, 4; 129a;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Westphal, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, No. 20, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, I did not receive Professor Wilmanns' exceedingly profound treatise, *Der altdeutsche Reimvers*, until this essay was printed.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bartsch, *Untersuch. über das Nibelungenlied*, 142 ff.

<sup>4</sup> R. Becker, *Der altheimische Minnesang*, 50 ff.

141a, 3; for it is absurd, according to my opinion, if Martin adopts in these cases "sprachlich unrichtige Betonung" in order to save his theory (cf. Burdach, Reinmar und Walther, 156). By the aid of these observations concerning accentuation, I believe to be able to reconstruct one of our songs hitherto considered as a fragment, and as a proof for the fact that Tilemann noted the melody rather than the text of the songs as he did in the case of the Flagellant poetry (cf. Lorenz, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen<sup>1</sup> I 144). I propose to read 51, 22 in the following manner:

Midén, scheidén  
 dáz dut wërlich wê  
 úszer mászen wé.  
 und eníst daz nít unmoéglichén,  
 von einer, dí ich gérn ansé.

A similar difference between the songs of our chronicle and the artistic Minnepoetry is to be found in regard to the use of the anakrusis. The strict rules of prosody of the Minnepoetry allow only monosyllabic anakrusis, and there are only a few exceptions to this rule even in the beginnings of the artistic poetry (cf. Haupt, M. F. 292). The popular poetry, however, has always treated this rule with disrespect. While the exceptions in M. F. show only dissyllabic anakrusis, most of the cases occurring in Spervogel and other poems of a popular nature, an anakrusis of two, three and more syllables is not unusual in our songs: 37, 31 von der lîvestén; 37, 32 daz ir zártez; 65, 23 als uf der aúwén; 37, 13 eins reinen güden. The same treatment of the anakrusis prevails in Car. Bur. 112; 106a, 7; 108a, 4.

A further proof for the popularity and age of the songs of our chronicle can be obtained from an observation of the nature of the rhymes. Although the distinction between masculine and feminine rhymes appears quite plainly in our songs, the masculine rhyme is preferred in most cases, a peculiarity also of the Car. Bur.: 106a, 107a, 115a, 129a, 133a, 134a. Imperfect rhyme, quite rarely occurring in artistic poetry after 1190, may be observed in the following cases: 37, 4 *laszen* (lân) *enkan*; 37, 23 *art*: *sait*; 48, 6 *nunnen*: *darunden* (darunnen?); 48, 9 *nunn*: *jung*; 53, 18 *geschehen*: *fliehen*. The fact that even the unaccented *e* can bear the rhyme, as e. g. in 65, 21, is entirely in harmony with the rhythmical laws of German popular poetry, which frequently allow a strong accent on weak syllables.

Still more important proof for the age of our songs may be obtained by observations from the structure of the strophes. It is certainly true that Tilemann's attention was principally directed to the "wise," i. e. the musical melody of the songs he recorded. The following remark will, however, show that the words and their strophic structure did not escape his notice. He says in the year 1360: "Item in disem selben jare vurwandelten sich dictamina unde gedichte in Duschen lidern. Want man bit her lider lange gesungen hat mit funf oder ses gesetzen, da machent di meister nu lider die heissent widersenge, mit dren gesetzen. Auch hat ez sich also vurwandelt mit den pifen unde pifenspel unde hat ufgestegen in der museken, unde ni also gut waren bit her, als nu in ist anegangen. Dan wer vur funf oder ses jaren ein gut pifer was geheissen in dam ganzen lande, der endauc itzunt nit eine flige." Is it not strange that Tilemann, who noticed this change so carefully, should not have preserved us at least one of those songs of five or six strophes which in that year became unfashionable? With but three exceptions the recorded songs consist of one strophe only, and a comparison of one of those exceptions (53, 17), called by him a "lit unde widergesenge," with the Meisterlieder accessible to me<sup>1</sup> disclosed no relation whatever. The simple answer to our question will therefore be that it is the old monostrophic form of the popular German song which we have here before us, a form which is given by the improvisatory nature of this kind of poetry.<sup>2</sup> The same form is found in the Car. Bur. and the oldest specimens of the Minnesong, so that it is quite safe to say that all the old German love poetry of which we have no documents consisted of monostrophic poems. The entire absence of songs of five and six strophes can be taken as another proof that Tilemann consciously distinguished between Meisterlieder and that poetry which he recorded.

It is a well known fact that the old Germanic "Urvers" of four accents, twice or four times repeated, constituted the old Germanic "Urstrophe" as it appears e. g. in Otfrid. Among the songs of our chronicle we meet this strophe twice, 65, 2, and in the "Nonnenlied," 48, 5. There are, however, several songs composed in a strophe which differs very much from this old and simple form. Comparing it with other known strophes we might be inclined to

<sup>1</sup> K. Bartsch, Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift; Goedeke-Tittmann, Liederbuch.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Scherer, Deutsche Studien, I 333; Burdach, *ibid.* 165.

declare it a variety of the old popular Moroltstrophe, but a more careful inspection will show this to be impossible. According to Scherer's investigations, based upon the theories of Müllenhoff (*Zeitschrift für d. Altertum*, XVII 569 ff., and *Deutsche Studien*, I 283 ff.), the Moroltstrophe developed from the old custom of lengthening the last of the four verses constituting the old German strophe. The first half of this "Langvers," separated from the latter part by a caesura, was inserted as a new verse in the strophe, and, since it does not rhyme with any of the other verses, is called "Waise." As a further peculiarity of strophes containing a "Waise," Scherer pointed out that a monosyllabic (stumpfe) Waise will always appear between feminine rhymes and a dissyllabic (klingende) Waise between masculine rhymes. Since a Waise may be placed before any one of the four verses of the original strophe, we get strophes of five, six, seven and eight verses. In my opinion Müllenhoff-Scherer's theory of the development of the "Waise" is somewhat mechanical, and, for various reasons, principally musical ones, I believe that the Waise is a separate verse introduced into the strophe of four verses after an old German custom.<sup>1</sup> Yet, whether we accept Scherer's theory or not, we will not be able to explain the strophe of the Limburger songs by the Moroltstrophe. The usual form of the latter is:

4 — masc. a  
 4 — masc. a  
 4 — masc. b  
 4 ∪ fem. c (Waise)  
 4 — masc. b

of which there are several varieties, all agreeing, however, in having the Waise immediately before the last verse. The form of the strophe of three songs in our chronicle, on the contrary, is:

|                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 4 ∪ fem. a         | or, 4 — masc. a     |
| 4 — masc. b        | 4 ∪ fem. b          |
| 3 ∪ fem. c (Waise) | 4 — masc. c (Waise) |
| 4 ∪ fem. a         | 4 — masc. a         |
| 4 — masc. b        | 4 ∪ fem. b.         |

It can easily be seen that this strophe has none of the peculiarities of the Moroltstrophe: the position of the Waise before the last verse and the distinction of masculine rhyme and dissyllabic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Becker, *ibid.* 42; but also R. M. Meyer, *Grundlagen des Mittelhochdeutschen Strophenbaus*.



Waise. We find, however, in all the songs composed after this form a strong pause after the third verse, the close of the first sentence even typographically indicated by a period. Among all the strophes of the old popular poetry I found a similar form only in the very old strophe of the Car. Bur. :

nah mine gesellen ist mir we.  
 Gruonet der walt allenthalben :  
 wa ist min geselle 'alselange' ?  
 Der ist geriten hinnen,  
 owi, wer sol mich minnen ?

Richard M. Meyer, in his exceedingly interesting and suggestive treatise quoted above (*Grundlagen des Mhd. Strophenbaus*, 79), has pointed to the fact that in two old songs preserved under the name of Dietmar von Eist, 37, 4 ; 37, 18, a similar pause may be noticed. He further compares M. F. 3, 7 ; 3, 12, and several of Neidhard's popular songs, and finds in the form a, a, b | , a reminiscence of the Ljópaháttir of the Edda, as he sees in the old Otfridstrophe a reminiscence of the Kvípuháttir. I believe that the first three verses of our songs in question have preserved the same reminiscence of the Ljópaháttir. And although the position of the rhymes in our songs is more artistic than that in the Otfridstrophe (a, a, b, b), I think that their more artistic arrangement is a device to bridge over the pause after the third verse. Should the Moroltstrophe, as Meyer supposes, also have arisen from the Ljópaháttir, then the form of our strophe would still be a highly interesting and peculiar document for the transition of alliterative into rhymed poetry.

An excellent illustration of this process may probably be found in the strophic structure of 53, 17. The repetition of the first three verses in the responsorium will at least show that the form a, a, b was still felt as a strophic whole, while the alliterations: *hoffen*, *heiles*, *frauwen*, *fruntlich*, *fliehen*, etc., are additional reminiscences of its antiquity. In the later development of German popular lyrics this form is dropped almost entirely ; only once have I found it, in the Ambraser Liederbuch, No. 81. The question, however, has frequently occurred to me whether the tripartite form of the various strophic structures of the Minnesingers has not developed more organically from the Limburger strophe than from the Moroltstrophe.

Summing up the results of these investigations, I believe we are justified in drawing the following conclusions :

The singular position of the Limburger Chronik in the literature of the fourteenth century, and its great value for the history of German literature in general, are principally due to its author's interest for the poetical phenomena of his time. While he faithfully recorded important facts concerning the Minnesong and religious poetry, his greatest merit consists in the preservation of contemporary specimens of popular songs which cannot be classed with any of the existing forms of artistic poetry. We must therefore consider them as documents of a popular poetry which developed by the side of the poetry historically known to us. A careful comparison of its contents and form with that of earlier and later popular poetry makes it highly probable that German folksongs have existed since the oldest times, although we do not possess documents for all the various periods of its history. The language and the metrical structure of the Limburger songs furnish especially strong proofs of the antiquity of popular German love-poetry. The songs of the Limburger Chronik are therefore very important documents for throwing light upon the character and development of the earlier as well as of the later German Volkslied.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is gratifying to me to find that Edward Schröder, the able editor of Scherer's *Literaturgeschichte*, in an essay on *Die erste Kurenbergerstrophe* (*Zeitschr. f. d. Alt.* XXXII, 1 Heft, 137 ff.) has reached the same results regarding the importance of the Limburger songs for the study of the older German lyrics. The strophe which Schröder compares with the first Kurenberger song in order to reconstruct the text of the latter was excluded from my discussion on account of its didactic nature. Its metrical form is, however, a variety of the same which we find in 37, 13; 45, 5; 53, 17, and which I have attempted to explain, p. 464 ff.

## NOTES.

### ON POETICAL WORDS IN CYPRIAN PROSE.

A peculiar interest attaches to the dialect of Cyprus from its conservation in prose inscriptions of words that have heretofore been recognized by scholars as either exclusively or at least chiefly confined to poetry. Perhaps no dialect of the compass of Cyprian, as at present known, presents so many instances of the retention in prose of words confined to earlier epic poetry. This must not be tortured into conclusive evidence as to the place of origin of any portion of the Homeric text; it indicates rather the vigorous preferential uses of the Hellenic dialects. The following list which I present may serve to recall the beautiful words of Grimm: Es gibt alte durch die historische kritik in acht und bann gethane meldungen, deren untilgbarer grund sich immer wieder luft macht, wie man sagt dasz versunkne schätze nachblühen und von zeit zu zeit im schosz der erde aufwärts rücken, damit sie endlich noch gehoben werden.

#### I. *Substantives:*

*αῖσα* in the sense of *share*: τῷ Διὶ τῷ Φοῖνῳ αῖσα ἔτι . . . Coll. Dialekt Sammlung, 73; cf. Σ 327, ε 40, ν 138, π 101, τ 84; Pind. Pyth. IX 61; Simonides, Empedocles. Elsewhere *dispensation of God*, etc. Not used in prose literature.

*ἀλυνᾶ* κήπη Κύπριοι, *vineyard*, Σ 561, Hesiod, *O. et D.*, 597; Theocr. VII 34. ἀλῶή, *garden*, E 90, Φ 77, etc.; cf. ἀλφῶ, Coll. 60, 9, 18, 21; not ἀλαφῶ as is read by Ahrens and Cauer<sup>1</sup>, 472. Deecke compares this ἀλφῶν directly with the Hesychian ἀλυνᾶ, which he corrects to ἀλυνᾶ κήποι (ου for υ as in χρουσάφιν in the Cyprian chronicle of Machaeras). But, so far as I know, there is no well attested example of ου for υ in old Cyprian, despite the probability that υ was pronounced as IE u, not ü. On ου for ο see Rothe, p. 77. ἀλῶή elsewhere generally means *threshing-floor*. Not used in prose literature.

\**ἄναος* in ἀρὰ Ἀνάω, 97; cf. ἀνεω < \*ἀναφος. Draco, 13, 6, assumes ἄναος between ἀνανος and ἄνεως. The proper name \*ἄναος occurs

nowhere outside of Cyprus. Hall's other reading 'Αρὰ ἡ Νάα is rejected by Deecke. *Berliner Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1886, p. 1292. ἄναα occurs in Homer alone. ἀνά is here like εὐχολή; cf. ἀρὰ Δαί, Deecke, *LL* p. 1292. In the sense of prayer it is poetical, except in Hdt. VI 63.

εὐχολα. 202. in ἀπέτρεπε εὐχολαί. 27, and in ἐφ' οὗ φοιτᾷ τὰς εὐχολὰς ἐπέτρεπε. 59. The word is poetical, though Lucian (*Syr. Dea*, 28, 29) seems to consider it above reproach. Lucian doubtless purloined it out of his model Herodotus (εὐχολιμαῖος, II 63). See Allinson, *A. J. P.* VI 203ff. *Diog. Laert.* 9, 53 says of Protagoras: διαλέτε τὸν λόγον πρῶτος εἰς τέτταρα, εὐχολῶν, ἐρώτησιν, etc.

Φάναξ is preserved in conjunction with βασιλεῖς, perhaps in Cyprian alone. In numbers 59 and 154 both words occur as titles with the names of the individuals; and in 18 Στασίνας is called Φάναξ. I notice that Prof. Jebb (*Homer*, p. 47) asserts that βασιλεῖς is always a title, Φάναξ in Homer a descriptive epithet merely. It is noteworthy that Eustathius, 947. 48, states that the ἄνακτες in Cyprus constituted a τάγμα ἑνδοξόν. The Cyprian preference for Φάναξ is furthermore attested by Aristotle (*frag.* 483), who, speaking of the polity of the Cyprians, says: καλοῦνται δ' οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄνακτες· αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνασσαί. Φάναξ was originally used of a god in all probability. This use comes to light CIA, I 489, and in Herodotus, I 159, where Aristodicus addresses the oracle with "Φάναξ"; and in IV 150 the use is similar. The only other example from prose literature that I have found is Isocrates, 203 D, where it is said of Evagoras: καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὐδένα κατέλιπεν ἰδιωτικοῖς ὀνόμασι προσαγορευόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν βασιλέα καλούμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἄνακτας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάσσας. Evagoras was the "champion of Hellenism" in Cyprus.

Φάνασσα is used in Cyprian invariably of Aphrodite, as in the hymn to that goddess, verse 92. This hymn has been ascribed to a Cyprian author. Elsewhere in prose only in the passages from Aristotle and Isocrates quoted above.

ιατήρ poetic for ἱατρός. In Homer ἱητήρ is used of a surgeon, as in the Dali tablet (60, 3).

ῥιός, said to occur in poetry alone, is found Coll. 40. υἱός is also Cyprian, Coll. 41. Both 40 and 41 are from Παλαίπαφος.

κίραμος is said by the ancient commentators to be equivalent to δεσμωτήριον. Others explain it by πίθος, πίθοι being used even at the present time in Cyprus for places of confinement. πίθοι from four to seven feet in height were discovered at Hissarlik by

Schliemann (Ilios, p. 214). In Homer *κέραμος* occurs once (E 387), and there in the sense of *dungeon*. This passage is part of the recital of Dione to Aphrodite, which savors strongly of Cyprian origin.

*δαρος*, a heretofore unknown word, occurs No. 123. Hesychius has *δαροι* ῥίνες δὲ θιάσους, whence Deecke translates ὁ *δαρον zum Feste*. Baunack, in his Studien I 17, holds the matter still in abeyance. Connected words (*δαρ*, *δαριστής*, *δαριστής*, *δαρος*) are practically confined to poetry. [Plato] (Minos, 319 E) has to explain : οἱ γὰρ *δαροι* λόγοι εἰσὶ καὶ *δαριστής* (he has just quoted τ 179) *συνουσιαστής ἐστιν ἐν λόγοις*.

*σπίος* in Coll. 31, *ἔξβασιw τῷ σπείw τῶδε ἔκερσε*. The word occurs in early and in late epic. Not used in prose literature.

Other words are not confined so exclusively to poetry; e. g. *ἀρουρα* at best is rare in prose.<sup>1</sup> *ἰγνύα* was explained by Curtius from *ιν* < *ἐν* + *γόνυ*; but as *ιν* is not confined to Arcado-Cyprian, the word cannot be regarded as having a Cyprian coloring.

## II. Adjectives :

*μυχοῖ* in 85 is doubtful, but *μοχοῖ* for *μυχοῖ* is called by Hesychius a Paphian form. Allied words are confined to poetry, except *μυχαίματος* in Aristotle and late prose. The hymn to Venus, whose Cyprian origin is at least possible, has *μυχῶ σπειών* (v. 63); cf. *σπίος* above.

It may be worthy of mention that proper names derived from *πυντός* (*πυντός* ῥ *πινυτός*, Hesych.) are very common in Cyprus, though not unknown elsewhere. Besides *Πυνταγόρας*, the king of Cyprus, known to us from Isocrates (a name recurring CIG add. 4799 b *ἐν syringe Rhamsis IX*), we have *Πυντός*, a name which is the exclusive property of the Cyprian dialect. *πινυτός* is a poetical word, cf. Athen. 597 E, Plut. 2, 797 E, CIG 1778, 3 *πινυτή παράκοιτις* (Thes-saly); 246, 25 *πινυτῆς σύντροφος εὐδικῆς* of a Marcellus, *κοσμητῆς* of the Athenian ephebi; *βουλαῖσιν πινυτοῖο Φιλουμενοῦ* in an ephebic inscription from Sparta, Le Bas-Foucart No. 167.

A less authoritative case of correspondence is *θεάνωρ* 126 and *Θεανώ* E 70, Z 298, 302, A 224. The latter name is frequent in later times.

<sup>1</sup> Rutherford, Phrynichus, p. 14, calls *ἀρουρα* an old Ionic and poetic word. It occurs Hdt. II 14 and perhaps IGA 497, b. 17 (Teos). But besides being Cyprian it is also Thessalian, Coll. No. 371.

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
535 N. Dearborn Ave., Chicago, Ill.  
Subscription Price, \$5.00 per Annum in Advance  
Single Copies, 15 Cents

Published for the Association by the American Medical Association, 535 N. Dearborn Ave., Chicago, Ill.  
Entered as Second-Class Matter, June 26, 1902, Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under No. 102,363.  
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1918.  
Postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

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*ιδέ* is a frequent word for *and* in Cyprian and in Homer. Twenty-six times in the Iliad with the variant *ἡδέ* everywhere except B 511, 585, I 219 ≡ 165, 175, T 285. Eleven times in the Odyssey with *ἡδέ* as a variant, δ 604, λ 337, 626, χ 341, ψ 289. Twice in the hymn to Demeter, once in that to Aphrodite. Antigone 969 is the only example in tragedy.

With the Cyprian *νυ* (*ἡ δουράνοι νυ . . . βασιλεύς* 60, 6, *ἡ δώκοι νυ* 60, 16). Deecke compares the *νύ* with imperatives in Homer and *νύν* in Attic tragedy. Herodotus has *νύν* very rarely: *φέρει νυν*, II 105. The only instance of the use of *νύ* in prose literature is Aretaeus, p. 66: *ἀτὰρ ἡδὲ τένοντες ἡδέ νυ μύες ξὺν ἐντάσει ἀλγέουσι*. Aretaeus, like Lucian, strove to follow the Ionic of the fifth century. But neither has Herodotus nor Hippocrates the form *νύ*, which is therefore to be accounted one of the pseudo-ionisms of the sophistic Renaissance period.

*τᾱ* in No. 135. *τᾱ Ἑρεοδάμα, πῖθι* recalls *ε 347, Κύκλωψ τῇ, πῖε οἶνον*. *τῇ* is very rare in Attic (Cratinus, Eupolis). With the vocative cf. *Πουλυδάμα*, M 231. The Lith. *l̥* is not a perfect parallel to *τῇ* on account of the circumflex of the latter. The *η* of *τῇ* must therefore be regarded as Ionic-Attic and equivalent to the *ā* of *τᾱ*. There are no cases of hyperdorism in Cyprian; *θᾱτας* is a mere blunder of Hesychius.

Correspondences in syntax and in form between the dialects of Cyprus and Arcadia and that of Homer are treated in detail in my paper on the Arcado-Cyprian dialect in the Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Assoc., Vol. XVIII. This brief summary may also cast a side light upon the position occupied by the language of Herodotus, still sadly in need of an interpreter.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

#### THE ETYMOLOGY OF *FIRMETTON* AND *FRIMDIG*.

The word *firmetton*, which occurs in the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius' History (Sweet's ed., p. 186, 6), has for some time pursued me with its mystery. The context offers no difficulty of interpretation. The keenly exciting incident of Hannibal's unlawful siege of Saguntum, as related by Livy (Lib. XXI, cap. 6-10), is described, or rather referred to by Orosius with characteristic brevity and unscientific straining after moral application. The Anglo-Saxon translator, however, did not content himself with his





## EMENDATION TO CATULLUS, XXIX 8.

The eighth line of this bitter lampoon on Caesar, Pompey and Mamurra stands in the MSS in a wholly unsatisfactory form. The majority have the reading

Aut albulus columbus aut *idoneus*;

*G* and *O* substituting the impossible word *hydoneus*. Sillig keeps the last word of the MSS, changing *aut* to *haut*; Munro follows him, but is unable to give any satisfactory rendering; the sentiment is feeble, and the litotes of *haut idoneus* quite alien to the intense emphasis of the piece. The old emendation of Avancius, *Adoneus* (i. e. Adonis; Plautus, *Menaechmei*, I: 2: 35) has been very generally adopted. But Munro's objections, both to the rudeness of the form and the incorrectness of the comparison, seem to me unanswerable. I propose, therefore, retaining *aut*, to read *aedonis*, i. e. ἀηδωνίς. The word is not found elsewhere in any Latin author that has come to us, though *aedon* is well known. But ἀηδωνίς is found in several Greek passages, for which see Liddell and Scott. Its use by Theocritus and Callimachus would commend it to Catullus; and it seems to me the sense "a pet nightingale" is in perfect harmony with *albulus columbus*. The word, from its very nature and look, would be likely to be lost. I should think it very probable that the pedigree of the text as we have it now is *aedonis* = *adonis* = *adonius* = *adoneus* (as conjectured by Avancius) = *idoneus*.

WILLIAM EVERETT.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey. By R. C. JEBB.  
Boston, Ginn & Co., 1887. 202 pp.

All scholars, not only the initiated, but also those who have still to penetrate more deeply into Homer's demesne, will welcome the appearance of this volume, the fruit of a temporary departure from those more recondite studies which have rendered Prof. Jebb easily the first among English interpreters of Sophocles. We would fain believe that this book is an expression of that principle of retardation which, as was long ago remarked by Goethe, serves to enhance our aesthetic appreciation of an author; and in furnishing us with this most valuable Introduction to Homer, Prof. Jebb may but find his interest in the still unedited tragedies of his edition vivified by this association with the poet who has traced types of divine character for Sophocles.

It is a singular circumstance that the priority in the production of so comprehensive and yet so compact an Introduction should have been reserved for a country where the Homeric question has perhaps burned with less intensity than elsewhere. The literary temperament of English scholars, the aesthetic judgment of English poets, have alike militated in favor of "a master-hand at the centre of the work," as the late Principal Shairp expressed himself. In Germany there are volumes enough designed for the neophyte; but neither does Bonitz's admirable and popular essay (which, for some unexplained reason, Prof. Jebb has failed to mention, even in the translation of the late Prof. Packard), nor do W. Ribbeck's and other treatises assert so generous a range as this Introduction, which it is the merit of an English scholar to give to the world. Do the Teutonic Homerids take too keenly to heart the warning of Christ that the time has not yet come even for an Homeric grammar?

Perhaps to no one feature of this book is greater praise due than to this: it aims to be an *introduction* to Homer, and an introduction it is. Its author has resolutely turned aside from the temptations of expansion, which, we have no doubt, beset him at every hand with alluring persuasiveness. As an introduction, then, to the complete study of Homer, it deals with four aspects of the subject: (1) the general character of the Homeric poems and their place in the history of literature; (2) their historical value, as illustrating an early period of Hellenic life; (3) their influence in the ancient world, and the criticism bestowed on them in antiquity; (4) the modern inquiry into their origin. In the *Appendices* we find a somewhat lengthy discussion as to the form of the house at Tiryns; a catalogue of differences between the Greek of Homer and that of the classical age, and between the language of the Iliad and that of the

Odyssey; a list of words showing traces of the digamma, and a brief bibliography of the most important works on Homer and the Homeric question.

Originality is scarcely to be expected, nor is it desirable to any great extent in a volume whose aim is to record the march of Homeric study and to put firm ground beneath the feet of the beginner. We are content if we have placed before us in clear and concise English the fruits of the devotion of successive generations of scholars to this ever fascinating domain of philology, a domain which includes within its boundaries the germ of almost every other question incident to the study of ancient classical literature.

But it could scarcely be expected that the originality of a scholar of Prof. Jebb's fertility of resource in conjectural criticism should not force an opening in a field so inviting to the acumen of the investigator. Scottish soil has already given birth to Geddes' elaborate defense of the unique proposition that the Iliad, in the limited sense of Grote, and the Odyssey are the effort of but one and the same genius. Prof. Jebb has, it is true, not augmented the number of previous theories as to the origin of the Iliad by any theory distinctly original; yet he has opened up a mediating view, which is of interest and may commend itself to many.

The primary Iliad embraced books I, XI, XVI-XXII. Now, as there was no poetical necessity that book I should be followed immediately by XI, an opportunity for enlargement was presented, and II (without the *Catalogue*) to VII inserted. Again, a second horizon was opened up between XI and XVI. In this form, then, though expanded, the poem has preserved its simplicity. The bards who effected these insertions must have been conscious that interest is heightened by delay in movement. Next came VIII and IX with the duplication of the plot of the previous narrative. Then XXIII (to v. 256) and XXIV were appended because their inception lay dormant in the plot of the primary Iliad. That they are not by the author of the primary Iliad is apparent from their differences of language and of style. XXIV is certainly, to our thinking, an anticipation of the lyrical age, though Prof. Jebb goes so far as to regard IX and XXIV as the work of the same artist. Lastly come X and the greater interpolations.

The influence of Geddes' theory is seen in Prof. Jebb's inclination to accept as the birth-place of the primary Iliad the home of the hero whose personality dominates the "Achilleid." There is, however, an advance upon Geddes in confining the original Iliad to I, XI, XVI-XXII and not to I, VIII, XI-XXII. Now, if we put the question: How are we to account for the silence of Homer as regards the colonies in Asia Minor?—a question propounded by Mr. Monro in his paper in the *English Historical Review*, January, 1886—Prof. Jebb replies: The sustained resistance of the Homeric legend to the intrusion of patriotic anachronisms is to be explained on the supposition that the bulk of the poem had already been fixed in the greater lines before it arrived in Ionia.

The primary Iliad is, then, according to this view, Thessalian. The first series of additions (Γ-H) is, however, Prof. Jebb claims, Asiatic. What are the grounds, we may well ask, that indicate this transference of birth-place? Prof. Jebb contents himself with the statement that we can trace a personal knowledge of Asia Minor on the part of the poet, and that here we meet with the desire to enhance the lineage of Ionian houses by the glorification of Sarpedon and Glaucus, the leaders of the Lycians from the Xanthus.

In view of a theory recently put forward that Cyprus, not Asia Minor or Europe, is the birth-place of books Γ-H, it may be well to delay a moment in order here to collect the internal evidence from the books in question. No attempt can of course be made upon the present occasion to do more than outline some of the patent and latent sympathies of the author or authors of this episode. As might be expected, Geddes is here serviceable in disclosing the local mint-marks to be found in this splendid picture of the war generally, as Grote not unhappily called it. It must be confessed on the whole, however, that there is no such authoritative evidence in favor of any of the theories of birth-place as is claimed by their too zealous advocates.

### I. Asiatic Affinities:

1. Much has been made of Δ 275: ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδεν νέφος αἰπὸλος ἄνθρωπος | ἐρχόμενον κατὰ πόντον ὑπὸ Ζεφύροιο ἰώης. Zephyrus in Homer is a storm wind, coming from the mountains of Thrace to the shores of Asia Minor. Compare B 147 and H 63: οἷη δὲ Ζεφύροιο ἐχέοντο πόντον ἐπὶ ὀρίξ | ὀνομένειο νέον, —; and in Δ 422 we have another simile: ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολὺν χεῖ κῦμα θαλάσσης | ὄρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον Ζεφύρου ὑποκινήσαντος. Though the argument drawn from the use of Zephyrus in these similes dates back to the time of Wood's *Essay*, its texture is extremely flimsy. Unsupported by other evidence, these passages prove absolutely nothing. All modern poetry teaches the power of self-localization on the part of the poet.

2. More definite is the allusion in Δ 141: ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοῖνικα μῆνη | Μρονίς ἢ Κάειρα, —. Maeonia, the Lydia of later times, is referred to, Γ 401, together with Phrygia; but is not unknown to the author of B, K, and Σ, v. 291. In E 43 Idomeneus immortalizes a certain Phaestus, Μῆμονος νῖον, Βῶρον, and the land is "lovely" even to the protesting Helen, Γ 401.

3. In Γ 189 Priam relates his encounter with the Amazons and the assistance rendered by him to the Phrygians. This affords the poet an opportunity of displaying some little acquaintance with Phrygia; in v. 187 the Sangarius is mentioned (as also II 719), in v. 186 Otreus and Mygdon are named. The former is known to us from the Hymn to Aphrodite, v. 111. But Phrygia is very hazy; Ω 545 sharpens Γ 401 somewhat, but neither is the country nor its people (cf. also B 862, K 431) so well known as to force us to the conclusion that the poet must have lived in the Troad. Indeed, the shadowy character of the Amazons in Homer is not what we might have expected, since in Aeolis and Ionia, especially Ephesus, legends concerning them were most frequent; cf. Koscher's *Mythologie*, 273.

4. The mention of the Amazons leads us to their conquest by Bellerophon, Z 186, and the position occupied in book Z by the entire Glaucus episode. This episode is without doubt the strongest argument of the adherents that the birth-place of Γ-H was Asia Minor. It is clear from Hdt. I 147 that Glaucus was a name revered among the Ionians; his posterity became kings in Ionia. But I cannot but confess that it seems unwarrantable to build any superstructure upon an episode which is in glaring contrast with the preceding book. In E Diomed is endowed with the superhuman power of being able to distinguish a god from a man. With this compare Z 123, τίς δὲ σὺ ἔσσι, ... ἀνθρώπων, and 128, εἰ δὲ τίς ἀθανάτων ... εὐχλόουδας. In fact this immortal episode is without a home. Aristonicus has ἡ διπλή δὲ μετασθέναι τινος ἀλλοχόσε. Granted that it was designed to glorify the Ionic house of Glaucus, it is at least incautious to draw conclusions from this narrow episode as to the origin of Γ-H. Prof. Jebb himself holds that the passage Γ 217, which seems to speak in favor of Hissarlik, was added by some one desirous of celebrating the Aeneadae. Why is not this the case with the Glaucus episode?

5. Doubtless the defenders of an Asiatic origin lay claim to the mention of Sidon, Z 291, Libya, implied in Γ 4, *φοινίς*, Δ 141, Z 219, H 305, on the belief that the "adventurous Ionians" were the Humboldts of Homeric Greece. I can see no cogency in such a method of argumentation.

6. In Δ 53 Hera abandons to destruction the three cities devoted to her cult. This brings up the well-worn question: Is there in Homer any allusion to the overthrow of the Achaeans by a non-Achaean people? It is introduced here solely because a new argument has recently been adduced in behalf of its affirmative answer. The affection displayed in this passage by Zeus for the old Troy of the Trojans, it is claimed, is to be taken as an indication of the love for the new Troy of the expelled Achaeans, and hence a direct allusion to the Doric invasion. It seems best, however, to exclude all reference to post-Achaean times. There was no overthrow of Argos at best, and the hegemony over Greece merely found a new habitation in Sparta.

7. *ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ αὐθι*, Γ 244, can scarcely be elevated to an argument for the home of the poet; nor Γ 49, *ἐξ ἀπείης γαίης* (cf. A 270) in the mouth of Hector. If the γῆ Ἀπία with its initial *ā* in Aeschylus likewise refers to the Peloponnesus as *the land of water*, we have rather a distinctively Peloponnesian appellation, and one that could scarcely have come into existence in the new home of the Achaeans.

8. Lamos is the name of one of the ancients upon whom Helen's beauty had such a dread effect. But there is nothing to compel us to Fick's assumption (*Ilias*, p. 245) that this Lamos was probably eponymous of the later city of Λαμπώνεια or Λαμπώνειον. Fick himself seems to have become convinced of the invalidity of this suggestion (p. 394).

9. Geddes has drawn too taut his argument as to the differentiation between Ὀλύμπος and οὐρανός. The invocation to Zeus—*Ἰδὼθ' ἐν μετέωρῳ*—in the mouths of the Greeks as well as of the Trojans, is accounted for on his view by the suggestion that Olympus has been drawn out of the visible diurnal sphere in these books of the Iliad, which he claims are herein on a plane with the "Ionic" Odyssey. But in E 750 both Ὀλύμπος and οὐρανός occur in conjunction; and even if Geddes' argument were admitted as cogent, it disproves strictly only the Thessalian origin of T-H.

10. Allusion to legends that relate to the Troad are not numerous, and may easily be paralleled by similar Peloponnesian affinities. We find, for example, allusion to the artificers of the ships of Paris who were unacquainted with the oracle of the gods (E 59-64); with this cf. Tychios, the maker of Ajax' shield, H 220; to the steeds of Anchises (E 271); the sons of Phaenops slain, E 152; Laodice is mentioned only Γ 124, Z 252 (the other Laodice I 145, 287).

11. References to the *φηνός* are more frequent in these books (E 693, H 22, 60, Z 237, and in the later I 354); but it is also found Φ 549. The Scamander is called *ἡδύς* in E 36 alone, but similar epithets are found in Φ and X. Its junction with the Simois is mentioned E 774, Z 4, and the priest of the Scamander E 77. The Simois is brought to our mind's eye Δ 474-488, E 774, 777, Z 4, and also M 22, T 53.

## II. European Affinities:

1. Undeniable is the prominence and sympathy given to Helen in these books. Of the forty occurrences of her name in the Iliad no less than twenty-five instances fall to the share of T-H, if we regard mere numerical appearances (Γ 15, Δ 2, Z 5, H 3: B 4, Θ 1, I 3, Λ 3, N T X Ω each 1). Furthermore, the honorific epithets heaped upon her in this "primitive addition" are in striking contrast to the indifference or antagonism to her charms displayed in the "Achilleid" or the remaining portions of the

poem. Achilles is content with nothing less than *μεγαδανή*, T 325. Helen is specially characterized as "the lady of Argos" nine times in the Iliad, and of these Γ-H claim five (Γ 458, Δ 19, 174, Z 323, H 350—the remaining occurrences are in the late books B 161, 177, I 140, 282). Hera, the tutelary deity of Argos, shares with Helen alone this proud epithet (in Δ 8). Helen in her noblest and in her weakest moment is filled with longing for lovely Lacedaemon. Does not all this indicate the clear-cut sympathies of a Peloponnesian bard?

2. Prominence of Diomed in E, Z (*Διομήδους ἀριστεία*). Though there are no special landmarks in E pointing to the Peloponnesus, the supreme glory of Tydeides indicates no slight predilection in favor of an Argive hero. Perhaps no hero rises to the height attained by Diomed in the fifth Iliad; his glory is so great that Nemesis has marked him for her own (*Aegialeia*, E 412). Little importance is to be attached to the mention of Mekisteus, father of Euryalus the friend of Diomed (Z 28, cf. B 566, Ξ 678), but the opportunity to recount the legend of Tydeus (Δ 378) was not neglected, as if in anticipation of the still more glorious deeds of his more glorious son in the following book. It is Diomed who speaks the proud words H 400-402: *μήτ' ἄρ τις τιν κτήματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεχέσθω | μήθ' Ἑλένην γυναικὸν δέ, καὶ ὃς μάλα νήπιός ἐστιν, | ὥς ἦδη Τρῶεσσιν ὀλέθρον πείρατ' ἐθήπται*. The poet or poets who composed Γ-H preferred Peloponnesian to North Greek heroes. It will not suffice to account for this fact by taking refuge in the withdrawal of Achilles from the scene, admitting that the poet was making a conscious enlargement between the first part of B and A. Eurypylus, Odysseus, and Polypoetes are the only exceptions to the long list of Peloponnesian heroes. The former is a Thessalian, but he is connected by close ties with the Argives, as was his cousin Phoenix. It is not till Δ and O that he rises to his chief glory; in E and Z he is content to slay his man. Not a single Thessalian chief is pointed out to Priam by Helen from the walls, nor is any Thessalian mentioned in the personal circuit of Agamemnon. With the glory of Diomed is clearly associated the rise of Sthenelos, who declines from this point on. Deipylus occurs only E 325. Finally, it may be noted that an Aetolian enjoys the fame of being the only hero slain by a god (E 842).

3. When Hector issues his challenge to the Greek host, nine heroes rise to confront him, and in the following order: Agamemnon, Diomed, the Ajaces, Idomeneus, Meriones, Eurypylus, Thoas, and Odysseus. Agamemnon stands here (H 180) as elsewhere throughout these books, in the foreground. In the Teichoscopy he is the first described by Helen, as he is the cynosure of the eyes of the poet. In Δ he claims our attention by his review. In Z he ruthlessly hews down Adrestus whom his more tender brother had wished to spare. His attendant Eurymedon is carefully distinguished from the charioteer of Nestor. Agamemnon's commanding position, it may be urged, followed as a matter of course during the voluntary absence of Achilles. But in the Achilleid it is Ajax, not Agamemnon, who awakens our sympathies. Whether as Achilles' cousin (a relationship unknown to the Iliad) he holds his great place in the Achilleid is doubtful; he was, however, half a Peloponnesian on his mother's side. In Γ 220, Z 5, H 211, however, and here alone, Ajax is called *ἑρκος Ἀχαιῶν*. The duel scene with Hector is but a reflex of that between Alexander and Menelaos. On Ajax cf. Geddes, 113ff. It can scarcely be denied, I think, that the sympathies of the poet are unreservedly Peloponnesian. Even Geddes, a stout believer in the Asiatic source of B-H, is compelled to acknowledge that the heart of the poet is in the south and east of Greece.

5. Legends of the Peloponnesus: Polyneices, Eteocles and the Cadmeiones, Δ 370ff.; Aegialeia, the wife of Diomed, E 412; the story of Tydeus, E 800; the allusion to Sisyphus, Z 153; the battle at the Celadon, H 124-160. Legendary touches appealing to the sympathies of a Peloponnesian are singularly frequent in these books.

6. Ἄργος is called πολυδίψιον in Δ 171 alone; Ἄργος ἱπρόβοτον, Γ 75, 258, Z 152, but also B 287, I 246, O 30, T 329, the latter two instances being more important from the earlier date of O and T. Ἄργος καὶ Ἀχαΐς, north and south Greece, in Γ 75, 258 alone, indicates a power of careful discrimination on the part of the poet. From H 363 it is clear that Argos is not limited to Argolis. Other touches of more or less importance may finally be noticed: the fountain Μίσησις in Laconia Z 457, Ἀλαλκομενίς Ἀθήνη Δ 8 = E 908 alone.

### III. Cyprian Affinities:

In his *Homerische Ilias*, published in 1885, Fick has advanced the hypothesis that Cyprus is the home of the books under discussion. He has not elaborated his views to any great extent, and, to my thinking, distinctly weakened his position by claiming as Cyprian the *Catalogue of Ships*.

Stasinus, or whoever it was that perpetrated the *Κυπριακά*, brings nearer to us the far-off island on the very outskirts of Hellenism. Epic poetry had its foothold there as in every well-connected region of the Greek world. That Homer should have been a Cyprian of course did not startle the ancients (Schol. B on Φ 12). He was in fact *μυριόπατρις*. In later days a civic edition called ἡ *Κυπρία* appears in the critical apparatus of the Alexandrians. But this is all more or less irrelevant. Granting all the cultivation of the epic in Cyprus, all the connection between Homer and Cyprus, which Engel has shown, the question is: have we any cogent reason for finding, just in this particular enlargement of the original design, traces of the influence of bards who lived and wrought in this centre of struggle between the elements of Phoenician and of Hellenic civilization, a struggle that lasted to the days of Isocrates' Evagoras?

Let us now call up the evidence that may be offered in defense of the unique proposition of Fick, which affects us with the hostility of surprise.

The connection between Cyprus and Phoenicia may be sufficient to account for the allusion to the Phoenician cult found in Homer. Supreme among these is the overshadowing influence of Aphrodite. The goddess of love is represented in Γ as the cause of the entire war. She is referred to in books III to V as frequently as in all the remaining books of the *Iliad*, not only as Aphrodite but also as *Κύπρις*, which name occurs in E alone. The name *Κύπρις* for Aphrodite does not, it may be remarked, occur on Cyprian inscriptions. Most singular, furthermore, is the reference to Dione (E 370) as the mother of the goddess. This Dione is certainly not Hera, the Dodonaean consort of Zeus and mother of Aphrodite, according to the popular belief of the Greeks. In the story which Dione recites to her daughter, wounded by the impetuous Diomed, she alludes to Otus and Ephialtes. Now, the scholiast on E 385 expressly says that Otus and Ephialtes were connected with the worship of Adonis and Mt. Lebanon. Ernst Curtius even maintains that the Dione of Dodona is a foreign deity, transplanted from the Orient.

Aphrodite's influence is more prominent in Γ-H than elsewhere. Adherents of the Cyprian theory will claim her activity as militating in their favor. But it is not till Υ 307 that we meet with the prophecy that Aeneas' descendants shall rule over Troy. Aeneas is valiant enough in E to need the protecting arm of his mother; Alexander, *Veneris praesidio ferox*, dares to meet Menelaos.

Lycia and the Glaucus episode, the Solymi and Sidonians (cf. Z 290-2, also Ψ 743), might find an easier explanation in the nearness of Cyprus than in referring them to Ionic preferences. The *Καδμείοι* and *Καδμειώνες* are mentioned more frequently in Δ and E than elsewhere. The Arcadians, according to the legend the ancestors of the Cyprians, are alluded to, outside of B, in H v. 134 alone.

Other touches which might perhaps be referred to Cyprian influence are:

(1). The chariot battle in E. The Cyprians alone of all the Greeks in historical times made use of battle chariots. These are mentioned by

Hdt. V 113 in his recital of the contest of the Cyprians with the Persians, 505 B. C. It cannot be said that the *άρμα* is more prominent in Γ-H than in other books of the Iliad; but a *ἀρματοπηγός* is referred to in Δ 485 and nowhere else.

(2). In the same book (Δ 282) the forefathers of the Cyprians on Salamis are alluded to. In H 199 Salamis is glorified, cf. Hymn IX 4. A more distant reference to Salamis is the construction of the Trojan wall by Poseidon and Apollo (H 453). This story must have played a part in Cyprian legend, since Laomedon is obliged to expose Hesione to the monster sent by Poseidon to punish his treachery. Hesione becomes by Telamon mother of Teucer, the founder of Salamis. The expedition of the Perseidae is touched upon E 640, where it is said that Heracles with six ships laid waste the city of Laomedon. Laomedon is further mentioned in Z 23; his horses are extolled E 269, 640, and in Y 236 his genealogical connections are introduced; in Φ 435ff. Apollo's service and the building of the walls referred to; Ψ 348 recalls E 640.

With the legend of Laomedon is connected that of Heracles, the rescuer of Hesione. His son Tlepolemus is a Rhodian, and an emigrant from Argos. The Lycian episode is drawn into the horizon of the Heracles legend by the death of Tlepolemos at the hands of Sarpedon (E 6:7ff.).

Passing by several other minor points of contact, we come to a very interesting feature in which Homer and Cyprus are in touch. I refer to the similarity between the Greek of Homer and that of the Cyprian dialect.

The points of correspondence limited to Γ-H and Cyprian are few in number:

*Κέραμος* E 387 occurs, it is well to be noticed, in the episode of Dione alluded to above. Dione begins her recital of the sufferings of the gods at the hands of mortals with the account of the binding of Ares by Otus and Ephialtes and his rescue from the *κέραμος* by Hermes. *Κέραμος* is primarily a large earthen jar; such jars were occasionally used as *δεσμωτήρια*; and Schol. D on E 387 says "the Cyprians call τὸ δεσμωτήριον, *κέραμος*": so also Eustath. 560, 2 and Et. Gud. The word occurs in this sense nowhere outside of this one passage.

The second word of peculiar interest is *ἀκοστήσας*, Z 506. *ὡς δ' ὅτε τις σταθός ἱππός, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ οὔνῃ, δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεῖη πεδίον κροαίνων.* Hesychius has this gloss—*ἀκοστή· κριθή παρὰ Κυπρίους*. The possibility that the word is also Thessalian should, however, not be suppressed.

Other Cyprian words are not confined to these books. *ιδέ* is found outside of Homer in Cyprian alone, where it is a regular prose word for *and*. In the Iliad it appears Γ 194, 318, Δ 147, 382, E 3, 171, Z 4, 469, H 177. Furthermore, B 511, 585 MSS. S. L., 697, Θ 162, I 219 Eust., 658 = Ω 643, K 573, Λ 15, M 311 = Θ 162, N 432 = 165, 175, 348, Σ 589, T 285. And so it is with the Arcado-Cyprian termination of the infinitive *-ηται*, etc. But on the basis of the retention of Homeric words in Cyprian, it is unphilological to assume a Cyprian origin for any part of the epos. This fact I have sought to bring out in this Journal above, p. 467, where I have discussed the retention in Cyprian prose of words that exist elsewhere in Homer alone, and in the *Transactions of the American Philological Society*, Vol. XVIII, where all the formal correspondences between Arcadian, Cyprian and Homeric Greek are adduced.

Is there any method of reconciling the three views which have been briefly alluded to above? From an examination of the internal evidence, any fair view will pronounce in favor, not of Asiatic, but of Peloponnesian or Cyprian sympathies. To hold with Fick, that about 4160 lines,<sup>1</sup> a third of our Iliad, is the work of a Cyprian is hazardous in the extreme. We may indeed accept the Dione episode as an interpolation from Cyprus, but here probability stops. Now, if the Cyprian sympathies of Γ-H can be reconciled

<sup>1</sup> Besides the *Ἰλιον οἶκος* Fick claims as Cyprian Θ 55-565, Δ 1-57, Ο 415-746, Υ 1-380, Φ 383-513.



with the Peloponnesian preferences, we may marshal the two conjoined against the Asiatic theory with confidence.<sup>1</sup> There is here, then, a choice between two conflicting opinions, unless it can be demonstrated that the Peloponnesian-Cyprian sympathies of the legend reached Asia Minor in such unchangeable form that the poet had but a limited power over his material. I cannot but think that the true *via media* lies in the possibility of ties of kinship between the Tegean settlers in Cyprus and the Achaeans of the Peloponnesus. Tradition tells us that Paphos was settled by Agapenor, frustrate of his hope to reach his home after the fall of Troy. The *Néστοι* represent the attempt to explain the kinship between the colony and its source. But we are not restricted to them alone. There is no ground for doubting that Arcadian emigrants may have reached Cyprus by way of Laconia, bearing with them the burden of Achaean song. Finally, in support of a suggestion that cannot be worked out here, Deecke has called attention in the *Berliner Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1886, p. 1324, to the worship of Apollo Amyklaos and Apollo Helotas, Spartan types of Apollo, in the island of Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> Tlepolemus, Glaucus, Sarpedon, Diomed (the mention of his wife Aegialeia occurs in the Dione episode), and even Ajax, are then all links between the mainland and the far-off colony. Lycia stands in no distant sympathy with the Peloponnesus. Lycians helped the chiefs of the Peloponnesus to fortify their citadels. The indirect proof of the existence of writing in Homer (*Z* 168, cf. *H* 175, 187, 189) points from Lycia to East Argos and to Laconia. The whole history of the Greek alphabet in Lycia, Phrygia, and doubtless Pamphylia, speaks in favor of Peloponnesian ties.

How far a poet, born in Asia Minor among the débris of a vast legendary past, may have been able to recreate Peloponnesian sympathies, is another question, and a vital one, into which we cannot here enter. It is time to turn to a further examination of the work before us.

The most rigorous critic cannot but pronounce this volume admirable in plan, scope, and execution. If there are objections to be offered, they are objections that deal solely with matters of detail. In view of the certainty of a second edition, it seems best to present to Prof. Jebb's kind consideration some matters of minor import, and, for the convenience of the readers of this *Journal*, to include some few corrections that may have been offered elsewhere.

Page 1: It is difficult to see on what ground the songs on Linus, etc., can be regarded as of Indo-European origin. If the true affinities of these songs are to be sought in the nature-worship of the Veda, the existence of similar songs in Semitic national life creates on the whole a safer point of departure than to relegate them to the most distant Orient. Whatever be the defects of his *Geschichte der griech. Lyrik* (and they are many), Flach has shown pretty conclusively that the Phrygian element in Greek poetry was ultimately Semitic.

Page 3: It is of course a mooted point whether there ever was a period when Hellenic tribes were still in passage from Asia to Europe. Aside from Penka and the dolichocephalites, comparative philologists at the present day seem more generally inclined to adopt a European origin for Aryan civilization. One of the most vigorous defenders of this view holds that the similarity of tribal and geographical names (and here the question is of more immediate import for the history of primitive Greek poetry) indicates that the Teucrians, Phrygians, Dardanians, Mysians, etc., all came

<sup>1</sup> After my examination of the evidence was completed, I noticed that Mr. Leaf has taken the same position in the *Classical Review*, 1887, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> If the researches of Alex. Enmann (*Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditenkultus*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Petersburg*, VII series, vol. 34, No. 13) which have just appeared as a sign of the reaction against too much Orientalism in Greek, prove stable, we have to explain the Cyprian cult of Aphrodite as Hellenic. I cannot follow Enmann in his Hyakinthos-Kinyros theories, but it should not be suppressed here that the whole trend of his treatise is to draw Cyprus nearer to the Peloponnesus.

from Europe. Schrader has given his assent to the theory of European origin (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 442), and now Brugmann (*Grundriss*, I 2) inclines to the same view.

Page 54: The gradations: *family*, *φρατρία*, *φῶλον* savor more of the Attic than of the Homeric age.

Page 66: Prof. Jebb states that the war-chariot had gone out of use in Greek fights before 700. The correctness of this assertion depends upon an answer to the question whether or not the Cyprians, who certainly did use the war-chariot in 505 B. C. (Hdt. V 113), preserved its original Hellenic use. That they may have borrowed it from the East is possible and perhaps probable, since Helbig has shown (p. 136) from a Cyprian vase in the British Museum that the Phoenician type of war-chariot obtained in Cyprus. The battle-chariot certainly was used in Asia Minor in the seventeenth century before Christ.

Page 87: Geddes has here been followed without sufficient care. The passage quoted from Gellius II 11 (*ἐπὶ πόλεις διερρίπονται*, etc.) as placed by Varro on a bust of Homer, is only found in the *recentiores codices* and *editiones veteres* (*sive omnes sive pleraque*), according to Hertz. In the same note, for the second *Chios* read *Rhodos*.

Page 88: The earliest quotation from Homer is said to date from the sixth century. But the *ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον* is now generally referred to Simonides (or Semonides, as Choireboscus and Et. Mag. 713, 17 write the name) of Amorgus, the contemporary of Archilochus. The pessimistic tone of the elegy is not far removed from that of the *Mirror of Women*. He certainly wrote elegies which need not be confined to the *ἀρχαυλογία*.

Page 94: The younger scholar might have welcomed an attempt to distinguish between *διουθεσις* and *ἐκδοσις*, though Ammonius and Didymus made no such distinction.

Page 121: A mention of Nitzsch's complete change of opinion in the course of his Homeric studies might have been profitable.

Page 122: For the history of the Grotian view as to B-H, it might have been interesting to note that Düntzer claims to have anticipated its author (*Abhandl.* 40, 202f.).

Page 132: For *Rama* read *Räma*.

Page 137: *ῥαῖα*, *ῥαῖν* in Homer are said to be Doric. But on what grounds will Prof. Jebb defend Dorisms in Homer? *ῥαῖσκατος*, κ 510, and *ῥαῖς* seven times in our text, have long ago been set aside as false transcriptions. *ῥ* forms from *ῥαῖα*, *ῥαῖσκατος*, *ῥαῖσκατος*, etc., are merely analogical formations to *ῥαῖσκατος*, etc. Cauer (*Sprachwiss. Abhandl. hervorgegangen aus Curtius' Grammat. Geschichte*, p. 140) ought not to have suggested the possibility of their Doric character—a view which, it must be said, he does not himself adopt. As long ago as 1843, Ahrens (II 252) disputed the Doric character of *ῥαῖα*. *ῥαῖν* was called Doric by the grammarians solely because it had maintained itself in Doric alone (*ῥαῖν* ὁ δὲ ῥαῖν). According to Boecklin *ῥαῖα* and modern Cyprian *ῥαῖν*).

Page 138: For *ῥαῖα* read at least *ῥαῖν*; also p. 194. But even this is incorrect. *ῥαῖα* is connected with Skt. *ῥαῖ*. *ῥαῖ* in *ῥαῖα* *ῥαῖ* = Gothic *ῥαῖ*.

Page 140: The lack of any collective term to describe the dialects of the Aeolic type, since *ῥαῖα* has now been restricted in strict parlance to the dialect of Lesbos and of the adjacent mainland, has wrought a pardonable confusion here. On page 140 we read that "*ῥ* kept its place in Aeolic far into the historical age" which is far from being the case except we include *ῥαῖα*, *ῥαῖν*, *ῥαῖα*, *ῥαῖν*, etc. On page 144 Aeolic is used in the correct

and limited sense, though it is scarcely true that *all* the Aeolic inscriptions are later than 400 B. C.

Page 143: Prof. Jebb thinks it very doubtful whether any of the eccentricities of our Homeric text are due to the μεταχαρακτηρισμός. But even Wilamowitz has to suspend his philippic against the *moderne Ignoranz* on this question and admit the possibility of false transcription. Despite his assertion that *ein attisch geschriebener Homer ist ein Unding*, the brilliantly aggressive author of the *Homerische Untersuchungen* can find no other explanation for Ὠρείθια and Πειρίβοος (cf. especially p. 324). In the note on p. 143 we miss any reference to Wackernagel's paper in Bezenberger's Beiträge, Vol. IV, as well as to the book of Wilamowitz alluded to. In a few instances Prof. Jebb might have been more liberally inclined to quote antagonistic views; e. g. Hinrichs has demolished the would-be polymath Sittl in his *Herr Dr. Sittl*, etc. (cf. pp. 82-97). And in reference to πίωνρες and ὕμεις we cannot but think, whatever may be our opinion of his treatise on the Homeric dialect in Mahaffy's history, that Sayce is correct, and not Monro, in his article in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. X 115, which is passed over in silence, though a direct reply to Monro's paper (IX, 260). Prof. Jebb himself rejects Monro's doubts as to the un-Aeolic character of πίωνρες. It may be added that Fick has made the first attempt (though with doubtful success) to rescue the malodorous infinitives in -ίειν (*Iliad*, p. 548) which Curtius, Renner and others explain by false transcription.

Page 146: It is interesting to note that Cauer, a determined opponent of Fick's views in the shape their author cast them, now finds as his deduction from Fick's investigations the important fact that words, parts of verses, even whole passages now preserved in Homer were once Aeolic and translated into Ionic. This is a significant departure from Hinrichs' generally accepted theory. See *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1887, No. 19.

Page 191: ρίγω is \*σριγω and not \*φριγω despite *frigeo*, cf. Pol. *sruez'* New Sl. *srěže*, Lith. *strėgti*. ὀράω, οὐλαί, οὐτάω, οὐρανός are not necessarily examples of the total disappearance of F, since they may stand for ὀφράω, ὀφ'λαί, etc.

Page 195: It will be impossible, I think, to show that the ι of reduplication was ever originally long. In note 3, μήτι is called an *Ionic* dative. It cannot be specifically Ionic on any view, and it may be an instrumental. See Osthoff, M. U. IV 385.

Page 196: I think the remark that most of the vowels, which in Homer are of variable quantity, were originally long and were in process of becoming short (e. g. ἰσος, κάλός, φάρος), is too restrictive. It regards the change as purely of quantitative origin, thus refusing to allow any accentual influence as the cause of the shortening; nor does it admit the possibility of orthographical inaccuracies. ἰσος certainly does not belong here. The change is one between ἰσσος and ἰσος, Skt. *viṣu*. σσ becomes σ without shortening the preceding vowel. G. Meyer holds that κάλός is un-Homeric, and on φάρος consult Harder, *De alpha vocali apud Homerum producta*, p. 92.

It might have been interesting for the chronology of the Homeric question to have given the date of the *first* edition of Lachmann's *Betrachtungen* (1837).

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

Goethes Werke. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Grossherzogin SOPHIE von Sachsen. I Abtheilung, 1 Band, Gedichte; 14 Band, Faust.—III Abtheilung, 1 Band, Tagebücher, 1775–87.—IV Abtheilung, 1 Band, Briefe, 1764–71. Frankfurt, Leipzig, Strassburg. 2 Band, Briefe, 1771–75. Frankfurt, Wetzlar, Schweiz. Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1887.

By the same publisher: Goethes Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt nach der Göchhausenschen Abschrift herausgegeben von ERICH SCHMIDT. Weimar, 1887.

With the four volumes first mentioned the Goethe Society in Weimar begins the publication of the definitive edition of Goethe's works. The main principles which have guided the preparation of this edition have been to "reproduce in completeness and purity the entire product of Goethe's literary activity, together with everything that he has left which serves to illustrate his personality." The plan does not contemplate the publication of official documents, where form and character were determined by their direct purpose, nor the abundant extracts which served as material for the *Annalen*. The second guiding principle has been to adhere firmly to what is known to have been Goethe's will in regard to the form in which the separate works will be issued. This requires that the text shall follow, barring minor errors, the edition which received Goethe's last revision. This guarantees the preservation of the text, in the main, in the form in which we now possess it. The last years of the poet's life were devoted to a careful revision of his works and the preparation of a standard edition. Poems which the author, for reasons which he indicated, refused to publish, will not be published in violation of his express judgment. A canon of this kind will remove all expectation of novelties in works with which the public is familiar. The order of the contents of the separate volumes will follow that which Goethe established. Hitherto unpublished manuscripts will follow those already issued.

This edition is divided into four parts: 1. Goethe's literary works; 2. Scientific writings; 3. Journals; 4. Letters. The number of volumes under the first rubric is estimated at fifty, under the second at ten, while the Journals and Letters will probably comprise as many volumes more. The publication of the scientific writings as a separate part corresponds to Goethe's own design that they should form a supplement to his works. The question of the orthography has been a difficult one to settle, as the canons of spelling of the time were not fixed and Goethe's own usage was not consistent. Those who superintended the publication of Goethe's works introduced often that which was arbitrary and fanciful. Not only the forms of words, but words themselves, were often changed. In this edition irregularities and accidental differences will be corrected, while everything affecting the sound or pronunciation will be retained. In the Letters and Journals, however, which have so suffered in publication that it has required five editions of the correspondence with Schiller before we have attained an approximately faithful transcript, and where every turn and form reveals the personality of the author, we shall have a genuine reproduction of the original manuscripts. The journal which Goethe kept until within a few days of his death will furnish material of inestimable value for a correct understanding of the poet's life, and will be an important

contribution to contemporary literary history. Every volume will contain at the end the readings of the different editions published during Goethe's life, as well as manuscript readings, plans and sketches which show the original form of the poet's thought. Frequently the original sources of many passages have been discovered in the vast material in the Goethe Archives, and are cited in the material for text criticism. It is not designed to give notes or interpretations save as they exist in the material associated with a particular work. The collation of the different texts is assigned to numerous Goethe scholars under the direction of a central committee.

Volume I, the Poems, edited by G. von Loeper, contains an introduction by Herman Grimm, and a statement of the general plan of the work by B. Suphan, director of the Goethe Archives. Volume 16, *Faust*, is edited by Erich Schmidt, the Letters by von Biedermann, and the Journals by C. A. H. Burkhardt. While all these volumes present something new in text criticism, the additional material is most noticeable in the Journals, and especially in the first part of the Journal in Italy, and in the *Faust*. In the appendix to *Faust* such parts of the original copy of Fräulein von Göchhausen, recently discovered in Dresden, as differ from the *Faust* "Fragment" of 1790, or present additional material, are incorporated. The additional paralipomena to *Faust*, which are numerous, will contribute to a knowledge of the history of the growth of the drama.

Erich Schmidt has published a faithful reprint of the manuscript of *Faust*, which he was fortunate enough to discover among the papers of the Fräulein von Göchhausen, court lady of the Duchess Amalia, with an interesting introduction, and an appendix containing the various references in Goethe's *Tagebücher* to *Faust*, and thus forming a sort of chronological index of the time in which he was engaged upon it. It may be questioned whether the discovery of this new text will contribute anything to the appreciation of *Faust* as a work of art, or to the world's estimate of the merit of this wonderful poem. It will be a contribution to our knowledge of the history of the poem, and will guide to the interpretation and original form of some passages. Its relation to the author's life and intellectual growth will form a large part of its value. A knowledge of the particular day on which any passage was written may serve to illustrate the studies and the influences out of which the poem grew. The music of the verse, the charm of the lyric passages must always be felt directly and is not dependent upon this knowledge.

There is no date affixed to the manuscript to determine when the copy was made. That it is the earliest form of the *Faust* Fragment of 1790 can be demonstrated. It is substantially, in content, the old and yellow "codex" which Goethe carried to Italy. It was found in a thick quarto labeled "Extracts, copies, etc., from the remains of the Fr. L. von G.," which contains numerous memorials of the Weimar circle, occasional poems, and merry farces, and among them several of Goethe's minor works of his early days in Weimar. In that portion of the volume which contained *Faust* there were blank leaves, indicating gaps in the narrative, scenes remained to be filled out, or were only sketched.

Professor E. Schmidt concludes that the original manuscript of *Faust*, which was carried to Italy, was preserved until 1816, and that it was used in the

preparation of the *Faust* of 1816, and of the complete edition of Goethe's works of 1817, as a return to older readings which are preserved in the Göchhausen manuscript seems to prove, and that it finally disappeared before 1822, as it is not mentioned in Kräuber's *Repetitorium* of that date. The manuscript contains twenty-one scenes, of which the scenes in Auerbach's Keller and the Kerker scene are in prose. The Gretchen scenes do not differ greatly from the form with which we are familiar. The scene between Mephistopheles and the Scholar is much extended. Mephistopheles inquires first about his lodgings, and satirizes rather coarsely students' quarters and "Frau Spatterbier." Mephistopheles appears unheralded; there is no motive for his presence and no previous compact with Faust. The scene in Auerbach's Keller follows immediately. Faust appears here, instead of Mephistopheles, in the character in which he is represented in the puppet plays, as the magician and sleight-of-hand performer. There are numerous local references in this prose version. The fragment given in the *paralipomena* to Faust, entitled *Landstrasse*, where Mephistopheles casts down his eyes and hurries past a cross by the wayside, follows, a hint of the later revelation of his character. The scene in the Dom bears the title "*Exequien der Mutter Gretgens*," showing that Gretchen was attending the funeral office of her mother, a point which has not been generally accepted. Valentine's monologue at the opening of the Valentine scene is given, with the two following conversations, and is succeeded by "*Was ist die Himmels Freud in ihren Armen*," the present close of the scene *Wald und Höhle*. The Kerker scene does not contain the voice from above, "She is saved," as in the present version. The manuscript is written with the greatest care, and was evidently carefully revised, as is shown by minute marks and corrections to make it correspond with the original. It shows archaic forms and Frankfurt idioms and spellings. Goethe carefully pruned this early work and removed many forms which injured the harmony of the verse. There is a freshness and charm in the unstudied measures of the original which are not manifest in the finished work which we now possess. There are some lines in the opening monologue which are not only more graphic but metrically finer than the later version. The *burschikoses* element is more prominent in some of the scenes written when Goethe was fresh from the university. The recovery of this manuscript does not settle all questions connected with *Faust* chronology; it suggests many new questions and, in connection with the *paralipomena*, throws light on many passages. It furnishes a strong probability that the whole of the manuscript was written in Frankfurt. Indeed, the Frankfurt origin of the larger part can be demonstrated from contemporary records and internal evidence. There is also a presumption that Goethe did not occupy himself with *Faust* in the ten years of his official life, from 1776-86, from the absence of any mention in his journals and letters of such occupation. This is, of course, negative evidence, but in the case of a man like Goethe, whose literary work was the subject of constant conversation, it possesses great weight. Goethe, we know, took delight in his poem, and read it both in the Frankfurt and Weimar days to his friends, and it is praised in numerous letters of the time. It would be strange if *Faust*, under these circumstances, was entirely neglected in Weimar. The existence of certain portions which were not communicated to Fräulein von Göchhausen on account of their incom-

plete character is possible. It has been held by nearly all recent commentators that the scene "Vor dem Thor," with its description of Frankfurt views and mention of Frankfurt resorts, was written before going to Weimar. If not, it shows how fallacious is too great confidence in inferences of this character. The question arises, how does the discovery of this manuscript bear on current Faust criticism? Does it confirm or overthrow accepted views? Professor Scherer has been most prominent in investigating the original Faust. He brought the whole armory of criticism of the Lachmann school to bear upon the analysis and determining the date of the earliest Faust. Starting from the two prose scenes in Faust as we now possess it, he sought to show that other scenes had likewise been written in prose, and, when skilfully examined, revealed different dates of production, additions, interpolations, new motives and varying metres. Although Goethe had said in a letter to Schiller of May 5, 1798, "Some tragic scenes were written in prose, but since by their naturalness and strength in proportion to others they are intolerable, I am trying on this account to put them in rhyme, as there the thought shines through a veil and the direct effect of the tremendous material is softened," Scherer endeavored to prove that other scenes, not properly defined as tragic, had also a prose origin. He regarded the opening monologue to the appearance of the Erdgeist, the garden scene in which Mephistopheles and Faust and later Mephistopheles and Martha appear, also Martha's garden, in which Gretchen questions Faust about his religion, as showing a prose original. The Dom scene, in addition to "Trüber Tag. Feld," "Nacht. Offen Feld," is also "pure prose." "The evening spirits are an attempt of Goethe at sixty years to speak the jargon of his youth." The structure of this criticism is very elaborate. The scenes of the "Fragment" are subjected to a dislocation based entirely on subjective reasons. There is little account taken of poetic moods, of broken threads resumed after long intervals, of poetic fancies which resist a philosophical connection. Much of this criticism is penetrating and suggestive. The main points which Professor Scherer sought to establish are disproved by the manuscript, and the same critical procedure fails to detect the prose scenes of Auerbach's Keller and the Kerker. If this method of criticism is correct and the results trustworthy, they are valid against the evidence of the manuscript. If the criticism, however, breaks down in the presence of a modern poem, it shows with what caution its results should be received when applied to classical and mediæval works.

W. T. H.

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Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen, von K. G. ANDRESEN.  
5 Auflage. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger. 1887.

In discussing the many discrepancies between common usage and correctness in the use of the German language, Professor Andresen only at times takes the somewhat pedantic standpoint characterized in so masterly a manner by Jacob Grimm (Kl. Schriften, I 272). In most cases he not only states the facts, but also gives the origin of irregular usages as they are based upon dialectic or foreign influences. The criterion for decision in doubtful cases is, according to Andresen, not the usage of classic writers, but the laws of the language which the grammarian has abstracted by careful investigation (cf. p. 6). While

this principle will suit the purists most excellently, it may not be accepted as readily by those who believe in a 'living' German language, capable of development and not yet mummified by grammarians. The creative activity of a healthy 'Sprachgefühl' may thus be observed in almost all the periods of the history of the German language, in spite of the objections of grammatical reflection, and it is interesting and instructive to follow this struggle. Many of the so-called irregularities of our classic authors will therefore appear in this light rather as a healthy reaction against unnecessary grammatical trammels than as blunders or careless mistakes.

One striking case out of many may be cited here. It is with evident disfavor that Andresen records the use of the possessive pronoun with the dative or the genitive instead of the genitive case, which latter is the correct grammatical form for indicating the relation of possession. He says: "Einige Verbindungen haben so festen Fuss gefasst, dass auch diejenigen, welche beim Schreiben sich vielleicht besinnen werden, im täglichen Leben dem Strome folgen und sich ausdrücken wie ihre Umgebung." This usage, however, is neither so modern nor so careless as Professor Andresen seems to suppose. It is to be found in one of the earliest O. H. G. documents of German literature, the Merseburger Zaubersprüche: "Du uuart demo Balderes volon sin vuoz birenkit"; it occurs quite frequently in the Nibelungenlied, e. g. "nu sihe ich rôt von bluote Hagnen sin gewant," L. 1992<sup>3</sup>; it appears in the fourteenth century, in the popular songs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it is used with charming archaic effect by Mörike: "dem Schäfer sein Hans," Ged., p. 22.

A careful observation of the feeling which directs us to prefer this form to the more 'correct' genitive will disclose the fact that the possessive pronoun with the dative is not only a more vivid expression of the relation to be presented, but that the dative case in general is better fitted than the genitive to express intimate relation. We therefore see no reason for rejecting a usage not only supported by its antiquity but also by its psychological truth. For in cases like this the psychological development contained in the language must also be consulted before a decision as to correctness is rendered. Although we have recently been treated to many so-called investigations into this psychological element of language, the chapter just indicated has hardly been touched upon. Those who are interested, however, in these matters relating to the most intimate life of language we should like to refer to the fine and subtle remarks of R. Hildebrand in Grimm's Wörterbuch, Zeitschrift für d. Phil. II 253, and in his book Vom deutschen Sprachunterricht.

The corrupting influence of foreign languages upon the usage of the German has in many instances been well shown by Andresen. Its principal source is the German newspapers, whose *fadenscheiniger, saft- und kraftloser Jargon*, composed of French, English, Semitic, and many other elements, well justifies the secret revulsion which foreigners feel at the sight of such specimens of the German language.

We should like to see Professor Andresen's book in the hands of all who study and teach German as a foreign tongue, and who look for a safeguard like this, since the true 'Sprachgefühl' cannot be acquired even by those who believe themselves possessed of a historical knowledge of the German



language. The number of editions through which the book has passed within the short period of seven years sufficiently shows the approval with which it was received in the author's native country. J. G.

Königsberger Studien. Historisch-philologische Untersuchungen. Erstes Heft. Königsberg in Pr., Verlag von Hübner & Matz. 1887. 242 S. 8°.

Diese neue Zeitschrift beschränkt sich, was die Personen der Mitarbeiter anlangt, auf einen engen Kreis. Es sind nur Lehrer der Universität Königsberg, die in ihr zu Worte kommen sollen. Aber der Sache nach ist ihr Programm desto umfassender, ziemlich so umfassend, wie die "Universitas litterarum" selbst, wenn wir von ihrer mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Seite absehen. Die "Königsberger Studien" sind ganz allgemein "historisch-philologischen" Untersuchungen gewidmet, also der Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in widestem Sinne, in demselben Sinne, in welchem die historisch-philologischen Abteilungen der Akademien und Gelehrten Gesellschaften ihren Namen führen. In der Tat steht das neue Unternehmen seinem eigenartigen Charakter nach den Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe einer Akademie der Wissenschaften am nächsten. Wir haben, so zu sagen, das Organ einer Königsberger Freiwilligen Gelehrten Gesellschaft vor uns, der jedes lehrende Mitglied der dortigen Universität nach eigener Wahl angehören kann und deren Abhandlungen nicht in gemeinsamer Sitzung gelesen sondern nach gemeinsamer Verabredung gedruckt werden.

Das uns vorliegende Heft beginnt mit zwei Aufsätzen zur Kritik und Erklärung des Alten Testaments: *August Müller* untersucht "Das Lied der Deborah"; *Carl Cornill* gibt Beiträge "Zur Quellenkritik der Bücher Samuels." Von der hebräischen Philologie werden wir zur griechischen geführt, die vertreten ist durch *Arthur Ludwick's* "Streifzüge in entlegene Gebiete der griechischen Litteraturgeschichte" und durch *Gustav Hirschfeld's* Abhandlung "Über die griechischen Grabschriften, welche Geldstrafen anordnen." Auf die philologischen Studien folgt eine historische, nämlich die "Forschungen zur Geschichte des Tempelherrenordens" von *Hans Prutz*. Weiterhin begegnen wir einem Beitrage von *Adalbert Bezzenberger*, dessen Überschrift "Dispositio Imperfecti ad Optimum" auf den ersten Blick nicht verrät, um was es sich handelt. Es ist ein genauer, mit orientierender Einleitung versehener Abdruck eines Abrisses der lettischen Sprache vom Jahre 1732, dessen Titel (nach S. 186) vollständiger lautet: "Dispositio Imperfecti ad Optimum seu Rudimenta Grammatices Lotavicae, ab imperfecto autore, imperfecti pariter idiomatis explanatore ad salutem et perfectionem rudium animarum adjuncta catechesi apostolico missionariorum zelo suppositata." Den Schluss bildet ein auch für weitere Kreise verständlicher Aufsatz von *Friedrich Hahn*: "Die Klassiker der Erdkunde und ihre Bedeutung für die geographische Forschung der Gegenwart."

Einem Sammelwerke wie diesem gegenüber musste sich unsere Anzeige damit begnügen, in aller Kürze zu referieren. Die einzelnen Arbeiten zu kritisieren kann nicht die Aufgabe eines Einzelnen sein; es wäre dazu eine Vereinigung von Kritikern erforderlich, nicht viel kleiner als die Zahl der Mitarbeiter, die an dem zu recensierenden Werke beteiligt sind. Eine solche Collectivkritik aber wird sich, denke ich, in dem vorliegenden Falle um so

eher verschmerzen lassen, als ja für den wissenschaftlichen Charakter des Ganzen der Name und die Stellung der Mitarbeiter bürgt. Wir wünschen dem neuen Unternehmen guten Fortgang und wollen nur noch hinzufügen, dass der Verleger den Absatz desselben dadurch erleichtert hat, dass jedes einzelne Heft (in geringer Zahl auch Separatabzüge einzelner Abhandlungen aus einem Hefte) für sich käuflich ist.

BRYN MAWR, PA.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

Die Werke des Troubadors N'At de Mons zum ersten Mal herausgegeben von WILHELM BERNHARDT. [Altfranzösische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von Dr. WENDELIN FOERSTER. Elfte Band.] Heilbronn, Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1887. 12mo, pp. xlix, 169.

The Troubadour N'At de Mons, who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century, enjoys the distinction of having been the poet whose writings are oftenest cited, by way of illustration, in the fourteenth century treatise on poetics entitled *Las Leys d'Amors*. Only one of his pieces, however, and that the shortest (*La valors es grans e l'onors*), has hitherto been accessible to students. His remaining works consist of six poems, dealing chiefly with subjects moral and religious, and ranging in length from 265 to 2059 verses.

The author's name has generally been written *Nat*, the consideration here presented for changing it to *N'At* (= *En At*) being the occurrence of a form "Ato de Montibus" in the *Hist. génér. de Languedoc*. But the fact that no corresponding Provençal oblique form *Ato(n)* (= Lat. *Attonem*) is found, seems rather to argue that *Ato* is not the correct Latin representative, but a mere Latinizing reflex of the name, which the chronicler unwarrantably conceived to be (*N'*)*At*.

The textual material for the present edition was furnished to Mr. Bernhardt by Professor Wendelin Foerster, of Bonn, at whose suggestion it had been copied from the unique Paris MS by the lamented Apfelstedt. Valuable assistance in the constitution of the text was received from the well-known Provençal scholar, Chabaneau, who had also made a copy of the original MS with a view to its publication. The edition before us is elaborately equipped with a critical introduction, detailed analyses of the several poems, and explanatory notes.

Professor Foerster has appended to the editor's introduction a brief but conclusive discussion of three points of Provençal phonetics, showing (1) that intervocalic *i* of the Provençal MSS should not invariably be reproduced as *j*—as Bernhardt, in imitation of Bartsch, has here preferred to do—but should be represented respectively by *i* (= *y*) or *j* (= *ǰ*), according to its real phonetic value, which varied from dialect to dialect, and consequently needs to be determined for each separate text; (2) that Old Provençal *u*, answering to Lat. *ū*, has the value of *ū* (French *u*), contrary to the opinion of Diez, Gram. I<sup>3</sup> 391; and (3) that Old Provençal *ui*, *ue* represent graphically either the sounds *ui*, *ue* or *ūi*, *ūe*, according to the special dialect involved.

In thoroughness, accuracy, and completeness the work compares favorably with its predecessors in the valuable series of which it forms a part.

H. A. T.

## REPORTS.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. 1885.

### Fascicle 7.

48. Anz. v. F. S. Cavallari u. A. Holm topogr. archeol. di Siracusa. B. Lupus. A careful review of this valuable work, which L. declares to be a comprehensive statement of all that is yet known of the subject. The work opens with a review of what had previously been done in this field. Then follows a topographical description of Syracuse and its environs, and, in the third chapter, a key to the numerals on the large map of the ancient city and the remaining plates in the atlas. The fourth chapter contains a thorough discussion of the water supply of Syracuse, and the fifth, which L. calls the core of the whole work, is a complete historical topography of the city throughout its ancient history, including the retreat of the Athenians. The sixth (and last) chapter contains a discussion of the burial-places, together with a description of some of the chief edifices of the city. The review is almost entirely laudatory.

49. Zu Pindaros. O. Keller. A brief note on Isthm. 4, 80. Read ἀναπινυμένων.

4. (Continued.) Homerisches. F. Hartmann. A criticism of some of the etymologies offered by A. Breusing in the Jhbb. for 1885, fasc. 2.

50. Homerische Probleme. F. Weck. This is a continuation of an article in the Jhbb. for 1884. In H 410 W. would read, instead of μείλισσέμεν, μὴ λίσσέμεν, explaining this form as the active of λίσσομαι, and signifying "gewähren," to which λίσσομαι bears the same relation in meaning as εἶρομαι to εἶρω, or τίνωμαι to τίνω. In Π 667, for κάθηρον he would read κατ' αἶρον. In T 42 ff. he translates κυβερνήται "as steersmen," and καὶ . . . καὶ "both . . . and." For ὧ πόποι in 51 cases he suggests ὁπόποι, 3 ps. sing. of redupl. aor. opt., meaning "Let some one look."

51. Zu Aischylos. J. Oberdick. The Wecklein edition of Aeschylus assigns incorrectly the authorship of one or two emendations.

52. Zu den gesetztafeln von Gortyn. F. Blass, Kiel. Critical and explanatory notes on Halbherr and Fabricius's edition of the Gortynian law-book. To be added to the bibliography on this subject are the recent contributions of R. Dareste in the Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, IX 301 ff.; and Bücheler and Zitelmann's 'Das recht von Gortyn,' supplementary volume to the Rheinisches Museum, Vol. XL.

53. Zu Theophrastos Charakteren. Hugo Blümner. c. 2, for δὲ ἀκούτος or ἀκούοντος read διὰ κρότον or διὰ κρότους [which is supposed to mean 'durch

Klatschen' = *διὰ κράτους*—B. L. G.], and for *κυλοῦχιον* (c. 18) *δακτυλοῖχιον*, and for *μόνον εὐ πυρώσας* (ibid.) *μόνον ἐνεχυράσας*.

54. Zu Pausanias. Hugo Blümner. I 27, 1, transpose *οὐδ' ἄν* and *οὐδέ* *Ιωας*.

55. Zu Ovidius und den quellen der Varusschlacht. C. Schrader reaches the result that Tiberius crossed the Rhein but once, namely, in the year 10; and that in the year 11 he was in Gaul. In both campaigns he was attended by Germanicus.

56. Zu Vergilius Aeneis. Th. Plüss. In the Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, 1885, column 239, the attempt is made to define the etymological sense in which Vergil uses *coruscus*. Plüss denies the possibility of such an attempt; better is it to detect the poetic sense, and not until then to speak of his use of words as something regular and positive on the basis of an etymological signification.

Fascicle 8.

57. Grundzüge der tragischen kunst. Aus dem drama der Griechen entwickelt von Georg Günther. F. Pötzschke. P. praises very highly this valuable work of Günther. He agrees with the author in his opposition to the prevailing over-estimate of Sophocles at the expense of Aeschylus. Günther regards Aeschylus as the ideal tragic poet, and declares that Aristotle failed to appreciate him through lack of sympathy with his lofty ideas of God and the universe. The article closes with an interesting discussion of Günther's views of the nature and office of tragedy.

58. Zu Sophokles Antigone. J. Werner. In Ant. 576 for *ὥς εἴκοι* read *ὥς ἐμοίγε*.

59. Zu Geminus. Karl Manitius. In the beginning of c. 14, for . . . *μηδ' ἕκαστα διὰ* . . . read *μηδὲ καὶ ἕκαστα στάδια*.

60. Die stoischen definitionen der affecte und Poseidonios. O. Apelt. These definitions come chiefly from Chrysippos and not from Poseidonios. Both Galenos and Nemesios drew largely from Poseidonios, a fact which explains the striking coincidences in their language on some points.

61. Ein weiteres scholion zu Juvenalis über die speisenaufbewahrung für den Sabbath. Hermann Rönsch. This is on *nemus* in Juvenal, III 13, and is in the Codices Leidenses Vossiani 18 and 64. It reads: *conducta est ipsa silua pretio indei ea ratione ut pretium populo romano exinde persoluerent si eis liceret festa sua i. [= id est] sabbata celebrare qui uno die ante sabbatum in cofinis edulia sua calida ponebant inuoluentes in feno post inuolutionem linteaminum et mapparum ut sabbato calida haberent. despectiue autem illorum diuitias dicit cofinum et foenum.*

62. Das Catonische gründungsdatum Roms. Soltau. Before Polybios there was a total uncertainty as to the date of the founding of Rome and the boundaries of the regal period. Ennius gave 884 B. C.; Fabius Pictor, 748 B. C.; Cincius, 729 B. C. as the date for the founding. Cato's date is 744 B. C. (= 238 years before the beginning of the republic, which is itself 506 years

before Christ). This date can be proved in three ways, which Soltau gives. To reconcile this date with Fabius Pictor's, Cato's 238 years were lengthened by interregna in the regal period to 241. When, however, the Chronica of Apollodorus brought in the Trojan era of Eratosthenes, these same three years were added on to the date of Fabius Pictor (748), putting the founding of the city in 751.

63. Zu Cornelius Nepos. Polle, Dresden. Critical and exegetical notes on Paus. III 1.

64. Der archetypus der Brutusbriefe. Gurlitt, Berlin. The first part of this paper deals with the ninth book of the *epistulae ad M. Brutum*; the second, with the corpus of the letters *ad Brutum* and *Quintum Fratrem* (I-III); the third, with the value of Cratander's manuscript. All of the preserved letters ad Brutum belong to the old ninth book ad Brutum, and go back to an old MS which contained this book entire, but lost at first two or three pages through the parting of the binding. In this condition the writer of the Cratander MS found it. The Cratander edition of 1528 gives the oldest form of the first book and the most reliable readings.

65. Eine subscription bei Juvenalis. Otto Keller, Prag.

Fascicle 9.

66. Zur geschichte der rhetorischen ideenlehre. H. Liers. The common belief that the theory of *idéau* in rhetoric originated with Hermogenes of Tarsus is shown not to be well founded.

67. Zu Athenaios. R. Arnoldt. Brief textual notes.

68. Zur chronologischen bestimmung von Euripides Ion. R. Arnoldt. Aristophanes, in the Birds, 406 ff., parodies Ion, 222 ff. This, and other cases, make it likely that the Ion was first produced shortly before the Birds, or in 414 B. C.

4. (Continued.) Homerisches. R. Peppmüller. Textual note on ἀψ ἀναερχομένων Δ 392.

69. Zu den Theokritoscholien. Ch. Ziegler. A continuation (see Jhbb. for 1882, p. 825) of the comparison of the MSS with the text of Ahrens.

70. Zu Lukianos. J. Sommerbrodt. Textual criticism, continued from Jhbb. for 1884, p. 282.

71. Zur chronologie des gedichtes des Lucretius und zur frage nach der stellung des Memmius in demselben. Brandt, Heidelberg. B. places the composition of verses 29-43, book I, in the year 68 or 67, and holds that the entire poem from beginning to end was intended for Memmius. The gradual reduction in the number of places in which reference is made to Memmius warrants the inference that the friendly relations between Lucretius and Memmius were somewhat cooler.

72. Zur dritten dekade des Livius. Luterbacher. Critical notes.

(17). Zu Quintilianus. Eussner, Würzburg. Critical and exegetical notes on the tenth book.

73. Der neunte Epodus des Horatius. Faltin. This is an attempt to show that the poem is not a triumphant song in honor of Roman victory, but an expression of dissatisfaction called forth by the half success of the victory won at Actium. This is not in accordance with the view taken by Dillenburger, Nauck, Bücheler and others. See Plüss, *Horaz-studien* (320-347).

74. Critical notes Zu Gellius, by Weiss, on XVI 5, 3 C, and by K. P. Schulze, on XIX 9, 11.

75. Zu dem feldzug des Germanicus im jahre 16 nach Christus. Knoke. This is an attack upon P. Höfer's 'Der feldzug des Germanicus im j. 16 nach Ch.,' Bemburg, 1884. The position is taken that the Roman army did cross the Weser and that the battle at Idistaviso was fought on the right bank.

76. Zu den Differentiae Sermonum. Beck. This is called out by the publication of Widmann's *mischmasch* fragments of 'Differentiae Sermonum' (Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, 1883, pp. 649-652).

77. Zu einigen Placidus-glossen. Deuerling.

Fascicles 10 and 11.

78. Zur geschichte und composition der Ilias. K. Brandt. A minute and careful analysis of the plot of A-M with this result: The original *μῆνις Ἀχιλλῆος* began thus: A 1-348; lost passage; B 1-41; A 1-569; lost passage, in which the Greeks are driven back to their ships, and till the sun goes down: the battle recommences the next morning; M 41-85, 199-471.

79. Zu Aischylos Prometheus. E. Hoffmann. Textual criticism. 1. A line is probably lost before 255 or after 256. In the first case it might have corresponded in sense to 38, in the second, to 28. 2. In 331 read *πρὶν οὐ μετασχὼν* for *πάντων μετασχὼν*. 3. 347-362 are spoken by Oceanus, 362-376 by Prometheus. 4. In 438 for *προσελούμενον* read *προ-σκελούμενον* (cf. v. 481: *κατασκέλλω*). 5. In 480 for *πιστόν* read *παστόν*. 6. In 509 for *Διός* read *θεόν*. 7. Insert *ἀεὶ* between *τὰν* and *Διός* in 551.

80. Nochmals zu Thukydides, II 2. J. H. Lipsius. A rejoinder to Wilamowitz-Möllendorff as to the chronology of the above passage.

81. Zu Aristophanes Acharnern. Adolf Römer. A brief note.

82. Das eleusinische steuerdecret aus der höhezeit des Perikles. Adolf Schmidt. In this important inscription the words *μήνα δὲ ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἀρχοντα* have nothing to do with the regulation of the calendar, as supposed by Foucart, Lipsius, and Sauppe. Such a meaning is inconsistent with the subject matter of the document, with the natural signification of the words, and with the known facts of the Attic calendar. The clause in question merely sets a definite limit to the period allowed for the offering of first fruits, and should be translated: "But the new Archon shall put one month between, the Hekatombaion." This position S. supports by an elaborate examination of the whole "fristlehre" in Attic law.

83. Anz. v. Dionysii Thracis *Ars Grammatica*, ed. G. Uhlig. W. Studemund. In this volume Uhlig publishes the text of the *τέχνη* of Dionysius from the two

best MSS, but with no emendation. The variations recorded in other MSS are also noted, giving a history of the text, which S. declares to be of much value. In a later volume Uhlig will give the text as he would reconstitute it. The reviewer adds farther information in regard to the MSS used by Uhlig, with some corrections.

84. Das Julianische datum von Syphax gefangennahme. W. Soltau. This reaches the conclusion that Syphax was captured on May 25th, B. C. 203.

85. Acca Laurentia. E. Bährens. A contribution to the earliest history of Rome.

86. Die vier zeitalter des Florus. O. E. Schmidt. An attempt to explain the false numbers in the MSS of Florus, and to show the incorrectness of Unger's explanation (Philologus, XLIII 429-33).

87. Catullus in den glossarien. L. Schwabe, Tübingen. This shows that four of the seven glosses on the collection of C. Labbaeus are of more recent date.

(63). Zu Cornelius Nepos. Radtke. A critical note on Epam. 4, 4.

88. Zu Terentius Heautontimoroumenos. Blümner. Critical and exegetical notes.

89. Zu Ciceros Cato Maior. Polle. Critical note on §47.

90. Zu Tacitus Historien. An addendum to Meiser's note in the Jahrb. 1884, pp. 775-6. This maintains Meiser's right of ownership to the note on the Placidus gloss, *sanitas sustentaculum*, as against W. Heraeus. (See below, p. 506.)

#### Fascicle 12.

91. Ein chorlied des Oidipus Tyrannus. A. Beck. A choral ode, as lyric poetry, is subject to two tests: Does it spring from some natural emotion? Is it adapted to excite this emotion in others? As part of a drama it must also stand in reasonable connection with the action. B. examines the chorus O. T. 1086-1109 according to these tests, and finds that it conforms to all the requirements of a tragic chorus.

92. Der paian des Isyllos. F. Blass. An inscription lately found in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros consists of a number of short poems by Isyllos, a poet hitherto unknown. The dialect is Doric, and the date probably at the beginning of the second century B. C.

93. Vermeintliche Aristotelische zeugnisse über Anaximandros' ἀπειρον. C. Bäumker. The passages in Aristotle's Physics, III 4, 203a 16. and III 5, 205a 25, do not refer to the opinions of Anaximander.

94. Zu den fragmenten der griechischen epiker. R. Peppmüller. Textual criticism of seven passages from the Kypria, the Aithiopis, the Little Iliad, and the Naupaktia.

95. Ein inschriftliches digamma. H. Rumpf. R. argues in favor of his conjecture ἐν[ω]iva, in the Chersonesos inscription of Diophantos, as opposed to ἐν[θ]iva proposed by Blass.

96. Das verhör der Catilinarier. C. John. In reply to E. Lang, 'Das strafverfahren gegen die Catilinarier' (Schönthal, 1884). John argues for the reliability of Cicero, and for understanding that the confessions of the conspirators were in themselves dangerous and have not been purposely exaggerated by Cicero.

97. Ueber das princip der variatio bei römischen dichtern. Schulze, Berlin. This shows by means of examples from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Horace and Vergil, that these poets adopted this principle in the collections of their poems published by themselves.

98. Zu Catullus. Blümner, Zürich. B. divides Carm. XXX into four strophes of three lines each, and puts verses 5 and 4 between 10 and 11.

(43). *A* und *ab* vor consonanten in den fragmenten der ältern römischen poesie. Harder, Berlin. H. comes to the same conclusion with Meusel (see A. J. P., VIII 245), namely, that *a* stands before *b, f, m, n, p* and *v*; that *a* is commoner than *ab* before *c* and *s*; *ab* is commoner before *d* and *e*; *ab* is used before *i* and *r*.

(85). Acca Laurentia. E. Hoffmann.

99. Zu Horatius Episteln. Schneidewin. A critical note on I 2, 27.

100. Zu Ovidius. Polle. Critical contributions to the *Metamorphoses*, *Tristia*, and *ex Ponto*.

E. B. CLAPP.

W. E. WATERS.

ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie. Herausgegeben von Richard Paul Wülker. Band IX, Heft 2 u. 3. Halle, 1886.

Heft 2.

Dr. O. Glöde discusses (pp. 271-318) the sources of Cynewulf's *Elene*. In the state of England's culture in foreign letters during the first centuries following the introduction of Christianity, Glöde, in refutation of Fritzsche, finds a strong presumption against the possibility of the poet's use of a Greek original. Appreciating this position as incompatible with Fritzsche's results respecting the *Andreas*, Glöde, while deferring his argument to another occasion, declares himself on the side of those who regard the *Andreas* as constructed on the basis of a Latin original and by the hand of Cynewulf. *Elene*, in common with the other acknowledged poems of Cynewulf, must in all probability be referred to a Latin source. Glöde sets himself the task of a minute comparison between the poem and the *Vita Quiriaci*. He is painstaking and thorough, and arranges his material so as to constitute a help to the study of the poem. His conclusion is at least safe, and represents perhaps the nearest approach at present possible to a final statement of the question: "Cynewulf arbeitete nach einem ihm schriftlich vorliegenden lateinischen texte, der bis jetzt noch nicht ediert, bezw. noch nicht aufgefunden worden ist. Auf den bericht der *Acta Sanctorum* (4. Mai!) ist nur als auf einen ähnlichen, nicht die quelle repräsentierenden zu verweisen." The student of the poem should be told that this article represents, in a slightly condensed form, the second part of Glöde's dissertation, *Cynewulf's Elene und ihre*



Quelle, Rostock, 1885, of which the first part, giving an historical sketch of the Cross legends, will be found valuable. The recent appearance of the closing volume of Ebert's *Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande* also brings an important addition to the bibliography of Cynewulf.

Mrs. Pott, the editor of "The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies" (attributed by some to Lord Bacon), recoils from the severity of her critics, and, in the interest of truth and of fearless research despite the possible "revelation of unwelcome facts," begs to be heard once more. She is concerned in removing the points of support upon which hardy skepticism has placed the uncanny image of a bifrontal anachronism. The title of her contribution (pp. 319-336) is somewhat explanatory: "Notes on Andrew Borde's Book, and Passages from the 1st and 2nd Quartos of Romeo and Juliet. Showing the gradual and increasing introduction of notes from Bacon's Promus." After being told that "No one who reads 'Anglia' need be informed that Good and God have the same derivation," a diversity of feeling, according to individual humor, must arise. In no case, however, will a return to the philological basis of "A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence" be found to comport with the gravity of the question in hand. It were perhaps better to dismiss all seriousness and join, for the nonce, in the sport of the hour. I shall at least venture to remind the defender of the Promus of Mr. Pegge's (*Anecdotes of the English Language*, 1844, p. 224f.) learned exposition of that puzzling (!) salutation, *Good morrow*. Mrs. Pott believes, or evidently hopes that she believes, that the terms of greeting found in Borde's book were used only as general expressions of well-wishing and not as special morning and evening salutations; while "the forms which Bacon wrote down and apparently intended to introduce, were *not* benedictions, but *were* morning and evening salutations." The second possible anachronism which involves the age of the Promus in relation to that of the First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet gives the author little trouble. She merely assumes the right, since the matter is one upon which commentators cannot agree, to take "this First Quarto" for "what it professes to be, the earliest edition of Romeo and Juliet, published in 1597." A comparison between the two First Quartos of this play, which is next carried through a number of pages of parallel passages, is designed to enforce Lord Macaulay's observation on certain characteristics of Bacon's mind. The conclusion of this section of the article will be most delectable in the original form: "There cannot be a doubt that in almost every instance where there is an alteration or expansion of a passage from the Quarto of 1597, it is found in succeeding Quartos to include some allusion to one or more of Bacon's notes. Hence this argument; at first, Bacon's own notes were unfamiliar even to himself, but that by using them he learnt to apply them more freely and aptly, as he advanced in his revisions." Mr. Ignatius Donnelly must be allowed to give to these startling disclosures their proper setting, while "fanatical Shakespearians" may perhaps hope for some grace if they but adopt the manner of the schoolboy's Homeric theory and say that the plays of Shakespeare were not written by Shakespeare but by some one else of the same name.

There is hardly another philological journal that is so much given as the *Anglia* to the publication *in extenso* of students' "dissertations" and their

trial efforts at the reproduction of manuscripts or the construction of critical texts. One of the editor's students, Dr. A. R. Diebler, is making, as it appears, a special study of the Fables of Robert Henrisone, the good master of Dunfermline, having published the first fruits of this effort as his "dissertation" in 1885 ("Henrisone's Fabeldichtungen," Halle); he now advances (pp. 337-342) to a statement, tabulated according to a theory of life-periods, of the entire works of Henrisone, with valuable details regarding the manuscripts and editions, and to a complete edition of the Fables (pp. 342-390 and 453-492). This edition has the merit of being the first that has been based on Harl. 3365, the best and the only complete MS of the Fables; it will be best studied when published, according to promise, in separate form with an introduction and a glossary.

M. F. Mann concludes his valuable investigation, begun in the seventh volume, of the sources of Philippe de Thaum's *Physiologus* (pp. 391-434, and a supplementary note pp. 447-450). The summary of his results is that de Thaum's Latin basis is, in its chief features, preserved in the *Physiologus* of MS No. 10074 of the Royal Lib. at Brussels; where this MS of the tenth century does not serve, the poet's source may be reconstructed with the help of a MS of the eighth century, No. 223 of the Lib. of Berne. There is, moreover, direct and indirect indebtedness to Isidor; Pliny and the *Compactus* are next in value, and finally the Cotton. MS Vesp. E. X supplies corroborations.

E. Hönncher, in an article, Zur Dialogeinteilung im "Seefahrer" (A) und zur zweiten Homiletischen Partie (B) dieses Gedichtes (pp. 435-446), reviews the theories of Rieger and of Kluge with respect to the curious structure of the A. S. poem, "The Seafarer." He offers a new distribution of the dialogue, in closer agreement with Rieger than with Kluge, of the first and, as he would say, the original and incomplete section, which he closes with l. 64a, and argues that the remaining portion (ll. 64b to the close) belonged at first to some other composition, and by mere "schreiberwillkür" came into its present unfitting position.

The second number of this volume closes with a circular letter pertaining to the establishment of a Neuphilologen-Verein at Hannover, and an appendix (pp. 1-84) giving Lüns' "Uebersicht der in den Jahren 1883 und 1884 auf dem Gebiete der Englischen Philologie erschienenen Bücher und Aufsätze."

### Heft 3.

After Diebler's text, which has already been noticed, we come to the second article, Sind die von Horstmann herausgegebenen Schottischen Legenden ein Werk Barbere's? (pp. 493-514), by P. Buss. The question is whether the "Lives of Saints" published by Horstmann in two volumes (1881 and 1882) under the title, "Barbour's des Schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung," can with any degree of certainty be attributed to the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the author of the *Bruce*. This large collection of legends, preserved in the unique MS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Gg II 6, was for the first time attributed to Barbour by Mr. Bradshaw. This opinion was chiefly based on the unmistakable official rank of the writer and the occurrence of the legends of Machor (Mauritius) and of Ninian, the patron saints of Scotland and Aberdeen:

the Archdeacon would, by presumption, take a special interest in the local saints. But Mr. Bradshaw had just made the curious find of the Troy fragments, which he had unhesitatingly assigned to Barbour, and was therefore in a state of mind predisposed soon to discover other works by the same writer. Horstmann, accepting Bradshaw's theory, first published the *St. Machor* in *Altengl. Leg., Neue Folge*, 1881, pp. 189-208, and afterwards the whole collection, with this single omission, together with the Troy fragments in the two volumes already named. Buss agrees that the whole collection of the "lives" are by the same author, although there are peculiarities in the *Ninian* which might reward special investigation. The Trojan fragments, he declares, must certainly be restudied, particularly in their relation to each other. The task which Buss here sets himself is, however, to show by a detailed study of the orthographic and phonological evidence of the rimes that neither the "lives" nor the "fragments" can be referred to Barbour. Horstmann will certainly have to reconsider the title of his book.

"*Beowulf und Kynewulf*" (pp. 515-550) is a communication from the pen of G. Sarrazin, who has, in recent times, been prolific in additions to the "literature" on the *Beowulf* epic; it can hardly be said that he has to a corresponding degree increased our knowledge on the subject. Sarrazin, in the present instance, grapples with the most difficult problem in Anglo-Saxon literature, Who wrote the *Beowulf*? The special novelty of his research, however, is that he succeeds, as he believes, in finding the veritable author, who has hitherto eluded identification. From a consideration of long lists of coincident and parallel expressions, and from an agreement in style and manner, we are to infer identity of authorship for the poems usually attributed to *Cynewulf* (including the *Andreas*) and for the great epic. This theory has every advantage of reconciling all the truths and half-truths of the different theories of composition. *Cynewulf* was not only the author of the "original parts," but was also, at a later period of his life, in his repentant old age, the sanctimonious "interpolator B." We can now understand that mysterious combination of unity and diversity of treatment which the great critics of the poem have felt. Nor must Möller blush for his strophes. For did not *Cynewulf*, in his early manhood, a wandering gleeman, base his first version of the epic (he called it the *Beowa*) on the Old Danish "*Böðvarepos*"? Sarrazin is so thoroughly convinced of the soundness of his theory that he is free to acknowledge the incompleteness of his data; greater exactness in details, he would have us feel, would but be carrying wood to the forests. But it is just here that the weakness of the theory is most manifest. It indeed covers the details brought forward, but its adaptability is, unfortunately, not thereby exhausted. It is wider than the required range of phenomena; it proves too much, and therefore in reality proves nothing at all. The first step in the argument has been omitted: the exclusion from the comparison of every poetical document which is not assumed to belong to *Cynewulf* should have been justified. A uniformly detailed study of the whole body of Anglo-Saxon poetry would, however, as I believe, reveal such a wide application of Sarrazin's tests as to force him to the admission that his theory having directions has certainly no defining limits. Let him make the experiment with the *Daniel*, a poem which he does not mention in this connection, to see whether

there are no striking agreements in phrase and style with the *Beowulf*. His admission (p. 549) of "anklänge an den *Beowulf*" in other than Cynewulf's poems is not sufficient to clear him of the charge of working a theory within unfairly prescribed limitations.

A. Stormfels concludes (pp. 551-581) his valuable contribution to the study of Old French vowels in Middle English, which should be considered in connection with Behrens' "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England," Heilbronn, 1886.

The astronomical data given in Chaucer's "Complaynt of Mars and Venus" have led Professor H. Turein to determine for us the date of the poem. This calculation appearing in rather an inaccessible form, is here reprinted with some additional comments by John Koch. The particular conjunction of the planets which is dwelt on in the poem is computed to have occurred in the year 1379.

The two following articles are by the editor himself, Prof. Wülker. The first is a comment on the first volume of "The Life, Letters and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton, by his Son," the second volume of which is to receive like treatment in a subsequent issue. In the second note, "Versehen in den Büchern über neueste Englische Literatur," the common practice of books on literature of misstating the order in which Kingsley wrote "Yeast" and "Alton Locke" is exposed, and the true order established by arguments drawn chiefly from Mrs. Kingsley's "Letters and Memories." The date of "Hypatia" is also carefully determined.

All students of the Faust legend owe a debt to the venerable Prof. Zarncke for his minute and accurate account of the early editions of the Faust "Volksbuch" which is prefixed to Braune's reprint of the original edition (1587). Zarncke there shows the true relation between the genuine "Spies" (A<sup>1</sup>) and the "pseudo-Spies" (C) of the same year. But the editor of the recent edition of Mountford's Farce having apparently remained ignorant of these facts, Zarncke is induced to give fresh emphasis to certain details of importance for the English side of the question. Under the title, *Das Englische Volksbuch vom Doctor Faust* (pp. 610-612) we accordingly find a concise statement of the arguments by which February 28, 1589, is shown to be the true date for the permission to print the English Faust ballad. This limits the first appearance of the English version of the "Volksbuch" to the year 1588 or the beginning of 1589. It is further shown that Marlowe's play must have appeared some time before November, 1589; that it was "presented" in the preceding year has not been proved. We are therefore to assume confidently that the *editio princeps* of the English "Volksbuch" was the basis both of the "Ballad" and of Marlowe's play.

A necrological note on Dr. Clement Mansfield Ingleby is contributed by Karl Lentzner.

F. Dieter closes the volume with a spirited reply to a review, in *Anz. f. d. A. XVIII*, of his monograph on Anglo-Saxon Glosses.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.<sup>1</sup>

XXXIX Band.

Heft IV.

Titles of articles :—

O. Böhtlingk : Bemerkungen zu Bühler's Ausgabe und Uebersetzung des Âpastastambijadharmasûtra.

O. Böhtlingk : Ein Versuch zur Beilegung eines literarischen Streites.

O. Böhtlingk : Zur indischen Lexicographie (notes on Prof. Whitney's Appendix to his Sanskrit Grammar).

O. Böhtlingk : Einige Bemerkungen zu Baudhâjana's Dharmaçâstra (zum ersten Male herausgegeben von E. Hultzsch).

M. Grünbaum : Ueber Schem hammephorasch als Nachbildung eines aramäischen Ausdrucks und über sprachliche Nachbildungen überhaupt. An article of seventy-four pages.

George A. Grierson : Selected specimens of the Bihârî Language, edited and translated.

August Müller : Der Katalog der arabischen Handschriften der Vice-königlichen Bibliothek zu Kairo.

Bühler : Einige Noten zu Böhtlingk's Bemerkungen über Führer's Ausgabe und meine Uebersetzung des Vasishtadharmasâstra.

Seybold reviews : Petri Hispani de lingua arabica libri duo Pauli de Lagarde studio et sumptibus repetiti. Gottingae, 1883.

XL Band, 1886.

Heft I.

E. Hultzsch describes briefly a journey he made in 1884-5 to India, gives a list of 483 MSS he had collected, and gives the text and translation of several inscriptions. The article is accompanied by two plates of inscriptions from squeezes made by Hultzsch.

Dr. J. G. Stickel gives some further remarks on the Omniad coin from Ascalon, and describes and discusses a little coin the picture of which he gives. He hails with delight Stanley Lane Poole's projected work on Moslem numismatics.

J. Gildermeister shows that Moses of Khoren has in his history a chapter taken almost word for word from Pseudokallisthenes.

Under the head of Védica, R. Pischel discusses (1) Ṛgvêda 8, 47, 15 ; (2) Ṛgvêda 7, 59, 12 ; (3) *arya ā*.

G. Bühler translates and annotates the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth edict of the Açoka inscriptions.

Nöldeke has an article of forty pages reviewing Robertson Smith's Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia. After criticising many points in

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VII 118.

detail, he declares the book calculated to give most valuable help to all who read it with independent judgment.

The titles of the other articles are as follows: *Zusätzliches zu meiner Abhandlung*; *Ueber die Entstehung der Çvetāmbara und Digambara Sekten*, by Hermann Jacobi; *Miscellen*, by Hermann Jacobi; *Königthum und Priesterthum im alten Erân*, by Eugen Wilhelm; *Ueber Umāpatidhara*, by Theodor Aufrecht; *Bemerkungen zu Bühler's Artikel im 39. Bande dieser Zeitschrift*, S. 704 fgg., by O. Böhtlingk.

#### Heft II.

Dr. M. Klamroth discusses *al-Ya'-qūbi's* extracts from Hippocrates, and gives twenty-nine pages of Arabic text.

M. Grünbaum gives seventy-one pages of notes on his article which appeared in Vol. 39, pp. 543 ff., under the title, *Ueber Schem hammephorasch als Nachbildung eines aramäischen Ausdrucks und über sprachliche Nachbildungen überhaupt*.

Th. Nöldeke describes the Arabic MSS left by Spitta and now in Strassburg.

N. Karamianz gives twenty-one strange characters which he found in an Armenian MS, and which he thinks may belong to the old Albanian alphabet.

H. H. Dhruva discusses four copperplate grants of Gujrat kings, and gives five and a half pages of text.

Extracts from a letter of Dr. Hurgronje give some facts relative to the sign language employed by some of the Arabic merchants.

The titles of the other articles are: *Zur Kenntniss der Āryā*, by Hermann Jacobi; *Berichtigungen und Nachträge zu den Amarāvatt-Inschriften*, by E. Hultzsch; *Beiträge zur altindischen Religions- und Sprachgeschichte*, by P. von Bradke.

#### Heft III.

In an article on the Dictionary of Menachem Ibn Saruk, according to Codex Bern 200, Dr. David Kaufmann describes and discusses this MS, and gives thirty-three pages of additions to and variations from the edition of Filipowski.

L. Morales gives text and translation with glossary of a number of extracts from the "Book of Diverting Stories" of Bar-Hebraeus.

In a long article entitled *Über das Buch "die Chric"*, A. Baumgartner discusses the relation of this book, an Armenian rhetoric, to the *Progy-mnasmata* of Aphthonius, and concludes that its author is the historian Moses Chorenazi.

Titles of remaining articles:—

M. Heidenheim: *Die neue Ausgabe der Vers. Sam. zur Genesis* [Bibl. Sam. I].

Stenzler : Das Schwertklingen-Gelübde der Inder.

Böhtlingk : Nachträgliches zu Vasishṭha.

Bühler : Einige Bemerkungen zu Böhtlingk's Artikel über Âpastamba (Bd. XXXIX, p. 517).

E. Kuhnert : Midas in Sage und Kunst.

Ign. Guidi : Die Kirchengeschichte des Catholikos Sabrîšô<sup>h</sup> I.

#### Heft IV.

Carl Lang gives the Arabic text and part of the translation and notes of a historical poem of 419 lines, by Ibn el Mu'tazz on Mu'taḍid as prince and regent.

In an article on the extracts from Greek authors in al-Ya'qûbî, M. Klamroth discusses the extracts from Greek physicians other than Hippocrates.

Fr. Philippi discusses the nature of the Semitic consonants ʾ and ʿ.

P. von Bradke concludes his "Beiträge zur altindischen Religions- und Sprachgeschichte."

Nöldeke contributes a long review of Delitzsch's Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament. He complains that the book often gives the impression of special pleading for the Assyrian, the importance of which it sets too high, at least at the present stage of knowledge. On the other hand it sets too low a value on other auxiliary material, especially the Arabic. Nöldeke refuses to accept many of Delitzsch's etymologies, says some are not so certain as D. claims, and others certainly wrong.

Dr. S. Baer gives a very severe criticism of Ginsburg's Massorah, and declares that it utterly fails as a critical edition.

R. Pischel reviews very favorably Grierson's Bihār Peasant Life.

F. Liebrecht reviews Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch, herausgegeben von Dr. Valentin Langmantel, Tübingen, 1885.

Titles of other articles :—

Bühler : Einige weitere Bemerkungen zu Böhtlingk's Artikeln über Vasishṭha.

Chr. Bartholomae : Zur Transskription der indoiranischen Zischlaute.

A. Hillebrandt : Eine Miscelle aus dem Vedaritual.

A. Ludwig : Drei Ṛgveda Stellen.

A. Ludwig : Bedeutungen vedischer Wörter.

I. Löw : Bemerkungen zu Merx, Proben der syrischen Uebersetzung von Galenus-Schrift über die einfachen Heilmittel.

Dr. Vollers : Der Katalog der arabischen Handschriften zu Kairo. Also a note by K. Koth on the Bibliotheca Indica.

XLI Band, 1887.

Heft I.

The most important article is a long one by Dr. Ignaz Goldziher, entitled *Materialien zur Kenntniss der Almohadenbewegung*. As he regards this movement as a theological one through and through, he treats the question from this standpoint, and examines some of the causes of the movement and some of the practical changes resulting.

Böhtlingk reviews: *Sanskrit Syntax* by Dr. J. S. Speijer, Leiden, Brill, 1886. B. reviews the book favorably, but points out a number of errors and misprints.

Titles of other articles:—

G. Bühler: *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka Inschriften (Fortsetzung)*.

K. Himly: *Die Denkmäler der Kantoner Moschee*.

Böhtlingk: *Noch ein Wort zur Maurja-Frage im Mahābhāshja*.

Heft II.

Georg Ebers gives a sketch of the life of Gustav Seyffarth, with an endeavor to give a just estimate of the value of his work in Egyptology. While Ebers evidently feels strongly on the subject, he endeavors to be as fair to Seyffarth as possible. It is, however, a sad story, as the story of a life's disappointment must ever be.

Carl Lang continues his translation and notes of the poem *Mu'taḍid as Prince and Regent*.

Spiegel gives a second article on the home and date of the *Awestā*. He replies to some objections made by Geiger to his former article, in which he assigns to the *Awestā* a much later date than is commonly accepted. He believes that the Bactrian kingdom, with *Vistāspa* as its king, must disappear from our histories.

Titles of other articles:—

David Kaufmann: *Die Schüler Menachem's und Dunasch's im Streite über כחש"ן*.

J. H. Mordtmann: *Zur Topographie des nördlichen Syriens aus griechischen Inschriften*.

J. H. Mordtmann: *Vergessene himjarische Inschriften*.

Shang yu pa ki. *Dergi Here Jakōn gōsa de Wasimbuha*. Traduit pour la première fois par C. Harlez.

H. Hübschmann: *Ossetische Nominalbildung*.

Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki: *Volkslieder der transsilvanischen Zigeuner (inedita)*.

Felix Liebrecht: *Eine Madagaskarische Lebensregel*.

Felix Liebrecht: *Eine Arabische Sage*.

Fr. Dieterici reviews favorably: *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt* von Dr. F. W. Schwarzlose. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1886.



Emmanuel Löw gives a number of notes and corrections to the seventh fascicle of R. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford, 1886.

Heft III.

Karl Vollers, in an article on the Arabic spoken in Egypt, after some general remarks, gives a large body of notes on the common dialect, following the paragraphs of Spitta-Bey's Grammar. These are followed by notes on some of the material in Miḥā'll Šabbāg's grammar. The Hazz al Kuḥūf of Yusuf aš Šerbīnī is discussed and declared to be of great importance for philology.

H. Oldenberg, in *Die Adhyātheilung des Rigveda*, thinks that this division gives us no material for fixing the interpolations in the *Riksamhitā*.

Titles of other articles:—

Carl von Arnhard: *Die Wasserweihe nach dem Ritus der äthiopischen Kirche*.

M. Klamroth: *Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī, III Philosophen*.

H. Gelzer: *Aegyptisches*.

Heinrich von Wlislöcki: *Märchen des Siddhi-Kür in Siebenbürgen*.

K. Himly: *Anmerkungen in Beziehung auf das Schach und andere Brettspiele*.

Th. Aufrecht: *Bemerkungen*.

F. Bollensen: *Beiträge zur Kritik des Veda*.

O. Böhtlingk: *Haben iti und ca bisweilen die Bedeutung von ādi?*

I. Löw reviews P. Ascherson et G. Schweinfurth-Illustration de la Flore d'Égypte.

J. R. JEWETT.

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HERMES, 1886.

III.

H. J. Polak. In Marci Antonini Commentarios *Analecta Critica I*. Discussing the tradition of the text, Polak praises highly the edition by Stich, 1882, declaring at the same time that the Didot edition of this writer is bare of any original merit (p. 323). Polak's paper aims at proving that inasmuch as the aid of the MSS is very slender indeed, criticism in this case must resort to conjecture to get a readable author.

E. Hiller (*Die antiken Verzeichnisse der Pindarischen Dichtungen*) notes that the list of Pindar's works contained in a *vita* of P. in a Breslau MS, and the list in Suidas, disagree in some details, although both give a total of seventeen *volumina*. H. endeavors to show how the *σκολιά*, the *δράματα τραγικῆ*, the *ἐπιθρονισμοί*, the *βακχικά*, and the *δαφνηφορικά* arose as separate titles.

Th. Kock. *Neue Bruchstücke Attischer Komiker*. K. publishes two kinds of conjectural fragments: 1. Scattered fragments (*Versprengte Trümmer*). These are drawn from such writers as Eusebius, Libanius, Synesius, Dio Chrysos-

tomus, Plutarch, Clement of Alexandria, and Aristides. Naturally many of these lines—often reconstructed with great freedom by Kock—are gnomic in bearing, others are interpreted as fitting some particular situation or character, such as the lover or parasite. 2. In the other portion of his publication (*Zusammenhängende Partien*), K. introduces large blocks, restored by himself to trimeters, from divers *μελέται* of Libanius and from letters of Aristaonetus and of Alciphron. The suggestion is indeed made, in a very plausible way, that the writers mentioned used portions of, or the plot of, plays of the middle and new comedy to elaborate them for their purposes. Kock's restorations are certainly very clever.

Th. Mommsen (*der Römische oder Italische Fuss*) controverts the thesis of Dörpfeld, viz. that the Italian and the Roman foot-measures differed, insisting that in whatever part of the Roman empire merchants and others plied their avocation, they used simply Italian measures. Dörpfeld's assertion that there was an older Italian foot-measure of 0.278m. Mommsen declares to be groundless.

Wm. Heraeus (*De Historiarum Taciti glossematis*) endeavors to point out how the latter have crept into the text of our MSS. An apt illustration is in Tac. H. II 28: *Sin victoriae sanitas sustentaculum columen in Italia verteretur*. Nipperdey, in 1855, declared that *sanitas* and *sustentaculum* were glosses of *columen*. This view having been generally rejected, a remarkable confirmation has been found in Placidus glossogr. p. 19, 1, ed. Deuerling: "*Columen* : vel sanitas vel sustentaculum, quia a columna fit." Similarly Heraeus treats a passage in IV 56: "*Quem captum et extra commentum amendatum in Frisio diximus*." A bulky gloss seems to be the following, after *vincis* (III 20): "*machinamenti genus ad expugnandos muros in modum turrium factum*."

M. Schanz (*Zur Entwicklung des Platonischen Stils*) holds that the only way to make some progress towards the solution of the vexed question as to the order and succession of Plato's dialogues was to make statistical observation of detailed points of his literary usage, a method aptly entered upon some years ago by Dittenberger (*Hermes*, XVI 321-345). How e. g. does Plato express the equivalent of *actually, in reality*? He uses *τῷ ὄντι* and *ὁντως* on the one hand, and *ὡς ἀληθῶς*, *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, *ἀληθῶς*, *ἀληθείᾳ* on the other. As to *τῷ ὄντι* and *ὁντως*: *τῷ ὄντι* is used in Apol., Euthyphro, Gorgias, Laches, Lysis, Protagoras, Symposium, Phaedo; but *ὁντως* is utterly wanting. *Both* expressions are used in Phaedrus, Cratylus, Euthydemus, Theaetetus, Republic, Sophist; *ὁντως* alone is found in Philebus, Politicus, Timaeus, Leges. This list is in accord with the accepted data of Platonic literary study, e. g. in putting Apol., Euthyphro and Lysis, etc., in the earliest group, and Lysis in the last; also in placing Politicus later than Sophist and Theaetetus. As to the phrases *ἀληθῶς*, *ὡς ἀληθῶς*, *ἀληθείᾳ*, and *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, the striking feature of the second table (pp. 444-45) is that Philebus, Politicus, Timaeus, Leges use *ἀληθῶς* to the exclusion of *ὡς ἀληθῶς*. That the Politicus is later than the Republic has been demonstrated by R. Hirzel (*Hermes*, VIII 127). As to the comparatively early date of the Phaedo cf. Fr. Schultess (*Plat. Forschungen*, p. 80). It is noteworthy that there is substantial agreement between the results of Dittenberger's and Schanz's work. The following points of agreement certainly deserve atten-

tion: Phaëdo belongs to the earlier period, Theætetus does not. The Phædrus marks, not the beginning, but the zenith of Plato's literary work. The same method is applied by Schanz to fixing the chronology of Xenophon's books.

Johannes Schmidt (Die Einsetzung der römischen Volkstribunen) maintains the correctness of the historical tradition which assigns the institution of this office to 494 B. C., against B. Niese, who claimed (Marburg, 1886, Univ. Progr.) that this date was an invention which sprung up between the era of the Gracchi and 65 B. C.

Zacher (Zu den Heilurkunden von Epidaurus) comments on the famous Inss. chiefly in the way of exegesis. He also compares the story of the woman suffering from worms, as told in Aelian, Nat. Anim. IX 33, with the kindred narrative occurring in the Epidaurian inscriptions. In the earlier era the patients lie down in the evening and rise cured in the morning. In the imperial era, however, medical advice is bestowed in dreams.

Shorter articles are published as follows: On Plotin. Enn. III 4, by H. von Kleist; on the Criticism of the Text of Julian, by Klimck; 'Ἰξευτικά, by O. Crusius, on the use of lime-twigs in antiquity to catch birds; Die Staedtezahl des Römerreiches, by Th. Mommsen; on the Scholia on Soph. Electr. 47, by Michaelis; the Date of ΕΡΜΗΣ ΑΤΟΡΑΙΟΣ, by the same.

#### IV.

D. Detlefsen. Das Pomerium Roms und die Grenzen Italiens. The *pomerium* was the legal circumference of Rome, but was by no means identical with the actual wall of the city. The pomerium, it seems, under the tradition and practice of Rome both in the republican and imperial era, could be extended only when the *finis populi Romani*, i. e. of Italy, had been extended. Such extensions are credited e. g. to Sulla, to Caesar, to Augustus, to Claudius, to Nero, to Vespasian, to Titus and others. The typical formula is contained in the following inscription, C. I. L. VI 1231: T1·CLAUDIUS | DRUSI F·CAISAR | AUG·GERMANICUS | PONT·MAX·TRIB·POT | VIII | IMP·XVI·COS·IIII·CENSOR·P·P· | AUCT1S·POPULI·ROMANI | FINIBUS·POMERIUM | AMPLIAUITQ. The statements of Mela, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Ptolemy are brought forward and discussed. The status of the several cantons and communities of the Alpine belt, from Nice to the headwaters of the Save and to Istria, is discussed, mainly on the basis of epigraphic evidence.

E. Hiller. On the Particle *há*. *há* occurs, in the Iliad and Odyssey, after words of one syllable and after *ἐπεὶ* and *ὅτε* (*ὅττι*). Exceptions occur in but 10 lines of the Iliad and Odyssey. The occurrence in X 400 seems to be due to the attempt to reproduce E 366 as closely as possible, that in ω 501 to an imitation of ψ 370, that in P 200 to copying of P 442; the former line, in Hiller's view, being a later insertion. The same explanation is advanced in comparing E 514 with Z 5, etc. In A 249, however, this explanation fails. Outside of Homer *há* occurs after a polysyllabic word only in Hymn. Hom. Ap. Pyth. 12. The canon above stated holds good for Pindar, the Bucolic poets, Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes.

Th. Mommsen. Die Tatiuserlegende. M. suggests that this tale, like most similar ones in the "quasi-history," as he calls it ("would-be" history, we

might say), of Roman tradition, is political and astrological. Like that of Remus, it probably arose in the earlier stages of the Republic, and was intended to explain and fortify the dual system of consuls. The defeat of the Antemnates, Caeninenses, and Crustumerians, which precedes the narrative proper of the war with the Sabines, is an interpolation. M. suggests that the legend sprung into being in the era which saw the union of Sabines and Latins, 290 B. C., the former being made Roman citizens. In passing M. throws out the remark (p. 583) that the seven kings of Rome, as well as the seven hills of Rome, are due to the symbolism of numbers.

Ad. Erman. Über die Herkunft der Faijum Papyrus. Whence do these papyri really come? Erman had been in Egypt a few years ago, and there, conjointly with Dr. Schwernfurth, he ascertained the following facts: The papyri are found at almost all points of the vast hills of debris marking the ancient site of Arsinoë, where they are mostly found detached and separately. They are by no means the remnants of former compact collections or archives. The remnants dating from the Roman era of the town are found further north, those of the Byzantine and Arabic periods, respectively, are found further southward in the vast area of ruins, for the city, in its time, steadily shifted towards the south. There is no reason not to expect that fragments of papyri will be discovered in other ruins of Egypt as well as in those of the Faijum. In upper Egypt, it is true, the potsherd, the *ostrakon*, takes the place of the papyrus.

J. Schmidt (Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren) contends against Karbe's dissertation (de Centurionibus Romanorum, Halle, 1880) that the primipilus centurion (i. e. the highest one of the first cohort of his legion) *ipso facto* attained equestrian rank.

v. Wilamowitz. Die Bühne des Aeschylus. This paper presents the views of W. on the stage and theatres in and near Athens. A convenient summary is given on p. 621: "In the time of the kings there is but the temple of Dionysos *ἐν ῥίμναις* beyond the city; there are celebrated *Ἀθήναια* and *Ἀνθεστήρια*, with jests and dances and songs, though these are not the germ of the drama. The *Διονύσιον* was founded in the city at the time when the archon had the chief power, with the festival of Elaphebolion. Pisistratus established, or at least enlarged, the sanctuary and temple, introduced the Corinthian goat-dances, and in 534 Thespis produced the first *τραγωδία*. It developed slowly. In 508 the chorus of Attic citizens was added, and Hypodicius of Chalcis gained the victory. About 497 Aeschylus begins his work; through him only the real drama springs into being. Until 465-60 the tragic and cyclic choruses dance on the same walled dancing ground *ἐν Διονύσειον*; for the spectators round about are erected *ἰκρία*, for the actors a *λογεῖον* in the middle of the *ὀρχήστρα*. Then a background is put up, the *ἰκρία* only on the declivity of the Acropolis as far as the black poplar; at the same time *κῶμοι* are introduced. Before 427 these are extended to the Lenaea, before 420 the tragedies likewise. The plays were produced in the Lenaion, where the dancing place and the stands are prepared, as well as in other sanctuaries solemnized (gefeiert) by cyclic choruses. Finally Lycurgus builds a theatre, *ἐν Διονύσειον*, which theatre was used for all dramatic and probably also for all

dithyrambic contests, nay even for many others, and continued to be used therefor."

v. Wilamowitz. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. W., so prolific in new theories, publishes here his view of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. He vigorously refuses to accept the view that the famous inscription was virtually that of a tomb (eine Grabschrift). It was really, W. contends, a summary account of those works of Augustus which formed the basis of his expectation of divinity after death. Most novel, however, is W.'s interpretation of the famous words of farewell related in Suetonius, the words of the actor winding up his performance and quitting the stage. These words had generally been taken as the cynical departure of the utilitarian man of affairs. W., however, claims that they were spoken in a more lofty, a specifically Stoic sense and spirit, with something akin to religious aspiration.

E. G. SIHLER.

## BRIEF MENTION.

The *Schönlank Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum* (Vienna and Prague, Tempelky, Leipzig, G. Freytag), which we have already recommended in general terms and in special instances, is moving forward. Among the recent accessions to be noted are the second volume of HOLDER's *Herodotus*, which completes the edition, and H. J. MÜLLER's *L. Annæi Senecæ Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiæ, Distinctiones, Collocæ*. It will be observed that Müller calls the elder Seneca "Lucius," as Justus Lipsius did after the MSS, whereas all the editors down to Burman and Kiessling, who left out the prænomen, have called him "Marcus," after the example of Raphael Volaterranus. Since Friedländer's discovery that Seneca the elder was a prime source of the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Contriventiæ* of Seneca have gained greatly in interest, and this new edition will attract the attention of a much wider circle of readers than it would have done twenty years ago. Another new book is SCHICHE's edition of the *Tusculan Questions*, and H. NOHL has put forth the fifth volume of his *M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes Selectæ*; and that the series finds wide acceptance is shown by the rapid issue of new editions, some of which lie on our table—WEIDNER's *Vergil*, PRAMMER's *Caesar*, ZINGERLE's *Livy*, SEDLMAYER's *Ovid*. The American agents are Messrs. B. Westermann & Co.

USENER's *Allgriechischer Versbau* (Bonn, Max Cohen & Sohn, 1886) continues to attract the attention of scholars, and an elaborate and appreciative review of it by Westphal has appeared in a recent number of the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* (Oct. 1, 1887). It is, as the subtitle declares, an essay in comparative metric, and the subject is handled with the wide reach and the fine touch that make all Usener's work so fascinating. That the heroic hexameter is welded out of two series is not a new doctrine, but a novel aspect was given to the subject by Bergk, whose theory that the hexameter grew out of the juxtaposition of the *ἰστίλιος* (X—○○—○○—) and the *παροιμιακός* (X—○○—○○—) has long been familiar to the students of the *Poetæ Lyrici* (Ed. 3, p. 1297, III<sup>4</sup> 655), many of whom had never seen the programme in which the theory was first broached. Of this theory Professor Usener accepts only the latter half, the paroemiacus, which shows itself still as an original element in our existing texts of Homer, one of the great proofs being the neglect of the F at the "third trochee" break,—an important point, which figures conspicuously in the first section of Professor Usener's essay. In the second section the composite character of the hexameter is made to throw light on the inscriptional hexameters, the irregularities of which have been set down to lack of skill in the technical handling of an established form, whereas Usener sees in them the survival of an older principle of composition, which, it seems, the musicians of the fifth century B. C. still recognized, as appears from a passage in Arist. Met. N. 6, p. 1093a 26. The third section illustrates

the popular use of the paroemiacus in proverbs and saws—a popularity, by the way, which survives in modern heraldry, in which this ἀκροτελεύτιον is very common, as in the legend of the Old Dominion, "En dat Virginia quintam," and that of South Carolina, "Animis opibusque parati." These studies lead up to the main theme—the establishment of the common metrical basis of Aryan verse. The impulse and the direction were given, it is true, long ago by Westphal; and Professor Allen, now of Harvard, in an investigation into the origin of the Homeric verse, published in Kuhn's Zeitschrift for 1879 (p. 556), had reached deductively the same results that Professor Usener's independent research has gained inductively, but while recognizing the fact that an essential find has been anticipated, Professor Usener says only too modestly that the difference in method and aim justifies the present publication. It is impossible just now to follow even in the merest outline Professor Usener's travels through the various regions of Indo-European literature in quest of this common principle of the structure of the verse. Under his guidance the search is one of manifold interest for metrician and non-metrician alike.

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The preface of the third edition of JORDAN's *Sallust* bears date Nov. 6, 1886, only four days before the eminent editor was carried off, but Professor PAUL KRÜGER, who was put in charge of the work after the death of Jordan, postponed the publication until he could make use of Hauler's labors on the fragments and complete the collection by material not yet known to Jordan, so that in this edition (Berlin, Weidmann, 1887) scholars have the most recent results of critical research in this field.

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PRELLER's *Griechische Mythologie* has maintained itself as an indispensable work for all students of antiquity since 1854—a whole generation—and the new edition, which has been intrusted to an eminent specialist, Dr. CARL ROBERT, will give it a further lease of life and usefulness. The bulk of the first part of the first volume in this fourth edition (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887) is somewhat increased (428 pp. against 308), as was inevitable in view of the enormous accessions to the literature of the subject, and, so far as our examination goes, every addition has been made in as compact a manner as possible.

The same house publishes Dr. LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER's *Griechische Götter und Heroen*, in the first fascicle of which he treats of Aphrodite, Eros, and Hephaistos. v. Schroeder rejects the Semitic origin of Aphrodite and accepts the connexion of the name with ἄφρο- "foam." For the much discussed second part he prefers to Leo Meyer's suggestion ἄδλ "shine" the other ἄδλ to be seen in δῖον, δῖνος, δνεῖν, so that Aphrodite, an IG abhradtā or abhradlti, would mean "she that moves, speeds, flies in the cloud," and this "cloud-flitter" is made out to be one of the Apsaras, who are water-nymphs and air-spirits, while Hephaistos, her husband, is one of the Gandharva-centaurs. His reconstructed name is yābhayishṭha, a superlative which means—we will substitute our modest Greek for von Schroeder's shameless Latin—φιλοφόταρος. By the way, von Schroeder's explanation of the lameness of Hephaistos as a remnant of the bestial nature of the Centaur puts in a new light the familiar proverb, ἀρῖστα χυλὸς οἶφεῖ, and it is rather surprising that he did not cite it.

The chief interest of *Nemesis* himself is his supposed anticipation of modern medicine as to the function of the bile and the circulation of the blood. Of this curious treatise there has been preserved a Latin translation in a Codex Bambergensis and also a copy of the same in the library of Prague. At the suggestion of Professor Usener this Latin text has been edited by Professor HOLLINGER of Prague (Leipzig, G. Freytag; Prague, F. Tempsky), and as it is slavish and stupid, it will serve to quicken an appreciation of like blunders in more important documents and to fill out lacunae and eliminate interpolations in the original. The suggestiveness of the translator's hebetude will appear when we mention that he is capable of rendering *χορηγεῖν* by *procedentibus*, *letting* by *transibit*, and the like.

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Dr. HOLDEN has given to the world the *Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books of the Cyropaedia* (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1887), in continuation of his edition noticed in our last number, and has put the students of Greek history in general and of Plutarch in particular under obligations to him by his edition of *The Life of Nikias*. In both these works he calls attention in a somewhat pungent way to the blunders of his English predecessors. It is indeed high time that a stop be put to the conventional respect with which slipshod work is treated. It is bad enough to be flooded with unnecessary and perfunctory editions of already over-edited school classics, but it rouses special resentment when a less familiar author is positively maltreated, and Dr. Holden has the more right to protest as he spares no pains with his own work. Of course, in his crowded pages slips may be found here and there, and in the *Nikias* one cannot help noticing the consistent misspelling of so well known a name as Theodor Koch. To beg for *tytologia* would be asking too much.

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We have only space to record the zigzag progress towards completion of the standard *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by IWAN MÜLLER (Nördlingen, C. H. Beck). Since our last notice the eighth and ninth half-volumes have appeared, and the eleventh is on the point of publication, thus preceding the tenth half-volume, the issue of which has been delayed by the change in the department of Roman Topography due to the sudden death of Professor Jordan. The eighth half-volume and the ninth are continuous, and embrace:

A. *Einführung: Abriss der Geschichte der vorderasiatischen Kulturvölker u. Ägyptens bis auf die Zeit der Perserkriege* von FRITZ HOMMEL.

B. *Geographie u. Geschichte des griechischen Alterthums*. 1. *Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie* von H. G. LOLLING. 2. *Grundzüge der politischen Geschichte Griechenlands* von ROBERT POHLMANN.

C. *Geographie und Geschichte des römischen Alterthums*. 1. *Geographie von Italien u. den römischen Provinzen* von JULIUS JUNG. 2. *Abriss der römischen Geschichte* von BENEDICTUS NIESE.

The *History of Greek Literature*, by Professor CHRIST, is finished and will be published before long. The publishers decline to furnish single sections of the different volumes, or even single half-volumes, but the volumes may be had singly—of which I, II, IV are now complete.



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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Euripides. *Alcestis* and other plays, translated into English verse by Rob. Potter. 12mo, 286 pp. New York, *G. Routledge & Sons*, 1887. Cl., 40 cts.

Herodotus. Book IX., ed. with notes by Evelyn Abbott. 16mo. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1887. Cl., 75 cts.

Homer. *Iliad*, Books I-III; ed. on the basis of Ameis-Hentze, by T. D. Seymour. 12mo, 4+235 pp. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1887. c. ed. Cl., \$1.35.

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Märi Eliä of Söbhä. *A Treatise on Syriac Grammar*. Ed. and translated from the MSS in the Berlin Royal Library by R. J. H. Gottheil. 8vo, 47+71+52 pp. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.*, 1887. Cl., \$3.

Plato. *The Apology*. With Introduction and Notes by St. G. Stock. 16mo. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1887. Cl., 50 cts.

Plutarch. *Lives of Agesilaus, Pompey, and Phocion*. Translated by J. and W. Langhorne. 32mo, 192 pp. New York, *Cassell & Co.*, 1887. Pap., 10 cts.

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Sophocles (E. A.) *Greek Lexicon: Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Memorial ed., issued under the supervision of J. H. Thayer. 8vo. New York, *C. Scribner's Sons*, 1887. Cl., net, \$10.

Sprague (C. E.) *Handbook of Volapük*. 12mo. New York, *C. E. Sprague*, 1271 Broadway, 1888. Cl., \$1.

Tacitus (Caius Corn.) *Annalium, Liber I*. Ed., with Introduction and Notes, by H. Furneaux. 16mo. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1887. Cl., 50 cts.

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#### ERRATA.

p. 117, l. 2 from bottom, for IWAN 'SCHMIDT's' read IWAN 'MÜLLER's.'

p. 229, l. 22 from bottom, for 'aorist' read 'aorists.'

p. 245, l. 9 from bottom, for 'Zu' read 'Zur.'

p. 255, l. 17 from bottom, for 'B.' SCHRADER read 'OTTO' SCHRADER; for 'Ungeschichte' read 'Urgeschichte.'

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